

A DICTIONARY OF SELECTED  
SYNONYMS IN THE PRINCIPAL  
INDO-EUROPEAN LANGUAGES

*A CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF IDEAS*

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WITH THE CO-OPERATION OF COLLEAGUES  
AND ASSISTANTS



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## PREFACE

How do we get our ideas?

The kind of thinking that distinguishes man from brute has been built up by and is dependent upon the use of symbols. Since vocal utterance attained a higher development than gesture as a means of communication, these symbols are, in fact, the words. Animals, to be sure, have cries which in some cases cover a very considerable range of emotions and to a certain extent serve to communicate. But these are limited to the immediate experience: they are not detachable symbols capable of expressing past or future experience or any abstract concept. Yet such cries, which comprise all that primitive man inherited from his ancestry, must perforce be the starting-point of human speech. Primitive man, with his more highly developed brain, gained an awareness of a connection between the sound and something expressed by it. With this step taken, a nucleus provided, and doubtless aided by gesture, human speech progressed and in turn became the dominant factor in man's further mental growth. That is, we have the spiral development: superior brain (there is, of course, a "why?" to this too) > primitive human speech > organized conceptual thought. Any more detailed picture of the process, of the much discussed "origin of language", we shall never have. The relatively brief period of recorded speech is separated by a vast interval from the beginnings of human speech—far beyond the reach of the historical-comparative method. Nor are we further concerned here with this remote problem.

The history of ideas is embodied in the history of the words used to express them. Whether the 'idea', 'notion', 'concept', or 'mental image' (I shall commonly use the innocuous 'notion') is, as many believe, only an abstraction (the concrete object or the uttered and heard sound of the word being the only realities), or whether it corresponds to some reality in the brain (as an eminent neurologist has assured me he thinks quite tenable), need not concern us. For its close dependence upon its verbal expression is beyond dispute. It is a pattern of reaction answering to a given stimulus, which (apart from the actual perception of an individual concrete object, which also suggests the general notion) is normally the word or group of words. It is this pattern of reaction which constitutes the meaning of a word. A word means what it refers to, in a given context or situation. The meaning of a word as a whole may be a composite of various allied applications.

In a limited number of words for certain concrete notions the meaning has



remained virtually constant for thousands of years, as, for example, those for the numerals and for close family relationship like 'father', 'mother', etc. But such cases are the exception. Change is the rule—sometimes so radical that, without the connecting links, one would be at a loss to see any relation between the earliest known and the latest use. The meaning of most words is not a fixed point, but an area of variable dimensions. It is subject to complex associations, some of them inevitable associations of universal scope, others originating in some particular verbal context, external situation, or among a special social or occupational class.

Any such association leads to the so-called "occasional" special meanings, like *stone* as used by a jeweler = *precious stone*, or the diverse uses of *play*. But such an occasional use may spread until it becomes the dominant one, as in the case of *deer*, originally an 'animal' (like NHG *tier*, etc.), and doubtless first used in its present sense by hunters, as the favorite animal of the hunt.

The associations underlying semantic changes are so complex that no rigid classification of the latter is possible. Many changes may be variously viewed. In a sense, each word has its individual semantic history. Nevertheless, there are certain types which it is convenient to recognize.

The two most general types are generalization or extension vs. specialization or restriction. Generalization, as in *barn* etymologically 'barley-place' whence storehouse for any grain or farm produce (now even *carbarn*), *mill* originally 'machine for grinding' (corn, etc.), and all words of such broad application as *do*, *get*, *go*, *thing*. Specialization, as in *deer* (see above), *hound*, originally any 'dog' (like NHG *hund*), *sermon* from Lat. *sermō* 'discourse' specialized in church writings. The history of a given word may show successively a specialization and generalization from a new center, as *starve* from 'die' (as NHG *sterben*) to 'die of hunger' to 'suffer from hunger'. But this classification is from one point of view only, that of scope. There are many other more specific types of shift within certain associated groups.

Commonplace is the figurative use of words like *head*, *foot*, *mouth*, without reference to parts of the body. Such use is, of course, not a rhetorical or poetical device, except in unfamiliar and hence striking figures, but a feature of ordinary speech everywhere.

Widespread is the interchange of application between space and time, as in *long*, *short*; between size and quantity, as in *small*, *little*; between quantity and number, as in *all* (*all day* vs. *all men*) and the frequent expression by forms of the same word of 'whole' and 'all', of 'much' and 'many', of 'little' and 'few'. In such groups one or the other application may become dominant, as in *brief* normally used with reference to time vs. its source Lat. *brevīs* 'short' in both senses. Or there may be extensions or shifts. Thus Lat. *paucus*, usually pl. *paucī* 'few', was in Vulgar Latin extended to cover

'little' in quantity (hence It. *poco*, Fr. *peu*, etc.) at the expense of *parvus*, which itself had covered 'small' in size and 'little' in quantity.

Material and product. The name of a material is applied to some special product and persists in that sense. The name of the papyrus plant is the source of the most widespread words for 'paper', unaffected by the successive changes in the material used. Most of the words for 'pen' reflect the old quill pen, being derived from Lat. *penna* or other words for 'feather'. Similarly, in many other cases. The converse is much less common, but is seen in *rubber* as material named after its early and now insignificant use in rubbing out pencil marks, in *graphite* (from Grk. *γράφω* 'write') after its use for pencils. In general, in studying the history of words for material objects like implements, mechanical devices, etc. one must always take into consideration the evolution of the things themselves. Thus many of the words for 'lock' and 'key' reflect the primitive devices of bar and peg.

Words for thought processes or emotions are, all theoretically and a great many demonstrably, based upon indicative physical acts or conditions. Thus 'understand' from 'seize, grasp', or 'stand on or under'; 'forget' from 'lose'; 'fear' from 'trembling'; 'anger' and some other emotions from physical 'agitation'.

Extension or transfer from one to another sense perception—linguistic "synesthesia". The widespread group of cognate words to which *sweet* belongs was doubtless applied primarily to taste but also commonly to smell and hearing (*sweet voice*, *sweet sound*), while the Greek and Latin cognates were still further extended to 'pleasant' and mostly replaced by others for the sense perception. Obvious extensions are seen in *warm colors*, *loud colors*, *sharp taste*, etc. Lat. *clārus*, connected with verbs for 'call, cry out', must have been first used with reference to hearing ('clear voice') but was applied equally to sight ('clear night'). A nearly complete transfer is seen in OHG *hel* used only of sound 'clear, loud' vs. NHG *hell* usually of sight 'clear, bright'.

Interchange between subjective and objective or personal and impersonal. This is seen in words for sense perception, as *I taste*, *smell* vs. *it tastes*, *smells* (in some languages differentiated), or emotion, as *sad* of persons but also *sad news*, and many others. Several words for 'safe, sure', or 'difficult' were first used only of persons ('without care, anxiety'; 'hard to please') and only secondarily of things. The old form of *fear* denoted the objective 'danger', hence the emotion which it excited.

Various miscellaneous extensions or transfers are due to a similarity of condition or result or some natural sequence. 'Green' and 'unripe' usually coincide, though, to repeat a phrase often quoted, *blackberries are red when they are green*. This use of *green* is felt as secondary; yet in origin the color word itself, derived from the root of *grow*, was based on the color of growing

vegetation. What 'seems good, is pleasing' implies approval and may give rise to legal terms for voting approval. The lack of anything may lead to the more urgent 'need, necessity', or 'distress', or sometimes to the resulting 'wish' for something, as shown in the history of *want* as noun and as verb (*it wants* = *it lacks*, then *he wants it*, *he wants to do it*).

An important factor in the history of many words is their emotional value, which may vary according to time and circumstance and may show itself in the tone of utterance. Words may be used in a "good sense" or a "bad sense". Or one or the other sense may become dominant. Words for 'old' have a highly emotional value, sometimes friendly, affectionate, sometimes derogatory, abusive. Our *old man* is generally friendly; but in modern Greek the compound meaning literally 'old man' denotes a 'scoundrel', and that for 'old woman' a 'common woman, prostitute'. Words for 'woman', also highly emotional, may rise to 'wife' or even 'king's wife, queen', or may sink to 'hussy' (*hussy* also originally 'housewife') and 'prostitute' (cf. *queen* and *quean*). A Polish word, related to one for 'mare' and first used as a derogatory epithet, is now the regular word for 'woman' without trace of derogatory feeling. A certain group of cognates contains words for the opposites 'reward' and 'penalty', based on a neutral 'requital'. The movement in one or the other direction, up or down, is known technically as "(a)meliorative" vs. "pejorative" development, the former as in *knight* originally 'servant' (like NHG *knecht*), *nice* once 'foolish, stupid' (from Lat. *nescius* 'ignorant'), etc.; the latter in *knave* originally 'boy, servant' (like NHG *knabe*), *stink* originally 'have a smell' good or bad, etc.

Further examples of semantic change, of the types just mentioned, will be found in great numbers in the body of this work—and many others characteristic of particular groups. For example, in the history of words for domestic animals the conspicuous feature is the frequent interchange between classes of the same species, as when words of the same cognate group denote in different languages 'bull', 'ox', or 'cow', and in another species 'ram, wether', or 'lamb', or show a shift from 'wether', through an intermediate generic use, to 'ewe'.

"Semantic borrowing" refers to the borrowing not of the formal word but of some special meaning. There are, of course, great numbers of actual loanwords, some in Greek from pre-Greek sources, many in Latin from Greek, still more in most of the European languages from Latin or in many cases more specifically from French; again from early Germanic and later from German in Balto-Slavic and from Slavic in Rumanian. But besides these there are "translation words". A special use of a familiar foreign word was adopted for the usually corresponding native word. Thus Lat. *nāvis* 'ship' came to be used in Christian times for the 'nave' of a church; and, while we have borrowed the word itself in this special sense, the Ger-

mans borrowed this sense for their native *schiff*. In Rumanian the inherited word for 'light' (from Lat. *lūmen*) is also the regular word for 'world', owing to the fact that in Slavic the same word covers both notions. Grk. *πτῶσις* 'fall' became, through the notion of 'modification', the grammatical term for 'case' and was faithfully rendered by Lat. *cāsus* 'fall'. Nearly all our grammatical terminology rests on such Latin translations of Greek terms. This semantic borrowing is widespread, obvious in many cases. But where a given secondary use is so natural that it might easily arise independently, there is room for doubt; and some of the examples generally cited are, in fact, doubtful or even definitely to be rejected on chronological grounds.

Words not only change in meaning, they may be lost outright, displaced by others. Why? There is no one answer. Of the various alleged causes, each has some validity as a factor but is likely to be exaggerated by one whose attention is riveted on it in a hunt for examples. The existence of homonyms may favor the loss of one of them, as the verb *let* 'hinder' (cf. the noun in the old phrase *let or hindrance* and *let* in tennis) vs. *let* 'permit'. Phonetic changes which have left little body to the word no doubt favored the partial displacement of Lat. *dare*, *diēs*, *apis*, *avis* by *dōnāre*, *diurnum*, *apicula*, *avicellus* in the evolution of the Romance words. But the great number of homonyms in English, and monosyllabic at that, shows that neither of these factors is a compelling cause.

"Taboo", now used in linguistics to denote the avoidance of words believed to be of ill omen or improper (but many of the latter have proved notably persistent in actual speech), is another factor, the importance of which in our group of languages it is difficult to estimate. It has been frequently invoked, for example, as the cause of the loss in some languages of the old words for 'bear' and some other animal names but never for the much more widespread loss of the old word for 'horse' (3.41).

Somewhat allied to taboo is the dualism of vocabulary in the Avesta, where, for example, there are two words for 'son', both with equally respectable cognates in Sanskrit, one used with reference to good beings (the Ahurian world), the other only of evil beings (the Daevic world).

Loss of words due to the substitution of those of another language is illustrated on the largest scale (except for the extreme case where the whole language is replaced, like Gallic by Vulgar Latin) by the history of English. A considerable part of the Old English vocabulary was permanently lost in favor of French words in the centuries following the Norman Conquest. In Rumanian too, owing to the historical conditions, much of the inherited Latin vocabulary was replaced by Slavic words, though partially restored by literary neologisms.

Very often the loss of words is due to the simple fact that what were at first colloquial or even slang words gained increasing currency until they

superseded the old standard words. Thus Lat. *loqui* 'speak' disappeared without trace in the Romance languages, being replaced at first by a colloquial word which is attested from the time of Plautus on. Lat. *caput* 'head' was in many regions replaced (in the literal sense) by *testa* 'potsherd', whence first 'skull' and then 'head' (Fr. *tête*, etc.). Old words for 'eat' have often been replaced by others meaning originally 'chew, chaw', 'gnaw, nibble', or the like.

Semantic word study may proceed from two opposite points of view, form or meaning. For example, one may study the history of Lat. *dīcere* 'say' and its cognates in Latin, or, with enlarged scope, its cognates in all the Indo-European languages; in other words the diverse uses of derivatives of the Indo-European root *\*deik-* and its probable primary sense. Such is the material brought together in the etymological dictionaries of the usual type. Conversely, one may start from the notion 'say' and study the history of words used to express it in different languages. Even for those who regard the notion as an abstraction (see above), there can, of course, be no objection to taking it as a convenient center. By the study of synonyms, their etymology and semantic history, one seeks to show the various sources of a given notion, the trails of its evolution. With some notable exceptions (as numerals, 'father', 'mother', etc. and some others), a group of synonyms has little resemblance to a group of formal cognates such as we find in the etymological dictionaries. The disparity, though less, is considerable within the Romance languages, or the Germanic, or even the Celtic and Slavic. Hence this type of investigation, besides its mainly semantic character and the purpose of revealing the linguistic sources of a given notion, also presents an interesting picture of word distribution.

A constantly increasing number of journal articles, dissertations, and other monographs have dealt with particular groups of synonyms in special fields—a few of them in a non-Indo-European family like Semitic or Finno-Ugrian, most of them in Indo-European or some branch of it, like the Romance or the Germanic languages. Such monographs furnish some of the stones for building a more comprehensive structure. But they are scattered, they cover only a small number of even the commonest notions, and some are written on such a grand scale (running to hundreds of pages; e.g. on words for 'child', 'boy', 'girl' in the Romance languages 426 pages, in Old English 271 pages) as to be unwieldy for use without the most severe trimming. A "Dictionary of Ideas" (a title that would suggest to laymen the point of such study) in a truly comprehensive sense (history of words for all ideas in all known languages) is, of course, an idle dream. Even for the Indo-European field anything like a complete semantic dictionary is beyond probable realization at present.

Yet some more modest form of synthesis has seemed to me, even now,

possible and worth while. In announcing the project many years ago, in *Language* 5(1929).215 ff., it was proposed to collect and study about a thousand groups of synonyms. Actually the number in the present work goes somewhat beyond this.

The principal Indo-European languages are covered. Some of the minor Indo-European languages, as Albanian, Armenian, and all modern forms of Indic and Iranian, are excluded from the survey, except for incidental mention, since to include them systematically would increase the labor out of all proportion to the results added. Danish, with which Norwegian agrees in large measure, and Swedish are taken as representative of the modern Scandinavian languages, though thus one may miss certain interesting divergences in word preference between Danish and Norwegian and the more frequent persistence of the Old Norse words in Modern Icelandic. Of the Romance languages, Portuguese is omitted as generally going with Spanish in vocabulary, though here, too, occasional differences are missed or only incidentally noted. There is no room to follow out the chronological and geographical distribution of Romance words on the elaborate scale which is customary and fitting in monographs in that field. Of the important Slavic languages, the (modern) Bulgarian is omitted, the words generally going with those quoted under either Church Slavic or Serbo-Croatian. Under Church Slavic are given preference the genuine Old Church Slavic (Old Bulgarian) words, especially from the Gospels, where such are quotable, but not to the exclusion of others which are (in part accidentally) quotable only from later times. The latter are sometimes marked "late", but probably without consistency. As is well known, Miklosich's *Lexicon* is full of late forms that are merely Serbian, etc. in Church Slavic dress, and conversely fails sometimes to give early quotations for words occurring in the best records. In this regard, Jagić's *Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache*, with its indexes, is of inestimable value, though even this at times fails to answer the questions that arise. Since the quotable Old Irish vocabulary is too limited to serve, Old and Middle Irish forms are generally given without distinction and both marked as Ir. (as in Pederesen's *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* and elsewhere), while the modern forms are marked NIr. But under Welsh and Breton are given the modern forms, with special designation of the Old or Middle. Cornish words, which generally go with the Breton or Welsh or both, are not included in the list but often in the discussion, especially those quotable from the old Latin-Cornish vocabulary.

The difficulties involved in a project of this kind are perhaps less apparent to the layman than to the specialist. In gathering the raw material, preparing the lists, the matter is rarely so simple as turning up the pages of dictionaries or asking a native speaker "What is your word for so-and-so?"

The familiar difficulties which assail the author of a two-language dictionary are here vastly multiplied. For if it is true even of word comparisons between two languages, how much more so of those between twenty-odd, that the words are only roughly synonymous. They do not often coincide in all their applications; they rarely cover quite the same ground. Wholly valid are only the equations of words in a particular application, attested by specific fully equivalent phrases. Such tests must be made, and at least lie beneath the surface in all our work. But to insist on this as a principle of arrangement would be a counsel of perfection that would so complicate matters as to wreck any comprehensive project. Furthermore, the combination of applications may be so nearly the same for different languages that they are best united under one head, with indication, where required, of differentiation. Only from a study of the material in a given case can one decide, and then often doubtfully, whether it is better to combine it in one group or break it up into several. The difficulties and complications of this kind are illustrated in the discussion of words for 'world' and for 'earth and land'.

The words given in the lists are intended to be the most usual expressions of the given notion in the accepted written and spoken language. To try to include all obsolete and dialectal forms would be folly, though such as come to one's attention and offer interesting parallels in semantic development may be mentioned. The specialist in any given language will always find facts of pertinent interest to supply. We have used the best available dictionaries, but only those with extensive citation of phrases are satisfactory, and for some of the languages covered there are no such. For nearly all the modern languages quoted the words have been supplied or reviewed by native speakers. But even so, owing partly to local and social differences, informants may differ as to what is the best current term. A good old word may be familiar to one but quite unknown to another. Shall it be entered in the list or omitted as obsolete? The choice is particularly difficult in the case of languages that are just now undergoing a new standardization, like Lithuanian and Modern Greek. Many of the Lithuanian words given by Kurschat, representing the Prussian Lithuanian of his time, are not those preferred in the present standard, which was more nearly anticipated by Lalis. I have relied chiefly on the Niedermann, Senn, and Brender, so far as it has appeared, Senn's *Kleine Litauische Sprachlehre*, and Hermann's *Litauisch-Deutsches Gesprächsbüchlein*; also, in many cases, on direct information from Professor Senn.

For Modern Greek the words of most interest are those of the spoken language (*δημοτική*) and the new literary type based thereon. But many ancient or medieval words that have come down in the literary tradition to the *καθαρεύουσα* and are still considerably used, beside others more colloquial, are also cited. No native Greek, much less myself, though I have con-

siderable first-hand familiarity with the present spoken and written language, can draw any hard and fast rule.

Classification. The arrangement of word lists by subjects is an old story. Not to mention the "determinatives" or "classifiers" of Sumerian, Chinese, etc., there were in the Indo-European field many such Greek glossaries culminating in the *Ὀνομαστικά* of Pollux, likewise in Latin (for the Greek and Latin works of this type, cf. Pauly-Wissowa, s.v. *Onomastikon*), the Sanskrit *Amarakoṣa* (all the native glossaries were more or less of this type), similarly Latin-Old English (as Aelfric's *Vocabulary*), Latin-Old High German (as *Heinrici Summarium*), Latin-Cornish (the *Cottonian Vocabulary*), German-Old Prussian, etc. In modern times there have been numerous dictionaries of the leading European languages known variously as 'analogical', 'analytical', 'ideological', 'methodical', 'synthetic', 'topical'; and, the best known and imitated, Roget's *Thesaurus*. Of all these, no two, apart from direct imitations, will agree in the order or classification. For example, Pollux thought proper to begin with the gods (so in many other lists), passing to man (with the parts of the body), relationship, science and art, hunting, meals, trades, law, town organization, utensils. Aelfric began with agricultural tools, passing to men (by office or craft), diseases, law, insects, vessels, drinks, birds, plants, trees, arms, winds, cereals, clothes, physical world, parts of the body, colors. But actually all sorts of miscellaneous items are mixed in. In Roget's *Thesaurus* the parallelism of opposites and some of the minor subdivisions may be convenient. But the main groups and larger subdivisions are so comprehensive as to have no obvious coherence. What may one not find under Motion (e.g. *eat, food*) or Volition (e.g. *clean*)! The fact is, of course, that relations are too complex to admit any truly scientific and complete classification (cf. the remark of Jespersen, *Philosophy of Grammar* 34); and, even if such were possible, it would have little relation to our instinctive associations.

Yet, because the ideal is hopeless, to abandon all such classification would be to sacrifice the obvious advantages of a semantic grouping (cf. e.g. Jost Trier, *Der deutsche Wortschatz im Zinnbezirk des Verstandes. Die Geschichte eines sprachlichen Feldes*; also Wartburg, *Z. rom. Ph.* 57.297 ff.) in the many cases where this is feasible. Accordingly, the arrangement will be by semantically congeneric groups, like Parts of the Body, Food and Drink, Clothing, Dwelling, Sense Perceptions, Emotions, Quantity and Number, etc.—but with some recourse to Miscellaneous. The particular order and classification adopted is not copied from others, but no remarkable merit is claimed for it. Like any other, it will be an easy mark for criticism. There will be much that is frankly arbitrary, both in the classification and in the selection of synonyms to be included. A notion which, taken by itself, looks absurd under a given chapter heading may be included because of its rela-

tions to another that does clearly belong there, e.g. under Emotion, 'danger' because of its relation to 'fear', or 'good fortune' which leads to 'happiness'. Many a heading in a given chapter might equally well be put in another, e.g. 'swift' under Time or Motion. Any infelicities of grouping will not be a serious drawback to use, for an alphabetical index according to the English words will be a necessary complement.

The uneven size of the chapters is mostly what might be expected but is partly somewhat arbitrary. For example, if chapter 4 is disproportionately long, it may be for no better reason than that the Parts of the Body form such a neat distinctive class that one is constantly tempted to further inclusions. Yet most of these words have developed such a wealth of secondary uses that their importance is multiplied.

Etymologies. Only those that are reasonably obvious and certain give genuine satisfaction. The specialist can recognize these, and at the same time is aware of how large a proportion of the current etymologies, even in most of the best etymological dictionaries, are uncertain, with varying degrees of probability or plausibility. The layman, unacquainted with matters of phonetic correspondence and other refinements, cannot distinguish the gold from the dross. To him the certain etymologies may look uncannily difficult, and the doubtful or even untenable the easiest. I have considered giving only the more certain etymologies, using "etym. unknown", "origin obscure", or the like, even more freely than I have, which would have resulted in the saving of much labor and space. Yet, on the whole, it has seemed best not to be ultra-conservative but to record, with reservations, many of the less certain etymologies. The notations "perhaps", "probably", "possibly", etc. reflect my subjective reaction at the time of writing, and not any rigid system of gradation.

The standard etymological dictionaries and the journals are of course consulted; but to save space the references are, in large measure, concentrated on the Walde-Pokorny, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* (cited as Walde-P.), where earlier discussions (up to about 1927) are cited. In many cases my tacit agreement applies only to the immediate grouping on the page cited, and not necessarily to the much wider and more doubtful grouping under the whole heading. The uncertainty and speculation which are often involved in the grouping under roots and root extensions (which, as the layman should understand, are only convenient abstractions of elements common to groups of actual words) are well known. The other etymological dictionaries are cited mainly for words characteristic of particular branches, as Falk-Torp, *Norwegisch-dänisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, for Germanic, REW (Meyer-Lübke) for Romance, Berneker, *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, for Slavic, etc. But Ernout-Meillet, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue latine* (Ernout-

M.), is cited with greater frequency. For, apart from its notable excellence for the interrelations of Latin words and their semantic development, it represents an independent attitude, with notable differences from the views favored in the Walde-Pokorny. It is conservative in regard to many current etymologies—indeed, in my judgment, ultra-conservative at times, rejecting some connections that appear to me beyond reasonable doubt (as of Grk. *θυμός* with Lat. *fūmus*, etc., where the semantic relation, from a common physical notion of 'agitation', is as easy as that between Grk. *ἀνεμος* and Lat. *animus, anima*)—and conversely even daring in some new proposals. Walde-Hofmann, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Walde-H.), is also often cited for matters other than Latin, since its references are the most recent.

The criticism may be anticipated that I have held too closely to the factual and said little of the causes of semantic change and the loss of words. And it is true that, apart from the remarks above, I have, in fact, generally preferred to leave it to others to add, if they like, a given case to their collections in support of their favorite theses.

Similarly in regard to areal word distribution. No doubt, there are several significant instances of agreement in peripheral areas, e.g. in the Romance field between Spanish-Portuguese and Rumanian, or in the Indo-European field between Italic, Celtic, and Indo-Iranian. Some of these are clearly inherited words, preserved in contrast to innovations spreading in the central area. But the exponents of "areal linguistics" (an expansion of the more factual "linguistic geography") appear to me to overrate the validity of their "norms" ("marginal, central, isolated") and to indulge in rash inferences therefrom as to what constitutes an archaism and what an innovation. Thus for 'fire' (1.81) the group represented by Lat. *ignis*, etc. (Lat., Balto-Slavic, Skt.) is claimed as older than that of the more widespread group, Grk. *πῦρ*, NE *fire*, etc. (Grk., Osc.-Umbr., Gmc., Arm., Toch., Hitt.) because the former is in the marginal group. Both are inherited, doubtless with some original but lost difference of aspect. It is still more perverse to say that for 'water' (1.31) Lat. *aqua* (which has Germanic cognates in the sense of running water, esp. 'river', and perhaps in some Tocharian and Hittite verbs, but only in Latin is the regular word for 'water') is older than the group represented by Grk. *ὑδωρ*, NE *water*, etc. (Grk., Umbr., Ir., Gmc., Balto-Slavic, Skt., Hitt.) with its typical archaic *r/n* type. Actually, instances of agreement in vocabulary (as in phonology and morphology) may be found between any two and almost any combination of the main Indo-European branches, and it is best to let the facts speak for themselves in each case.

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Craigie, while in Chicago, was always generous in opening his store of knowledge of the Old Norse and English vocabulary. For the Romance languages I have pestered with queries virtually all my colleagues, past and present, in that field—Altrocchi, Borgese, Bullock, Castillo, David, Jenkins, Keniston, Korominas, Merrill, Norman, Parmenter, Rowland, Treviño, Vigneron, and Wartburg; also Professor Siever (a Rumanian, formerly a graduate student in our Romance department) for Rumanian. For Sanskrit, Professor Clark (in the first chapter) and later Professor Bobrinskoy have assisted. Father J. G. O'Neil, now of Maynooth College, Ireland, formerly a graduate student here in the Department of Classics, originally supplied the Modern Irish words, which were further revised by his colleague Professor O'Nolan; and through Father O'Neil's interest in the matter arrangements were made for the listing of the Old Irish words by Miss E. Knott under the supervision of her teacher, Professor O. Bergin. These Irish lists have been of great service in a difficult field, but it is only fair to say that (partly owing to changes or refinements in the headings themselves) many changes have been made and that much of the critical work on Irish, as for Celtic in general, has been done by Professor G. S. Lane. Professors T. P. Cross and Myles Dillon have also been consulted on some questions of Irish usage. For Slavic, beside other informants, my past or present colleagues, Bobrinskoy, Nykl, Spinka, and Gelb, have been consulted for Russian, Bohemian, and Polish respectively. Professor Senn has answered many special inquiries on Lithuanian, often giving the precise history of neologisms in more detail than could be repeated here. That I have also, on occasion, consulted my colleagues in the departments of Greek, Latin, and the Germanic languages goes without saying.

For most of the other modern languages covered, various students or citizens of foreign birth have supplied or been consulted on the words of their respective mother-tongues.

Of the research assistants who supplied a first draft of etymological notes and references, either for particular linguistic fields or for particular chapters, G. S. Lane served for four years, working first on chapter 6, a part of which was published as a dissertation (*Words for Clothing* [1931]), and later on other chapters, with especial responsibility for Celtic and Germanic. Others who served for one year or more are J. J. Lund (chap. 9, part of which furnishes his dissertation [1932]), F. R. Preveden (especially for Balto-Slavic; also dissertation, *The Vocabulary of Navigation in the Balto-Slavic Languages* [1927, unpublished]), and F. T. Wood (for chaps. 4, 5, 7). It is impossible to separate their work from my revision, and I can give them credit only in this general way.

While I am thus indebted to all the above mentioned, there have been so many changes, even in the headings (relative to the precise notion intended),

and so much has been re-written and re-written, that I must assume the responsibility for such errors as may be found in the word lists, as well as for the etymological judgments.

I am further indebted to Professors Bobrinskoy and Lane and Dr. Georgi-acas for assistance in proofreading, in the course of which they have supplied several additions, and to the editor and readers of the University of Chicago Press for numerous helpful suggestions.

It is hoped that, with all its inevitable limitations, the omissions intentional or otherwise, and the errors of detail which may be pointed out by scholars in the special fields, the book may be found useful and worth while as a tentative and skeleton dictionary of synonyms.

CARL DARLING BUCK

CHICAGO  
1949

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EXPLANATIONS

ABBREVIATIONS FOR LANGUAGES AND DIALECTS

|           |   |        |  |
|-----------|---|--------|--|
| Afgh.     | Afghan  | Goth.  | Gothic   |
| Akkad.    | Akkadian (-Babylonian-Assyrian)   | Grk.   | Greek (ancient)  |
| Alb.      | Albanian  | Hebr.  | Hebrew   |
| AmSp.     | American Spanish  | Hitt.  | Hittite  |
| Anglo-Fr. | Anglo-French  | Hung.  | Hungarian (= Magyar)   |
| Arab.     | Arabic  | Icel.  | Icelandic  |
| Aram.     | Aramaic   | IE     | Indo-European  |
| Arc.      | Arcadian  | Illyr. | Illyrian   |
| Arg.      | Argolic   | Ion.   | Ionic  |
| Arm.      | Armenian  | Ir.    | Irish (Old and/or Middle, only<br>occasionally distinguished as<br>OIr, MIr)                                       |
| Att.      | Attic   |        |  |
| Av.       | Avestan   | Iran.  | Iranian  |
| Boeot.    | Boeotian  | It.    | Italian  |
| Boh.      | Bohemian (= Czech, a better<br>term, but Boh. more convenient<br>abbreviation)      | Lac.   | Laconian   |
|           |   | Lat.   | Latin  |
| Br.       | Breton (modern)   | Lesb.  | Lesbian  |
| Bulg.     | Bulgarian   | Lett.  | Lettic   |
| Byz.      | Byzantine (= Middle Greek)  | LG     | Low German   |
| Cat.      | Catalan   | Lith.  | Lithuanian   |
| ChSl.     | Church Slavic   | Liv.   | Livonian   |
| Cor.      | Corinthian  | Maced. | Macedonian   |
| Corn.     | Cornish   | Mars.  | Marsian  |
| Cret.     | Cretan  | MBr    | Middle Breton  |
| Cypr.     | Cyprian   | MDu.   | Middle Dutch   |
| Dan.      | Danish  | ME     | Middle English   |
| Dor.      | Doric   | MHG    | Middle High German   |
| Du.       | Dutch   | MLat.  | Medieval Latin   |
| El.       | Elean   | MLG    | Middle Low German  |
| Elam.     | Elamite   | MW     | Middle Welsh   |
| Esth.     | Esthonian   | N      | New (in following) = Modern<br>(preferred to latter for con-<br>venience in abbreviations, be-<br>side M = Middle) |
| Eub.      | Euboean   |        |  |
| Eur.      | European  | NE     | New English  |
| Fal.      | Faliscan  | NG     | New Greek  |
| Fr.       | French  | NHG    | New High German  |
| Frank.    | Frankish  | NIcel. | New Icelandic  |
| Fris.     | Frisian   | NIr.   | New Irish  |
| Gael.     | Gaelic (of Scotland)  | NPers. | New Persian  |
| Gall.     | Gallie  | Norw.  | Norwegian  |
| Gmc.      | Germanic (for general Germanic,<br>or with reconstructed forms =<br>Proto-Germanic) | O      | Old (in following and others)  |



|         |                           |         |  |
|---------|---------------------------|---------|--|
| OE      | Old English               | Scand.  | Scandinavian                                 |
| OFris.  | Old Frisian               | SCr.    | Serbo-Croatian                               |
| OHG     | Old High German           | Skt.    | Sanskrit                                     |
| ON      | Old Norse (Old Icelandic) | Slov.   | Slovenian (not Slovak which is spelled out). |
| OPers.  | Old Persian               | Sogd.   | Sogdian                                      |
| OPruss. | Old Prussian              | Sorb.   | Sorbian                                      |
| OS      | Old Saxon                 | Sp.     | Spanish                                      |
| Osc.    | Oscan                     | Sumer.  | Sumerian                                     |
| Osset.  | Ossetian                  | Sw.     | Swedish                                      |
| Pael.   | Paelignian                | Thess.  | Thessalian                                   |
| Pahl.   | Pahlavi                   | Toch.   | Tocharian                                    |
| Phoen.  | Phoenician                | Turk.   | Turkish                                      |
| Pol.    | Polish                    | Ukr.    | Ukrainian (= Little Russian)                 |
| Port.   | Portuguese                | Umbr.   | Umbrian                                      |
| Praen.  | Praenestine               | VLat.   | Vulgar (= Popular) Latin                     |
| Prov.   | Provençal                 | W.      | Welsh  |
| Rhaet.  | Rhaetian                  | WGmc.   | West Germanic                                |
| Rum.    | Rumanian                  | WSax.   | West Saxon                                   |
| Russ.   | Russian                   | WhRuss. | White Russian                                |
| Sc.     | Scotch (as NE dial.)      |         |  |

## ABBREVIATIONS FOR WORKS OF REFERENCE

References are regularly to pages; but to numbers in the case of collections of inscriptions and works with numbered entries, such as REW, Pušcariu, and Lokotsch.

Abbreviation of names of literary authors, works, codices, etc., familiar enough in the respective fields, are not listed.

- Abh. Preuss. Akad. Abhandlungen der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
 Abh. Sächs. Ges. Abhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften.  
 Ahd. Gloss. Steinmeyer und Sievers, Die althochdeutschen Glossen.  
 AJA American Journal of Archaeology.  
 AJPh. American Journal of Philology.  
 Alminauskis. K. Alminauskis, Die deutschen Lehnwörter im Litauischen.  
 Arch. glott. it. Archivio glottologico italiano.  
 Arch. lat. Lex. Archiv für lateinische Lexikographie und Grammatik.  
 Arch. sl. Ph. Archiv für slavische Philologie.  
 Barth. Bartholomae, Altiranisches Wörterbuch.  
 BB (Bezzenger's) Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen.  
 BBCS Bulletin of Board of Celtic Studies.  
 Ber. Preuss. Akad. Sitzungsberichte der preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften.  
 Ber. Sächs. Ges. Berichte über die Verhandlungen der sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig.  
 Ber. Wien. Akad. Sitzungsberichte der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.  
 Berneker E. Berneker, Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch. References are to the pages of vol. 1 unless otherwise noted, since vol. 2 was suspended after one fascicle.  
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 Böhtlingk, Wtb. Böhtlingk, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch in kürzerer Fassung.  
 Boisacq E. Boisacq, Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque.

- Bosworth-Toller J. Bosworth, An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary, etc., with Supplement by T. N. Toller.  
 BR Böhtlingk und Roth, Sanskrit-Wörterbuch.  
 Brückner A. Brückner, Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego.  
 Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter A. Brückner, Die slavischen Fremdwörter im Litauischen.  
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 BSL Bulletin de la société de linguistique de Paris.  
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 Byz. Z. Byzantinische Zeitschrift.  
 CGL Corpus glossariorum Latinorum.  
 Cl. Ph. Classical Philology.  
 Cl. Q. Classical Quarterly.  
 Cl. R. Classical Review.  
 Dahlerup Ordbog over det danske Sprog, grundlagt af V. Dahlerup.  
 Dal' Vladimir Dal', Tolkovyj slovar' živogo velikorusskago jazka.  
 Denk. Wien. Akad. Denkschriften der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien.  
 Densusianu O. Densusianu, Histoire de la langue roumaine.  
 Dict. enc. Dicționarul enciclopedic ilustrat (Rumanian).  
 Dict. gén. Hatzfeld et Darmesteter, Dictionnaire général de la langue française.  
 Diez F. Diez, Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen, 5te Ausgabe.  
 Dinneen P. S. Dinneen, Irish-English Dictionary, new ed.  
 Drawneek J. Drawneek, Deutsch-lettisches Wörterbuch.  
 Du Cange Du Cange, Glossarium mediae et infimae latinitatis; id., Glossarium ad scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis.  
 Ebert, Reallex. Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte unter mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter herausgegeben von M. Ebert.  
 Endz., Gram. J. Endzelin, Lettische Grammatik.  
 'Επετηρίς 'Επιστημονική 'Επετηρίς του Πανεπιστημίου (Athens).  
 Ernault, Dict. étym. E. Ernault, Dictionnaire étymologique du breton moyen.  
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 Gerof Naïdenū Gerovū, Rečnikū na blūgarskyj jazykū.  
 Glotta Glotta, Zeitschrift für griechische und lateinische Sprache.  
 Godefroy F. Godefroy, Dictionnaire de l'ancienne langue française.  
 Godin Marie Amelie Freiin von Godin, Wörterbuch der albanischen und deutschen Sprache.  
 Gött. gel. Anz. Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen.  
 Gött. Nachr. Nachrichten von der Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.  
 Graff E. G. Graff, Althochdeutscher Sprachschatz.

- Grimm J. und W. Grimm, Deutsches Wörterbuch.  
 GRM Germanisch-romanische Monatschrift.  
 Harper Harper's Latin Dictionary.  
 Hatzidakis, Einl. G. Hatzidakis, Einleitung in die neugriechische Grammatik.  
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 Hermann, Lit.-deutsches Gesprächsb. E. Hermann, Litauisch-deutsches Gesprächsbüchlein.  
 Hessen Hessen's Irish Lexicon, a Concise Dictionary of Early Irish.  
 Hesych. Hesychii Alexandrini Lexicon.  
 Hirt, Idg. Gram. H. Hirt, Indogermanische Grammatik.  
 Holthausen F. Holthausen, Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch.  
 Horn P. Horn, Grundriss der neupersischen Etymologie.  
 Hübschmann, Arm. Gram. H. Hübschmann, Armenische Grammatik, I. Theil.  
 Idg. Anz. Anzeiger für indogermanische Sprach- und Altertumskunde.  
 Idg. Jhrb. Indogermanisches Jahrbuch.  
 IF Indogermanische Forschungen.  
 IG Inscriptiones Graecae.  
 Ἰστ. Λεξ. Ἰστορικὸν Λεξικὸν τῆς νέας Ἑλληνικῆς.  
 Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. V. Jagić, Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache.  
 JAOS Journal of the American Oriental Society.  
 JEGPh. Journal of English and Germanic Philology.  
 JHS Journal of Hellenic Studies.  
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 KZ Kuhn's Zeitschrift (Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung).  
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 MLN Modern Language Notes.  
 Mnemos. Mnemosyne.  
 Mod. Ph. Modern Philology.  
 Monde Or. Le monde oriental.  
 Morris Jones J. Morris Jones, A Welsh Grammar, Historical and Comparative.  
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 MSL Mémoires de la société de linguistique de Paris.  
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 NED A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles.  
 Nord. Tidsskrift Nordisk tidsskrift for filologi.  
 Norsk Tidsskrift Norsk tidsskrift for sprogvidenskap.  
 NSB Niedermann, Senn, und Brender, Wörterbuch der litauischen Schriftsprache.  
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 RC Revue celtique.  
 Rev. ét. anc. Revue des études anciennes.  
 Rev. ét. indo-eur. Revue des études indo-européennes.  
 Rev. ét. sl. Revue des études slaves.

- Rev. sl. Revue slavistique.  
 REW W. Meyer-Lübke, Romanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch, 3te Aufl.  
 Rh. M. Rheinisches Museum für Philologie.  
 RIA Contrib. Contributions to a Dictionary of the Irish Language.  
 RIA Dict. Dictionary of the Irish Language, published by the Irish Academy.  
 Riv. fil. Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica.  
 Riv. IGI Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica.  
 Rječnik Akad. Rječnik hrvatskoga ili srpskoga jezika na svijet izdaje jugoslavenska Akademija.  
 Rom. Romania.  
 Rom. Forsch. Romanische Forschungen.  
 Romance Ph. Romance Philology.  
 Şaîneanu Şaîneanu, Dictionar universal al limbei române; or Dictionnaire français-roumain.  
 Sandfeld, Ling. balk. Kr. Sandfeld, Linguistique balkanique.  
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 Schwyzer, Gr. Gram. E. Schwyzer, Griechische Grammatik.  
 Senn, Lit. Sprachl. A. Senn, Kleine litauische Sprachlehre.  
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 Vidensk. Med. Meddelelser udgivne af det kgl. danske videnskabernes Selskab.  
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 Z. deutsch. Alt. Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum.  
 Z. deutsch. Ph. Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie.  
 Z. deutsch. Wortf. Zeitschrift für deutsche Wortforschung.  
 ZDMG Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft.  
 Z. frz. Spr. Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur.  
 Z. Ind. Iran. Zeitschrift für Indologie und Iranistik.  
 Z. rom. Ph. Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie.  
 Z. sl. Ph. Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie.  
 Zeuss Zeuss, Grammatica Celtica, editio altera, curavit H. Ebel.  
 Zupitza, Gutt. Zupitza, Die germanischen Gutturale.

## OTHER ABBREVIATIONS

|         |                           |         |                                    |
|---------|---------------------------|---------|------------------------------------|
| abl.    | ablative                  | comp.   | comparative                        |
| acc.    | accusative                | cons.   | consonant                          |
| act.    | active                    | cop.    | copulative (e.g. á- cop. in Greek) |
| adj.    | adjective                 | cpd.    | compound                           |
| adv.    | adverb(ial)               | dat.    | dative                             |
| arch.   | archaic                   | denom.  | denominative                       |
| assim.  | assimilation, assimilated | deriv.  | derivative                         |
| caus.   | causative                 | desid.  | desiderative                       |
| class.  | classical                 | dial.   | dialect(s), dialectal(ly)          |
| coll.   | collective                | dim.    | diminutive                         |
| colloq. | colloquial(ly)            | dissim. | dissimilation, dissimilative       |

|           |   |          |  |
|-----------|---|----------|--|
| du.       | dual  | obj.     | objective  |
| dub.      | dubious, doubtful, uncertain  | obs.     | obsolete   |
| eccl.     | ecclesiastical  | op. cit. | opere citato, in work cited  |
| esp.      | especially  | opp.     | opposite   |
| etym.     | etymology   | opt.     | optative   |
| fem.      | feminine  | orig.    | origin, original(ly)   |
| fig.      | figurative(ly)  | pap.     | papyri   |
| fr.       | from (either from an earlier actual or reconstructed form; or often, for the sake of brevity = derivative of) | pass.    | passive  |
| freq.     | frequent(ly)  | perf.    | perfect  |
| frequent. | frequentative   | perfect. | perfective   |
| gen.      | genitive  | perh.    | perhaps  |
| gl.       | gloss, gloss to, glosses  | pl.      | plural   |
| gramm.    | grammarians   | pop.     | popular (= colloquial)   |
| ib.       | ibidem, in the same work  | poss.    | possessive   |
| id.       | idem (used to indicate the same form, or the same meaning)  | ppl.     | participle   |
| i.e.      | id est, that is   | prec.    | preceding  |
| imperat.  | imperative  | prep.    | preposition  |
| imperf.   | imperfect   | pres.    | present  |
| impers.   | impersonal  | pret.    | preterite  |
| ind.      | indicative  | priv.    | privative  |
| indef.    | indefinite  | prob.    | probably   |
| infin.    | infinitive  | pron.    | pronoun, pronominal  |
| init.     | initial   | redupl.  | reduplication, reduplicated  |
| instr.    | instrumental  | refl.    | reflexive  |
| intr.     | intransitive  | refs.    | references   |
| iter.     | iterative   | reg.     | regular(ly)  |
| l.c.      | loco citato, in passage cited   | rhet.    | rhetorical   |
| lit.      | literary; also literally (context obviating confusion)  | sb.      | substantive (= noun, also used)  |
| masc.     | masculine   | sc.      | scilicet, understand, supply   |
| mid.      | middle  | sg.      | singular; with reference to Welsh, Cornish, Breton, sg. or new sg. = the so-called singulative |
| misc.     | miscellaneous   | spec.    | specifically   |
| neg.      | negative  | subj.    | subjunctive; also subjective   |
| neolog.   | neologism   | superl.  | superlative  |
| neut.     | neuter  | trans.   | transitive   |
| nom.      | nominative  | vb.      | verb   |
| nom. pr.  | proper name   | vbl. n.  | verbal noun (for Celtic)   |
|           |   | v.l.     | varia lectio   |
|           |   | vs       | versus, in contrast to, against  |
|           |   | :        | related to, cognate with   |

## ORTHOGRAPHY AND TRANSCRIPTION

The macron is used as the sign of vowel length, not only for Latin, etc., but likewise for Old English, Old Norse, Irish (instead of '), and Lettic. But the customary ' in Bohemian and Lith.  $\acute{e}$  =  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\acute{y}$  =  $\bar{y}$  are retained.

The sign of vowel length is employed in the case of the older languages (including Goth.  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$  to conform to practice in other Germanic languages;

but omitted for Sanskrit  $e$ ,  $o$ ; likewise usually omitted in Greek nouns of the first declension like  $\chi\acute{o}\rho\alpha$ ,  $\kappa\alpha\rho\delta\acute{\iota}\alpha$ , the short  $a$  of the smaller class like  $\mu\acute{o}\iota\rho\alpha$ ,  $\theta\acute{\alpha}\lambda\alpha\sigma\sigma\alpha$  being shown by the accent) and some of the modern, as Irish (but omitted in Welsh and Breton), Lithuanian, and Lettic.

Word accentuation is generally indicated only where this is customary in the normal orthography, as in Greek and in particular Spanish words (Polish ' in  $\acute{o}$  is not a sign of accent but of vowel quality as in the case of the French accent signs; likewise in the transcription of Oscan). Thus, for Sanskrit, Lithuanian, Lettic, and Serbo-Croatian the accent marks are omitted, as not essential for the purposes of this work.

The signs  $\acute{s}$  (= NE  $sh$ ) and  $\acute{z}$  (= NE  $z$  in *azure*, Fr.  $j$ .) are used for Lithuanian (formerly  $sz$ ,  $\acute{z}$ ), Lettic, Slavic, Iranian, Arabic, etc.

In reconstructed IE forms involving the different guttural series,  $k^w$ ,  $g^w$ ,  $g^wh$  are used for the labiovelars;  $\hat{k}$ ,  $\hat{g}$ ,  $\hat{g}h$  for the palatals; and plain  $k$ ,  $g$ ,  $gh$  both for the so-called "plain velars" (Grk.  $\kappa\rho\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\varsigma$ , Skt. *kravis*) and for others of indeterminate value.

The peculiar modification of the gutturals resulting in forms like Grk.  $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\tau\omega\upsilon$  = Skt. *takṣan-*, since it is clearly not an independent phoneme (cf. esp. Benveniste, BSL 38.139 ff.), should properly be represented by a superior letter, e.g.  $k^p$ , or  $\hat{k}^*$  (Benveniste). Those who believe that the IE "voiced aspirates" are wrongly so called will nevertheless recognize  $bh$ ,  $dh$ , etc. as the best-understood symbols for this third order of stops. Similarly,  $\bar{y}$ ,  $\bar{r}$ , etc. are still employed as the most convenient symbols for those phonemes which, whatever their precise phonetic value, correspond to  $\bar{i}$ ,  $\bar{u}$  in other series.

The laryngeals, so much discussed in recent years, are left out of account in the reconstructed IE forms. They concern, as even those who operate with them and at the same time reject the Indo-Hittite hypothesis should admit, a stage preceding that to which the comparison of the main IE languages, those formerly known, points. They belong to what might be called a Proto-IE stage, the forms of which deserve a double asterisk. For example, if the familiar IE  $*dh\bar{e}$ - 'put' goes back to an earlier  $**dhe$  + a laryngeal, the contraction must have taken place before the separation of the main IE languages. That it took place independently in all the languages which show the simple long vowel (Grk., Lat., Gmc., Balto-Slavic, Indo-Iranian) is too much to believe.

But all such phonetic matters as the preceding are unimportant for the purpose of this work, where the reconstructed forms merely serve as convenient symbols for certain groupings. It should be further stated here that such reconstructed forms do not necessarily imply the actual existence of such a form in the IE period. In some cases they are merely the proper theoretical bases for certain limited sets of correspondence. Similarly, a

reconstructed VLat. form need not imply its existence over the whole VLat.-speaking territory.

Albanian.—The new standardized orthography is followed.

Armenian.—Transcribed as in Hübschmann, *Armenische Grammatik*.

Avestan and Old Persian.—Transcribed as in Bartholomae, *Altiran. Wörterbuch* (including OPers.  $\theta^r$ , although  $\varsigma$  is preferable). Thus  $\check{c}$ ,  $\check{j}$  (not  $c$ ,  $j$  as in Sanskrit) and  $x$ ,  $\gamma$  for the guttural fricatives, and likewise for Modern Persian, etc.

Church Slavic.—Transcribed mostly as in Leskien, *Altbulgarische Grammatik*. But  $\mathfrak{a}$ ,  $\mathfrak{e}$ ,  $\mathfrak{o}$ , etc. are transcribed in the older fashion  $ja$ ,  $je$ ,  $ju$  (and so Russ.  $\mathfrak{a}$ ,  $\mathfrak{o}$  as  $ja$ ,  $ju$ ), instead of  $'a$ ,  $'e$ ,  $'u$ , indicating the palatalization of the preceding consonant and strictly more correct (Leskien, *op. cit.* 37 ff.). The  $\mathfrak{z}$  and  $\mathfrak{z}$  are transcribed  $\check{z}$  and  $\check{z}$ .

Danish.—The orthography of the *Dansk Retskrivningsordbog* (3d ed.) by J. Glahder (published by the Committee on Orthography of the Danish Ministry of Education) is followed.

Gothic.—The transcription  $hw$ , in accord with the OE, OHG, is preferred to the ligature  $hv$ ;  $e$ ,  $o$  marked long,  $\bar{e}$ ,  $\bar{o}$ ; diphthongal and monophthongal  $ai$ ,  $au$  not distinguished.

Greek.—Forms quoted from inscriptions in the archaic alphabet are generally given in the familiar spelling with  $\eta$ ,  $\omega$ ,  $\epsilon$ .

Modern Greek (NG).—As between the historical spelling of the  $\kappa\alpha\theta\alpha\rho\epsilon\upsilon\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha$  and the phonetic spelling of writers in the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$ , I have generally used the latter in truly popular words, e.g.  $\phi\tau\omega\chi\acute{o}\varsigma$  'poor',  $\chi\tau\acute{\epsilon}\nu\iota$  'comb', with the normal development of  $\pi\tau > \phi\tau$ ,  $\kappa\tau > \chi\tau$ ,  $\sigma\theta > \sigma\tau$ , etc. (vs. e.g.  $\lambda\epsilon\pi\tau\acute{o}\nu$  'minute' or 'centime', with pronounced  $\pi\tau$ ), or  $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\phi\eta$  'bride' vs.  $\nu\acute{\upsilon}\mu\phi\eta$  'nymph', or  $\nu\epsilon\rho\acute{o}$  'water', vs. lit. words with the old  $\nu$  of the neuter retained. But I can see no need of changing  $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  to  $\acute{\alpha}\phi\tau\acute{o}\varsigma$  or  $\alpha\upsilon\gamma\acute{\alpha}$  to  $\acute{\alpha}\beta\gamma\acute{\alpha}$ , since the pronunciation of  $\nu$  in  $\alpha\nu$ ,  $\epsilon\nu$  as  $f$  before voiceless or  $v$  before voiced sounds is uniform. It is immaterial whether one writes  $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota$  (from  $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu$ ) or  $\pi\omicron\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota$ ; presents in  $-\omega\nu\omega$  or  $-\omicron\nu\omega$  (from  $-\omicron\omega$  with new present formed to aor.  $-\omega\sigma\alpha$ ). In several of these matters there is no consistency, in individual cases, even among writers in the  $\delta\eta\mu\omicron\tau\iota\kappa\acute{\eta}$ . Initial  $\rho$ , not  $\acute{\rho}$ , is now preferred.

Irish.—Genuine Old Irish diphthongs are marked with the macron on the first element (as Pedersen) without attempt to distinguish them from the long vowels with glide (as Thurneysen).

Lettic.—New orthography as in Mühl.-Endz., except  $k'$ , etc. (not  $k$ ) for palatalized consonant, and  $t$  not used ( $\check{t}$  in Mühl.-Endz. only in headings).

Lithuanian.—Present standardized orthography, as in NSB.

Old Norse.—For the mutated vowels it is intended to follow the now generally adopted spelling, as e.g. in Heggstad, *Gamalnorsk Ordbok*.

Oscan-Umbrian.—The usual practice of distinguishing by different type

the forms written in the native or Roman alphabets, respectively, is abandoned here as unimportant for the purposes of this work.

Rumanian.—Not  $\acute{a}$ , but  $\hat{a}$  in  $\acute{c}\acute{a}\acute{m}\acute{p}$ , etc. as in REW, Puşcariu, and Tiktin after vol. 1; and now accepted as standard, cf. *Grai şi Suflet* 5.207 ff.

Russian.—Transcription after the new official spelling. Thus  $\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda$  'table' (not  $\sigma\tau\omicron\lambda\acute{\tau}$ ) in transcription  $stol$ , but  $\pi\upsilon\tau\acute{\upsilon}$  'way' transcribed  $put'$ ;  $\mathfrak{z}$  discarded and so  $\check{e}$  in transcription,  $e$  being used for former  $e$  and  $\check{e}$ , and  $\bar{e}$  (for  $e$  pronounced as  $o$ ) not used.

Sanskrit.—Transcription as in Whitney's *Sanskrit Grammar*.

Swedish.—The reformed spelling is used (i.e.  $v$  instead of  $fv$ , etc.).

Turkish.—The new official orthography in the Latin alphabet is followed, with the new and annoying conflicts of values thus introduced. Thus  $c$  = NE  $j$ , where  $\check{j}$  is used in transcription of Persian, Turkish dialects, etc.;  $\varsigma$  = NE  $ch$  in *church*, in contrast to  $c$  used elsewhere.

#### FORM OF CITATION

In general, words are cited in the form customary in the grammars and dictionaries of the respective languages, except for Latin verbs (see below).

Thus nouns are given in the nominative singular and adjectives in the nominative singular masculine, except in Indo-Iranian, where they are given in the stem form but with an added hyphen to make this clear. Occasionally Sanskrit forms are quoted in the nominative singular, the absence of the hyphen showing this.

The Latin sources of Romance nouns and adjectives are likewise given in the nominative form, since the constant substitution of the accusative form would be a cumbersome and superfluous concession to strict accuracy.

Verbs are cited in the first person singular for Greek and Irish (OIr. sometimes in the third singular, but so marked); otherwise for the European languages in the infinitive (so even for Latin, to conform to the practice for the Romance languages; in Balto-Slavic first person singular present occasionally given also). For Indo-Iranian they are usually given in the root form, as is customary, the Sanskrit mostly as in Whitney's *Roots*, and the Iranian conforming, e.g. Av. *vid-*, like Skt. *vid-*, not *vaēd-* as in Bartholomae. Similarly in cases like *hr-*, preferred by most Sanskritists, vs. *har-* in BR, the former is generally adopted. But here the strong form is generally better for Iranian; and it is a harmless inconsistency to use it also for Indic in quoting Indo-Iranian roots, e.g. Skt., Av. *tar-*.

For Slavic verbs it seems futile to cite the forms of the different aspects. The shorter form is generally given.

In the lists the inclusion of certain words in parentheses indicates some reservation, such as obsolete, archaic, poetic, dialectal, in special sense, uncommon, or the like.



## CHAPTER 1

## THE PHYSICAL WORLD IN ITS LARGER ASPECTS

|                            |  |
|----------------------------|--|
| 1.1 WORLD                  | 1.53 MOON                                  |
| 1.21 EARTH, LAND           | 1.54 STAR                                  |
| 1.212 EARTH = GROUND, SOIL | 1.55 LIGHTNING                             |
| 1.213 DUST                 | 1.56 THUNDER                               |
| 1.214 MUD                  | 1.57 LIGHTNING (as Striking), THUNDER-BOLT |
| 1.215 SAND                 | 1.61 LIGHT (sb.)                           |
| 1.22 MOUNTAIN; HILL        | 1.62 DARKNESS                              |
| 1.23 PLAIN, FIELD          | 1.63 SHADE                                 |
| 1.24 VALLEY                | 1.71 AIR                                   |
| 1.25 ISLAND                | 1.72 WIND                                  |
| 1.26 MAINLAND              | 1.73 CLOUD                                 |
| 1.27 SHORE                 | 1.74 MIST (Fog, Haze)                      |
| 1.31 WATER                 | 1.75 RAIN (sb.)                            |
| 1.32 SEA                   | 1.76 SNOW (sb.)                            |
| 1.33 LAKE                  | 1.77 ICE                                   |
| 1.34 GULF, BAY             | 1.78 WEATHER                               |
| 1.35 WAVE                  | 1.81 FIRE                                  |
| 1.36 RIVER; STREAM; BROOK  | 1.82 FLAME (sb.)                           |
| 1.37 SPRING; WELL          | 1.83 SMOKE (sb.)                           |
| 1.41 WOODS, FOREST         | 1.84 ASHES                                 |
| 1.42 TREE                  | 1.85 BURN (vb.)                            |
| 1.43 WOOD                  | 1.86 LIGHT (vb.), KINDLE                   |
| 1.44 STONE; ROCK           | 1.87 MATCH (sb.)                           |
| 1.51 SKY, HEAVENS          |  |
| 1.52 SUN                   |  |

## 1.1 WORLD

|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| Grk. <i>kósmos</i> (oikouménē, b)              | Goth. <i>fairhvus</i> (midjun-gards, manasēps, b) | Lith. <i>pasaulis</i>  |
| NG <i>mundus</i>                               | ON <i>heimr</i> , <i>verld</i>                    | Let. <i>pasaule</i>  |
| Lat. <i>mondo</i>                              | Dan. <i>verden</i>                                | ChSl. <i>mirā</i> (svētā)  |
| Fr. <i>monde</i>                               | Sw. <i>värld</i>                                  | Boh. <i>svijet</i>   |
| Sp. <i>mundo</i>                               | OE <i>midangeard</i> , <i>weorold</i>             | Pol. <i>świat</i>  |
| Rum. <i>lume</i>                               | ME <i>world</i> , <i>world</i>                    | Russ. <i>mir</i> , <i>svet</i>                                       |
| Ir. <i>domun</i> (bith, b, c)                  | NE <i>world</i>                                   | Skt. <i>loka</i> , <i>jagat</i> , <i>bhū</i> , <i>bhuvana</i> , etc. |
| Nlr. <i>domhan</i> (saoghal, b, c, bith, b, c) | OHG <i>mittilgart</i> , <i>weralt</i>             | Av. <i>gaēpā</i> , <i>ašhu</i> , b, c)                               |
| W. <i>byd</i>                                  | MHG <i>werlt</i>                                  |  |
| Br. <i>bed</i>                                 | NHG <i>welt</i>                                   |  |

'World' is considered here primarily as the common comprehensive term for the physical world, so far as it lies within the knowledge of the unsophisticated

man, namely 'the heavens above and earth beneath'. But other applications are inextricably bound up with its history. From the manifold uses of the NE

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world (which fill some thirteen columns in the NED), we may note three main types as of especial importance in the discussion, namely:

- The physical world in the broadest sense, the universe<sup>1</sup>
- The known world ('the highest mountain in the world'), the earth with all that belongs to it, especially the inhabited earth, mankind ('the world knows')
- Life on earth, worldly life, this world, in contrast to the next

Most of the words listed above are used in all these senses. Where it is necessary to differentiate them for a given language or period, this will be indicated by a, b, c respectively. The etymology and in some cases the known history of these words show that the semantic development may have proceeded from any of these spheres of usage.

More specifically their semantic sources may be summarized as follows: orderly arrangement; open space; foundation; under the sun; mid-inclosure; abode, home; existence; life; light; age, generation; peace.

1. Grk. *kósmos* (etym. dub.; Walde-P. 1.403, Boisacq 500 f.) means properly 'order', 'orderly arrangement' as commonly in Homer (whence also *kosmós* used in Homer of marshaling troops, and from this again *κοσμήτωρ* *laōn* 'leader of the people'). A frequent secondary meaning is 'ornament, decoration, dress'.

In Crete *kósmos* designated an official ruling body (collective) and later a single official.

<sup>1</sup> To distinguish more specifically the broadest sense, the common words for 'world' have been partly replaced in technical language by other terms, as e.g. Lat. *universum*, Fr. *univers*, NHG *weltall*, Russ. *vselenajaja* (lit. 'allness'), Boh. *ves-mir*, Skr. *svemir* (both lit. 'all-world'). These will not be included in the discussion.

The early philosophers (Pythagoras first, according to the frequently repeated tradition) applied this term to the universe as an 'orderly arrangement' in contrast to primeval chaos. Either it was used of the universe as observed from the earth, the starry firmament, the heavens (e.g. *δὲ περὶ τὴν γῆν ὁλός κόσμος* Aristotle), and this was probably its earliest application, or it was used of the universe including the earth, the whole world, and this became its normal meaning.

But for the world of people, the inhabited earth, the classical phrase was *ἡ οἰκουμένη* (*γῆ*), 'the inhabited (earth)'. Not until Hellenistic times is *kósmos* used in this sense. In the NT it is common, beside occasional *οἰκουμένη*. Cf. Mt. 4.8 *πάσας τὰς βασιλείας τοῦ κόσμου* = Lk. 4.5 *... τῆς οἰκουμένης*. It is also used for this world, worldly life, for which, however, the more frequent expression is *αἰών*. So *kósmos* finally comes to cover all the main senses of 'world', noted above as a, b, c. So NG *kósmos*, with rich idiomatic use like that of NE *world* or Fr. *monde*.

Grk. *αἰών* 'lifetime, age' (:Lat. *aevum*, *aetās*, etc., 14.12) is used in the NT for 'worldly life, this world' in sense c, e.g. Mt. 13.22, Mk. 4.19 *ἡ μέριμνα* (*αἱ μέριμναι*) *τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου* 'the care(s) of this world'. Although this use itself was not extended to 'world' in other senses in Greek, it is important for the history of other words used to translate it.

2. Lat. *mundus* is the result of semantic borrowing, starting as a literary imitation of Grk. *kósmos*. It is the same word as *mundus* used of a woman's 'ornaments, dress', this being related to the adj. *mundus* 'clean, elegant' (15.87). This was a synonym of Grk. *kósmos* in one of its frequent uses (see above), one that was probably more familiar to the

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fore the world was'), and Aelfric gives it as the equivalent of Lat. *mundus*. OHG *mittilgart* and *weralt* are both freq. for *mundus* (e.g. Tat.; Ofr. only *worolt*).

ON *verld*, OE *weorold*, OHG *weralt*, etc. general Gmc. except Gothic, a cpd. of *wer* 'man' (2.21) and a noun form of adjs. for 'old' (14.15), hence 'age of man'. Thus it was equivalent to and followed Lat. *saeculum* in its ecclesiastical use (above, 2). For the early period this is the prevailing use, e.g. in the OE gospels, Mt. 12.32, 13.22 (Grk. *αἰών*, Vulgate *saeculum*). The further development was from this sense c to sense b and eventually to sense a, until the words in question became the common expressions for 'world' in all senses in all the Gmc. languages. NED s.v. *world*. Falk-Torp 1368.

5. Lith. *pasaulis*, Lett. *pasaule*, a cpd. of *pa*- 'under' and *saule* 'sun' (1.52), is 'world' in all senses. Lith. *pasaulis* is now preferred to the formerly current *svietas*, a Slavic loanword.

6. In Slavic there are two rival words for 'world', both still in common use in Russian, and both so used in dialects or older records of other Slavic languages. ChSl. *mirū* (also *vīsi mirū* with *vīsi* 'all'), the regular translation of Grk. *kósmos*, is the same word as *mirū* 'peace',

used in Christian terminology as a collective 'community of peace' (cf. Russ. *mir*, also 'village community'), hence 'world' first in sense b. Berneker 2.60 f.

ChSl. *svētū* 'light' (1.61) is used once in the gospels (Mt. 13.22) to translate Grk. *αἰών* (above, 2). The semantic development was from 'light' to the 'realm of light, life' (cf. the association between 'light' and 'life', e.g. Grk. *ὅστις φῶς ὁρᾷ* 'whoever sees the light' = 'lives'), hence 'world' in sense c, later 'world' in all senses, as in the present Slavic languages.

7. Skt. *loka*- 'open space, earth, world' : Lat. *lūcus* 'grove', Lith. *laukas* 'field', Skt. *loka*- 'shining', Grk. *λεωός* 'bright', etc. Walde-P. 2.408 ff.

Skt. *jagat*- 'that which moves, lives, all creation, world', fr. *gam*- 'go'.

Skt. *bhū*, *bhuvana*- 'existence, creation, earth, world', fr. *bhū*- 'be'.

Av. *gaēpā*- 'life, mankind, world', fr. the root of *gaya*- 'life', *jiua*-, Skt. *jīva*-, Lat. *vīvus*, etc. 'living' (4.74). Cf. Ir. *bith*, etc., above, 3.

Av. *ašhu*- 'life, mankind, world', fr. *ah*- 'be' : Skt. *as*-, etc., IE *\*es*-.

Neither of these two Av. words, of which *gaēpā*- has the wider scope (Barth. 477 ff.), is actually quotable for 'world' in sense a, but only in senses b or c.

## 1.21 EARTH, LAND

|                                     |                                  |   |
|-------------------------------------|----------------------------------|---|
| Grk. <i>γῆ</i> , <i>χθών</i>        | Goth. <i>airþa</i> , <i>land</i> | Lith. <i>žemė</i>                                 |
| NG <i>terra</i>                     | ON <i>jörð</i> , <i>land</i>     | Let. <i>zeme</i>                                  |
| Lat. <i>terra</i>                   | Dan. <i>jord</i> , <i>land</i>   | ChSl. <i>zemlja</i>                               |
| It. <i>terra</i>                    | Sw. <i>jord</i> , <i>land</i>    | Skr. <i>zem</i>                                   |
| Fr. <i>terre</i>                    | OE <i>eorþe</i> , <i>land</i>    | Boh. <i>země</i>                                  |
| Sp. <i>tierra</i>                   | ME <i>erthe</i> , <i>land</i>    | Pol. <i>ziemia</i> , <i>ląd</i>                   |
| Rum. <i>panint</i> , ( <i>ard</i> ) | NE <i>erthe</i> , <i>land</i>    | Russ. <i>zemlja</i>                               |
| Ir. <i>talán</i> , <i>tír</i>       | Du. <i>arde</i> , <i>land</i>    | Skt. <i>bhū</i> -, <i>bhūmi</i> -, <i>ksam-</i>   |
| Nlr. <i>talanh</i> , <i>tír</i>     | OHG <i>erde</i> , <i>land</i>    | <i>prthivī</i> -, <i>māhi</i> -, etc.             |
| W. <i>dacarr</i> , <i>tír</i>       | MHG <i>erde</i> , <i>land</i>    | <i>zam</i> -, <i>bāmi</i> -, OPers. <i>bāmi</i> - |
| Br. <i>douar</i>                    | NHG <i>erde</i> , <i>land</i>    |   |

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The various ideas expressed by NE *earth* and *land* are frequently covered by the same word, and where different words are employed their uses overlap. We may distinguish here:

- The whole earth, as distinguished from sun, moon, etc. Commonly expressed by the same words that are used in the following senses, and representing a relatively later conception. Special terms may be introduced to distinguish this sense, as (from the present state of knowledge) words meaning 'globe, sphere', or compounds like NHG *erd-kreis*, *erdreich*. But these do not displace the common words and are not considered further here.

Since the earth is felt as the known world, words for 'earth' in this sense and 'world' may overlap in use (*the highest mountain in the world* = *on earth*), and some of the words discussed under 'world' belong here not only in origin but also in actual use. So regularly ON *miðgarðr*, OS *middilgard*, and frequently OE *middangeard*, OHG *mittilgart*.

b. The solid surface of the earth, viewed either simply as a surface (one lies *on the earth* or more commonly *on the ground*), or as the source of vegetation, (good) *earth, land, soil, or ground*. For other words used in these senses, see 1.212.

c. The solid surface of the earth in contrast with that which is covered with water, now regularly *land*. This sense is in some languages commonly expressed more specifically as 'dry (land)', as Byz., NG *ἔρηβα*, Rum. *uscat* (fr. adj. *uscat* 'dry'), Lith. *sausžemis* (*sausas* 'dry' and *žemė*).

d. The earth as material in general. This may be expressed by the common words for 'earth' (cf. NE *earthenware*), but more often by special words for a

particular kind of earth, like NE *clay*, NHG *ton*, Fr. *argile*, etc. (9.73).

e. A definite portion of the earth's surface, from the land of an individual to a whole country (19.11).

The association between these various senses is such that any one of them may be the starting-point of an extension to some or all of the others.

Of the two Gmc. words represented by NE *earth* and *land*, the latter started with sense e, as indicated by the etymology and the use in Gothic, but was at an early period extended to sense c, eventually displacing *earth*, etc., which were once freely used in this sense. In English, on the other hand, *land* in a part of its earlier uses is mostly displaced by *country*.

1. IE *\*ghem*- and *\*ghsem*-, representing the most widespread cognate group, though the precise character of the IE variant form involves a difficult problem. Walde-P. 1.662 f. Ernout-M. 464. Walde-H. 1.664 f. The inclusion in this group of Hitt. *tekan*, Toch. A *tkam* 'earth', and the resulting assumption of IE *\*dheghom*-, *\*dghom*- (Kretschmer, Glotta 20.66 f.), is rejected by Benveniste, Mélanges Ginneken 193 ff. But some ultimate connection is probable.

Grk. *χθών* (mostly poet. and in sense b), beside *χμαί* 'on the ground', *χθοναλός*, *χαμηλός* 'on the ground, low lying'; Lat. *humus* (mostly in sense b) beside *humī* 'on the ground', *humilis* 'low'; Ir. *dū*, gen., acc. *don* 'place', early 'earth' (Pedersen 1.89, Vendryes, RC 40.437 ff.); Lith. *žemė*, Lett. *zeme*, OPruss. *semmin* (acc. sg.), ChSl. *zemlja*, etc., general Balto-Slavic for 'earth' and 'land'; Skt. *kṣam*- (gen. usually *jmas*), Vedic and in sense b, esp. 'earth' vs. 'sky'; Av. *zam*- (gen. *zemō* = Skt. *jmas*) 'earth' in both senses (Barth. 1662 ff.); Alb. *dhe* 'earth'.

While there is no clear root connection for this group, its primary sense seems to have been that of 'earth's surface, ground'.

2. Grk. *γῆ*, Hom. *γαῖα*, etym. unknown, perh. of pre-Greek origin. The poetical *αἶα* is also of dub. etym., but possibly 'the mother (earth)'. Brugmann, IF 15.93 ff.

3. Lat. *terra* (Osc. *teerām*, *terām* 'territory'), prob. fr. *\*tersā* : *torrēre* 'dry up, parch', Grk. *τέρσσαι* 'dry up', Skt. *trṣ-* 'be thirsty', Goth. *ga-pairsan* 'dry up, wither', NE *thirst*, etc., in which case its orig. meaning was 'dry land' vs. 'sea' as in the frequent *terrā marique*. Here belong also, though of somewhat different formation, Ir. *tír* ('land' mainly in sense e), W. *tír*, and the now obs. Br. *tír*. Walde-P. 1.737 ff. Ernout-M. 1034 f.

The descendants of Lat. *terra* remain the usual words in all the Romance languages except Rumanian, where *țara* is now mostly 'land' = 'country' (also 'country' vs. 'city'), otherwise displaced by the following.

Rum. *pămînt*, fr. Lat. *pavimentum* 'floor, pavement'. Used first of the 'ground' (sense b), it became the common word for 'earth, land' in most of the other senses. REW 6312.

4. Ir. *talam*, Nlr. *talamh*, Lat. *tellus* (mostly poet.) : Skt. *tala*- 'surface, bot-

tom, plain', ChSl. *tlo*, Scr. *tlo* 'ground', etc. Here also the starting-point sense sense b. Walde-P. 1.740. Pedersen 1.132.

W. *dacarr*, Br. *douar*, Corn. *doar*, etym.? Pedersen 1.66. Henry 104.

5. Goth. *airþa*, ON *jörð*, OE *eorþe*, OHG *erda*, etc., general Gmc. : Ir. *ert* 'land' occurring only in cpds., OHG *ero* 'earth', Grk. *ἐρᾶ* attested by *ἐρᾶς* *γῆς* Hesych. and *ἐρᾶς* 'to the ground'. Any further root connection is uncertain, so that the semantic starting-point remains obscure, though prob. b. Walde-P. 1.142. Feist 25 f.

Goth. *land*, etc., general Gmc. : Ir. *ith-land* 'threshing floor' (cpd. of *ith* 'grain'), W. *llan* 'inclosure, yard', etc. Its earliest use was sense e, and in Gothic it is only so used, namely for 'piece of land' or 'country', *airþa* being used in all other senses, including 'land' in contrast to sea. Walde-P. 2.438. Feist 321 f.

6. Balto-Slavic words, above, 1.

Pol. *łód* fr. NHG *land*.

7. Skt. *kṣam*- (Vedic), Av. *zam*-, above, 1.

Skt. *bhū*-, *bhūmi*-, OPers. *bāmi*-, Av. *bāmi*- (less common than *zam*-), fr. *bhū*- 'be', hence first used of the earth as the known world.

Other common Skt. words for 'earth' are *prthivī*- fem. of *prthu*- 'wide', *māhi*- fem. of *mah*- 'great', *kṣiti*- properly 'abode', *vasu-dhā*- lit. 'yielding good', etc.

## 1.212 EARTH = GROUND, SOIL

As already remarked, the words for 'earth', among their various applications, are used for the earth's solid surface ('falls to earth, the ground') or its soft surface for cultivation ('good earth, land, ground, soil'). They are, in fact, the usual expressions of these senses, so

that a list would be mainly a repetition of that in 1.21. But there are also other words, some less common, others (like NE *ground*, *soil*, NHG *boden*) now more common in these senses.

1. Grk. *οἶδός* (poet.) and *ἔδαφος* (also 'bottom, base'), prob. fr. the same root

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(also Hom. *οἶδός*, Att. *οἶδός* 'threshold'), perh. *\*wed*- in Arm. *getin* 'ground'. Walde-P. 1.254.

Grk. *πίον* : Umbr. *peñum*, *perso* 'sole', Skt. *padā*- 'step, foot', Lith. *padas* 'sole' and ultimately the words for 'foot', Skt. *pad*- Grk. *ποῖς*, *πόδος*, Lat. *pēs*, *pedis*, etc. Walde-P. 2.24.

Grk. *χώμα* 'earth heaped up, bank, mound' (: *χῶ* 'heap up', *μα* 'pour', etc., Walde-P. 1.563), in LXX once 'dust', in NG the usual word for 'ground, soil'.

2. Lat. *solus* 'bottom, base, sole (of the foot or shoe)', and esp. 'ground, soil' (> It. *suolo*, Fr. *sol*, etc.; ME *soyle*, NE *soil*, fr. Ofr. *soil*, this by confusion with *soil*, *souil* 'sill', fr. Lat. *solium* 'seat'), root connection doubtful.

Walde-P. 2.532. Ernout-M. 953. REW 8079. NED s.v. *soil*, sb.

3. OE *grund*, NE *ground*, OHG *grunt* (also esp. *erdgrunt* Ofr.), NHG *grund*

(less common in this sense than *boden* or NE *ground*), Dan., Sw. *grund*, etc., all orig. 'bottom' (12.34). NED s.v. These words, when applied to earth, denote mostly the solid surface rather than that for cultivation, but in NT Lk. 8.8, etc. (Goth. *ana airthai godai*, OE *on gōde eorþan*, Wycliff to good *erthe*), *on good ground* fr. Tyndale on, for which we should now say *soil*.

OE *molde* 'loose earth, soil' (NE *molde* = Goth. *mulda* 'dust', Skt. *mṛd*- 'earth, clay', fr. root *\*mel*- in Lat. *molere*, Goth. *malan*, etc. 'grind' (5.56). Walde-P. 2.288. Feist 366.

NHG *boden*, Du. *bodem*, etc. 'bottom' (12.34) and 'ground, soil'.

4. Boh. *páda* 'bottom, ground, soil' (Russ. *pod* 'bottom of a haycock, hearth') : Grk. *πίον* etc. (above, 1). Here also prob. Russ. *počva* (the reg. technical term for 'soil'), fr. *\*pod(ā)šva* beside *podošva* 'sole'?

|                                   |   |  |
|-----------------------------------|---|--|
| Grk. <i>κόπης</i>                 | 1.213 DUST                              | Lith. <i>dulkės</i> (pl.)                          |
| NG <i>σκῶν</i>                    | Goth. <i>mulda</i> , <i>stubjus</i>     | Let. <i>piši</i> (pl.), <i>putekti</i> (pl.)       |
| Lat. <i>pulvis</i>                | ON <i>dupt</i> , <i>dust</i>            | ChSl. <i>prach</i>                                 |
| Fr. <i>puissière</i>              | Dan. <i>støv</i>                        | Skr. <i>prah</i>                                   |
| Sp. <i>polvo</i>                  | Sw. <i>döst</i>                         | Boh. <i>prach</i>                                  |
| Rum. <i>praf</i> , <i>pulbere</i> | OE <i>stuf</i>                          | Pol. <i>proch</i>                                  |
| Nlr. <i>luaitbreadh</i>           | ME <i>dust</i>                          | Russ. <i>pyl</i>                                   |
| W. <i>luach</i> , <i>pylor</i>    | NE <i>dust</i>                          | Skt. <i>reṣu</i> -, <i>pāṇsu</i> -, <i>dhūli</i> - |
| Br. <i>poultr</i>                 | Du. <i>stuf</i>                         | Av. <i>paṣnu</i> -                                 |
|                                   | OHG <i>stuppe</i> , <i>stoub</i> (metm) |  |
|                                   | MHG <i>stoup</i>                        |  |
|                                   | NHG <i>staub</i>                        |  |

Many of the words for 'dust' are from a widespread root (*\*dheu*-), seen in words for 'agitate, shake', 'vapor, smoke', etc., or from others having the notion of 'stir', 'scatter', or 'blow'. All such were obviously applied first to the flying 'dust' in the air. Others are cognate with words for 'loose earth, soil', 'fine meal', 'ashes', with the common notion of 'small particles'. But it is only a secondary association of this kind that is shown in the Ir. derivative of the

word for 'ashes' used for 'dust' and in the use of OE *asce* 'ashes' for 'dust' in the Lindisf. gospels (Lk. 9.5, 10.11, etc. *asce* vs. *dust* in the WSax. versions), since these words for 'ashes' were not based in origin on the notion of small particles.

Words of this group either cover also 'powder', or, especially Lat. *pulvis*, are the source of those now used for 'powder' (so far as this notion, as for a prepared product—medicinal, toilet, etc.,

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is differentiated), e.g. Fr. *poudre* vs. *poissière*, NG *poðpa*, NE *powder*, Dan. *pudder*, Sw. *puder*, NHG *pulver*, *puder*, Boh. *puďr*, etc. Cf. also 'gunpowder' (20.29).

1. Grk. *κόπης* (also *κοι-οπρός* 'dust stirred up', but simply 'dust' in NT), NG pop. *σκόνη* (σ fr. forms of the article, *τῆς*, etc.; cf. Hatzidakis, Mea. 2.412) : Lat. *cinis* 'ashes', perh. fr. the root seen in Grk. *κνέω* 'scrape'. Walde-P. 1.392. Boisacq 490.

2. Lat. *pulvis*, *-eris* (> It. *polvere*, Ofr. *pouldre*, Fr. *poudre*, Rum. *pulbere*; Sp. *pólvera* now 'gunpowder'; VLat. *\*pulvus* > OSp. *polvos*, Sp. *polvo*, Cat. *pols*, Ofr.

| Grk. | πῦλος                     | Goth. | fani                 | Lith. | purvas           |
|------|---------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|------------------|
| NG   | λάσπη                     | ON    | leir                 | Lett. | dubl'i (pl.)     |
| Lat. | lutum, limus              | Dan.  | mudder, dynd (smuds) | ChSl. | brunije          |
| It.  | fango                     | Sw.   | gyltja, dy, mudder   | SCR.  | blato            |
| Fr.  | boue (fange)              |       | (smuts)              | Boh.  | blato            |
| Sp.  | lodo, fango, barro, cieno | OE    | fen                  | Pol.  | bloto            |
| Rum. | noroiu                    | ME    | mudde, fen           | Russ. | grjaz'           |
| Ir.  | lathach                   | NE    | mud                  | Skt.  | paika-, kardama- |
| Nlr. | lathach, draoib           | Du.   | modder, slijk        | Av.   | ....             |
| W.   | llaid, mud                | OHG   | leimo                |       |                  |
| Br.  | fank                      | MHG   | quat, kat            |       |                  |
|      |                           | NHG   | schlamm, kot, dreck  |       |                  |

Although 'mud' is wet earth, none of the common words for 'mud' are connected with those for 'earth'. Several come from the more generic 'dirt, filth', these in part originally 'excrement'. Some are used also for, or are cognate with, others for 'marsh, swamp'. Others are connected with words for 'liquid', 'pour, flow' (through 'flood, inundation') to the resulting 'mud', 'sink' (what one sinks into), etc. Some are perhaps based on certain color notions. A few are used for both 'mud' and 'clay'.

Where several words are entered for the same language, they may be in part somewhat differentiated in application ('deep mud, mire', 'mud' such as dredged from the bottom of a river, 'mud' in the roads, etc.) or in local preference (cf. NHG *kot, dreck*, etc.).

1. Grk. πῦλος, Dor. πῦλος most commonly potters' and masons' 'clay' (9.73), strictly moistened earth (γῆ ὑγρὰ φερεῖσα Plat. Tht. 147c), but also 'mud' (Hdt., Aristoph., etc., and so clearly in NT Jn. 9.6, though rendered as 'clay' in our versions since Wyclif), etym. dub.; perh. (if 'clay' is the earlier sense): Grk. πῦλος 'gray', Lat. *pallere* 'be pale', etc. Walde-P. 2.53 (1.441). Boisacq 779.

NG λάσπη, orig.? There is no tenable Grk. etymology, and no apparent source for it as a loanword. G. Meyer, Alb. Stud. 4.77 ('unbekannter Herkunft').

## 1.214 MUD

2. Lat. *lutum* ('mud', also sometimes 'clay'; > Sp. *lodo* 'mud', It. *loto*, Rum. *lut* 'clay'): Lat. *pol-luere* 'pollute', Grk. *λύω* 'defilement from blood, gore', *λύμα* 'dirt', Ir. *loth* 'dirt', etc., root connection dub. Walde-P. 2.406. Ernout-M. 570. Walde-H. 1.840. REW 5189.

Lat. *limus* (esp. 'river mud') prob.: OHG *leim*, OE *lām* 'clay', and fr. the root seen in Grk. *λίμω*, Lat. *linere* 'smear'; perh. also (with init. *sl-* beside *l-*) OE *slim* 'soft mud, slime', etc. Walde-P. 2.389 f. Ernout-M. 552. Walde-H. 1.804 f.

It., Sp. *fango*, OFr. *fanc* (> Br. *fank*), Fr. *fange*, loanword fr. a Gmc. deriv. of the word seen in Goth. *fani*, OE *fen* 'mud' (below 4). REW 3184a. Wartburg 3.410 ff. Gamillscheg 405.

Fr. *boue*, loanword fr. a Celtic form like W. *baw* 'dirt, filth'. REW 1000. Wartburg 1.302. Gamillscheg 126.

Sp. *barro* 'clay' (9.73), used also for 'mud'.

Sp. *cieno*, fr. Lat. *caenum* 'dirt, filth'. REW 1498.

Rum. *noroiu*, loanword fr. Slavic, cf. late ChSl. *noroji* 'onrushing', deriv. of *ri-* in *rijati* 'push, press', *rěka* 'river', etc. Development fr. the 'onrushing stream' to the 'mud' carried along with it. Tiktin 1062.

3. Ir. *lathach*, Nlr. *lathach*, W. *llaid*, beside Corn. *lud* 'liquid', Ir. *lath* 'beer':

Grk. *λάραγες* 'drops of wine in the bottom of the cup', Lat. *lazez* 'liquid', OHG *letto* 'clay' (NHG *letten*), etc. Walde-P. 2.381. Walde-H. 1.770.

Nlr. *draoib*, apparently: *drab* 'stain, spot of mud' (fr. NE *drab* or conversely? NED s.v. *drab*, sb.).

W. *mud*, fr. NE *mud*.  
Br. *fank*, fr. OFr. *fanc* (above, 2).

4. Goth. *fani* (renders πῦλος Jn. 9.6), OE, ME *fen* ('marsh' and 'mud', latter in Gospels Jn. 9.6, as gloss to Lat. *limus*, *lutum*, etc.; cf. NED s.v. 2) = ON *fen*, OHG *fenni*, etc. 'bog, marsh, swamp': OPruss. *pannean* 'swamp-land', Skt. *paika* 'mud', etc. Walde-P. 2.5. Feist 142.

ON *leir* 'clay' (9.73) also sometimes 'mud' (esp. of riverbank or seashore). So OHG *leimo* (Tat. 132.4 = *lutum* Jn. 9.6), beside *leim* 'clay'.

Dan. *dynd*, Sw. *dy* (ON *dý* 'bog', rare), fr. Gmc. \**duŋja*, fr. the root seen in ME *damp*, OHG-NHG *dampf* 'vapor, steam', with development through notion of 'wetness' (cf. the current use of NE *damp* as adj.). Walde-P. 1.851. Falk-Torp 170. Hellquist 165.

Sw. *gyltja* (esp. 'deep mud, mire'), fr. the root of *gjuta*, Dan. *gyde*, Goth. *giutan*, etc. 'pour', like OE *gylt* 'pouring, flood'. Hellquist 315.

Dan. *sgle* (more common in Norw.): OE, OHG *sol* 'mud puddle', Goth. *bi-sauljan*, OE *sylvian* 'defile'. Falk-Torp 1233 f.

ME *mudde*, NE *mud*, MLG *mudde*, MLG, Du. *modder* (MLG > Dan., Sw. *mudder*), fr. a root \**meu-*, \**mu-* and extensions, seen in many words with a common notion of 'wet' or 'dirty', as Grk. *μύσος* 'damp', *μυῖα* 'be damp', *μύσος* ('μυῖσος) 'defilement', Pol. *mud* 'slime', Skt. *mūtra* 'urine', Av. *mūtra* 'excrement, filth', etc. Here also, fr. a parallel \**smu-*, NHG *schmutz* (> Dan.

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smills, fr. \**smel-* beside \**mel-* in Lith. *malis*, Goth. *malan*, etc. 'grind'. Walde-P. 2.286.

6. ChSl. *pēsūkū*, etc., general Slavic: Skt. *pāṇsu-*, *pāṇsuka-*, 'dust' (1.213).

7. Skt. *valukā* (mostly in pl.), prob. tr. *val-* 'turn' (Lat. *volvere* 'turn

around', etc.), with reference to the whirling sand. Uhlenbeck 283.

Skt. *sikātā* (mostly in pl.), prob. fr. *sic-* 'pour out', or perh. more nearly (but not necessarily): Av. *hačāya-* 'make dry', *hačāh-* 'dryness, drought'. Walde-P. 2.467.

## 1.22 MOUNTAIN; HILL

| MOUNTAIN, HILL |                                 |       |                          |       |  |
|----------------|---------------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|--|
| Grk.           | ὄρος; λόφος, κολλωνός, βουνός   | Goth. | fairguni; hlains         | Lith. | kaltas; kalmelis                       |
| NG             | βουνός; βουνίκα                 | ON    | fjall                    | Lett. | kainis; pakalne                        |
| Lat.           | mons; collis, cilius            | Dan.  | bjerg, fjeld; bakke      | ChSl. | gora; chliumū                          |
| It.            | montagna, monte; collina, colle | Sw.   | berg (fjäll); backe      | SCR.  | gora; brijeg, brežuljak (rum)          |
| Fr.            | montagne, mont; colline         | OE    | beorg, dūn, munt; hyll   | Boh.  | hora (vrch); pahorek, kopce (chlum)    |
| Sp.            | montaña; colina, cerro          | NE    | mountain, mountain; hill | Pol.  | góra; pahorek, wzgórek                 |
| Rum.           | munte; deal, colina             | Du.   | berg; heuwel             | Russ. | gora; chłom                            |
| Ir.            | sluab; telach, enoc, brī        | OHG   | berg; buhel, hüel        | Skt.  | giri-, parvata-, acala-, etc.          |
| Nlr.           | sluab; enoc (tulach)            | MHG   | berg; hübel, hübel       | Av.   | gairi-, pauratā, barazah-, OPer. kaufā |
| W.             | mynydd; bryn (bre)              |       | houc                     |       |  |
| Br.            | menez; krec'h, bre              | NHG   | berg; hügel              |       |  |

Words for 'mountain' and 'hill' are taken together because of their frequent relations and the fluctuating discriminations. The application of NE *hill* may range from a height of several thousand feet (cf. NED) to a hill of beans, or in some regions a height of only a few hundred feet may be called a *mountain*. The same word may vary in its application as between languages or even in different periods of the same language. Thus Lat. *collis* 'hill', but Lith. *kainas* 'mountain', dim. *kalmelis* 'hill'; Grk. *βουνός* 'hill', but NG *βουνό* 'mountain', dim. *βουνάκι* 'hill'. Some languages have a great variety of terms for 'hill', from which it is difficult to choose the most important.

The most frequent source, as to be expected, lies in the notion of 'high, rising, projecting', or 'incline, slope' viewed as rising. Other underlying meanings are 'hump, heap, swelling', 'back of the neck, crest', 'knot' (through 'knotty,

rugged'), 'heavy, solid, immovable', even 'plain' (through 'high plateau').

The association between a (bare, rugged) 'mountain' and 'rock, stone' (1.44) in which now one, the other, meaning is the earlier. Again, association between the (wooded) 'mountain' and 'woods, forest' (1.41) shows itself in a similar relationship, a word for 'mountain' coming to mean 'woods' or sometimes conversely.

1. Grk. *ὄρος*, Ion. *οὔρος*, Dor. *ὄρος*, fr. \**ὄρος* (?): Skt. *r̥sa-* 'high', fr. IE \**er-* 'move, raise, rise', seen in Skt. *r̥s*, Grk. *ὄρνυμι*, Lat. *ortiri*, etc. Walde-P. 1.137.

Grk. *κολλωνός*: Lat. *collis* (fr. \**colnis*), Lith. *kainas* 'mountain', *kalmelis* 'hill', Lett. *kainas* 'mountain', *pakalne* 'hill', OE *hyll*, ME, NE *hill*. Here also OS, LG *holm* 'hill' (ON *holmr* 'islet in the bay, etc.', OE *holm* 'sea', NE *holm*).

All fr. IE \**kel-* in Lith. *kelti* 'raise', Lat. *cellere* 'rise', *celsum* 'high', etc. Walde-P. 1.434. Ernout-M. 204. Walde-H. 1.197, 245.

Grk. *ἀόρος* 'nape of the neck, crest' and 'ridge, hill', etym.? Walde-P. 1.93. Boisacq 588 f. For 'hill' from 'neck, crest', cf. also Sp. *cerro*, Ir. *cnoc*, below.

Grk. *βουνός* 'hill', quoted as Cyrenaic (Hdt. 4.199) and Syracusan (Phryn. 333), but prob. a widespread colloq. (Polyb., LXX, NT, etc.). Hence NG *βουνό* 'mountain', dim. *βουνάκι* 'hill'.

Prob. to be analyzed as *βου-νός*: *βου-νός* 'groin', fr. the notion of 'swelling'. Walde 2.114. Boisacq 128 f.

2. Lat. *mōns, montis* (> It. *monte*, etc.), W. *mynydd*, Corn. *meneth*, Br. *menez* 'mountain', Av. *mati-* 'mountain' (fr. the root seen in Lat. *prō-minere* 'stand out, project' (cf. NE *eminence*, *prominence* in physical sense), *minae* 'projecting points, threats'. Walde-P. 2.263. Ernout-M. 628 f.

Lat. adj. *montānus*, VLat. \**montāneus* (cf. *subterrāneus*, etc.), neut. pl. \**montānea* 'mountainous regions, mountain chain', whence It. *montagna*, OFr. *montai(g)ne* (> ME *mountain*), Fr. *montagne*, Sp. *montaña*, which have encroached on the shorter form or even displaced it. Sp. *monte* now 'woods'. REW 5664, 5666.

Lat. *collis*: Grk. *κολλωνός*, etc., above, 2. Hence It. *colle*, collina, Fr. *colline*, Sp. *colina*, *collado*, Rum. *colina* (neolog.).

Lat. *cilius* 'slope, hill': Goth. *hlains* 'hill', Grk. *κλίς* 'slope, hillside', fr. IE \**klei-* 'bend, incline', in Lat. *clināre*, Grk. *κλίω*, Skt. *gri-*, NE *lean*, etc. Walde-P. 1.490 ff. Ernout-M. 197 f. Walde-H. 1.236.

Sp. *cerro* 'hill', also 'back of the neck, spine', fr. Lat. *cirrus* 'tuft of feathers, crest (of birds)'. REW 1949. Other Sp. words for 'hill' are *otero* fr. Lat.

*altarium* 'high altar', *poyo* (cf. It. *poggio* 'hill', Fr. *pui* in place names) fr. Lat. *podium* 'balcony'. Cf. Menéndez-Pidal, Orig. del español 425 ff.

Rum. *dăl* 'hill', loanword fr. Bulg., SCR-ChSl. *děla* 'part', through 'boundary'. Tiktin 515. Berneker 195.

3. Ir. *siab*, Nlr. *sluab* 'mountain': W. *llyfr* 'heel of a drag', OHG *slifan* 'slip, glide', etc. (\**slub-* beside \**slidh-* and \**slub-*, Walde-P. 2.391, 707, 710), the development being through 'slope' (cf. NE *slope* fr. pple. of OE *slāpan* 'slip'), hence 'hill' (cf. Lat. *cilius*, Goth. *hlains*, above), 'mountain'. Thurneysen, Gram. 117. Stokes 319. Pedersen 1.84.

W. *mynydd*, Br. *menez* 'mountain': Lat. *mōns*, etc., above, 2.

Ir. *telach*, *tulach* 'hill' (also Nlr. in phrases): Grk. *τῶν* 'swelling', Lat. *tumulus* 'mound', etc. Walde-P. 1.710.

Ir. *cnoc* 'hill', Br. *krec'h*, OBr. *knoc* (W. *cnoc* 'boss, knuckle'): ON *hnakki* 'nape of the neck', NE *neck*, etc. Walde-P. 1.390 ff. Pedersen 1.160.

Ir. *brī*, W., Br., Corn. *bre* 'hill': OE *beorg*, etc. below, 4.

W. *bryn* 'hill': Ir. *bruinne*, W. *bronn* 'breast', Ir. *brū*, W. *bru* 'belly, womb', NE *brast*, etc. Walde-P. 2.197. Pedersen 1.86, 376.

4. Goth. *fairguni* 'mountain': OE *firgen* in epds., as *firgen-gāt* 'mountain goat', and prob. a loanword fr. Celtic \**perkunia*, represented by *Ihercynia silva* (with regular Celtic loss of initial p), this further connected with Lat. *quercus* 'oak'. Relation between 'woods' and 'wooded' mountain', as elsewhere. Walde-P. 2.48. Feist 137 ff.

Goth. *hlains* 'hill': Lat. *cilius*, etc., above, 2.

ON *fjall* (-fell), Dan. *fjeld* 'mountain', Sw. *fjäll* 'high mountain' (ME, NE *fell* fr. ON): OHG *fels*, NHG *fels* 'rock', Skt. *pāṣāṇa-* 'stone', etc. (1.44). Al-

Av. *barzah-*: OE *beorg*, etc., above, 4. OPer. *kaufā*: Du. *heuwel*, etc., above, 4.

Skt. *parvata-* 'mountain, mountain range, rock', Av. *pauratā-* 'mountain range', fr. adj. Skt. *parvata-* 'knotty, rugged', fr. *parvan-* 'knot'.

Boh. *kopec* 'hill', fr. *kopa* 'heap'. Berneker 562.

7. Skt. *giri-*, Av. *gairi-*: ChSl. *gora*, etc., above, 5.

Grk. *πέδιον*, NG *πέδιον*, *πέδιον*, *κάμπος* ON *slitta* Dan. *slitte*, mark

Lat. *plānum, campus* Sw. *slätt*, mark

Fr. *plaine, champ* OE *emmet*, feld

Rum. *plănușă, câmp* ME *plaine*, feld

Ir. *mag, rōi* NE *plain*, field

Nlr. *magh* Du. *vlakte*, veld

W. *gwastad*, maes OHG *ebanōti*, feld

Br. *maez* MHG *ebene*, felt

NG *ebene*, flache, feld

specific starting-point of its wide use. Cf. Lith. *lanka* 'valley' fr. *lenkti* 'bend' (1.24). Walde-P. 1.350. Walde-H. 1.148 f. Ernout-M. 140 (without etym.).

3. Gall. *-magus* in *Arganto-magus*, etc., Ir. *magh*, Nlr. *magh*, W. *maes*, Br. *maez*, prob. as orig. 'expanse': Lat. *magnus*, Skt. *mah-*, etc. 'large, great' (12.55), Skt. *mahi-* 'earthy'. Pedersen 1.96. Stokes 198 f. Walde-P. 2.258 (adversely).

1. Grk. *πέδιον*, NG pop. *πέδιον* (fr. class. *πέδιον*, -άδος, adj.), fr. *πέδιον* 'ground' (1.212).

Byz., NG *κάμπος*, fr. Lat. *campus*.

2. Lat. *plānum* (much less common than *campus*; > Fr. *plaine* > ME *plaine*, NE *plain*), fr. *plānus* 'even, level, flat' (12.71), whence also, with suffix, It. *planura*, Sp. *llanura*.

Lat. *campus* (> Romance words), prob.: Grk. *κάμπω* 'bend' (9.14) and first used of a hollow between hills like the Campus Martius, which may be the

though the root connection is uncertain, the sense 'rock, stone' is more widely distributed and prob. earlier. Walde-P. 2.66 f. Falk-Torp 223.

Dan. *bjerg*, Sw. *berg*, OE *beorg* ('mountain, hill' and 'burial mound', in former sense replaced by the Fr. forms, in the latter sense NE *barrow*), OHG, NHG *berg*, etc., the most widespread Gmc. word for 'mountain' (but ON *bjarg* 'rock, precipice'; in Goth. only *baigra-hei* = *δρυή* 'hill country': Skt. *bṛhant-* 'high, great', Av. *barzant-* 'high', *barzah-* 'height, mountain', Arm. *berj* 'height', Ir. *brī*, acc. *brig*, W., Br. *bre* 'hill'. Walde-P. 2.172 ff. Falk-Torp 77.

OE *dūn* 'mountain, hill' (NE *dūn*), ODu. *dūna* (> Du. *duin* 'sandhill', Fr. *NE dune*), formerly believed to be a loanword fr. Celtic (Ir. *dūn* 'fortified place'), but this is now generally doubt-

ed; perh. fr. the root seen in Skt. *dū-* 'shake', etc., with development similar to that in Grk. *θῆς*, *θῆος* 'sandbank' (\**θ-ū-*). Walde-P. 1.837. Falk-Torp 171. Franck-v. W. 141. NED s.v. *dūn*, sb.

OE *munt* fr. Lat. *mōns, montis*; ME *mount*, *mountain* fr. OFr. *mont*, *montai(g)ne* (above, 2).

OE *hyll*, ME, NE *hill*: Grk. *κολλωνός*, Lat. *collis*, etc. (above, 1).

Dan. *bakke*, Sw. *bakke* 'hill': ON *bakki* 'bank', NE *bank*, etc. (1.33). Walde-P. 2.148.

Du. *heuwel*, MHG *hübel* 'hill': OHG *hovar*, OE *hofer* 'hump', Lith. *kupra* 'hump'. Here also Av. *kaofa-* 'mountain peak, camel's hump', OPer. *kaufa* 'mountain' (NPers. *kūh* 'NE heap': Lith. *kaupas*, ChSl. *kupā*, NE *heap*, NHG *haufe* 'heap', Grk. *κῆφος* 'bent', all fr. IE \**keup-*, \**keub-*, \**keubh-* in words for 'bend, curve'. Walde-P. 1.372 ff.

OHG, MHG *houc* (gen. *houges*) 'hill': ON *haugr* 'mound', fr. the adj. seen in Goth. *hauhs*, OHG *hōh*, etc. 'high'

(12.31), ultimately connected with the preceding group \**keubh-*, etc., above. Walde-P. 1.371. Hence also NHG *hügel* 'hill', by blend with MHG *hübel*. In the same group Dan. *høj* 'hill': *høj* 'high', like NHG *höhe*, NE *height* fr. the respective adj. forms.

OHG *buhil*, MHG *bübel* 'hill': ON *bōla* 'blister, boss', prob. fr. an extension of IE \**bhu-* beside \**bu-* in words for 'swell' (cf. Grk. *βουός*, above, 1). Walde-P. 2.114, 146.

5. Lith. *kainas*, etc.: Lat. *collis*, etc., above, 1.

6. ChSl. *gora*, etc., general Slavic for 'mountain' (in some regions 'forest', as always Lith. *gire*, 1.41): Skt. *giri-*, Av. *gairi-* 'mountain', and prob. Alb. *gur* 'stone'. Walde-P. 1.682. Berneker 329. Further connection with Skt. *guru-*, Grk. *βαρύς* 'heavy', through the notion of 'heavy, solid mass' (Thumb, IF 9.299) is plausible. Cf. Skt. *acala-* 'mountain' fr. adj. *acala-* 'immovable'.

ChSl. *chlūmā*, SCR. *hum*, Boh. *chlum*, Russ. *cholm*, the most widespread Slavic word for 'hill', is prob. a Gmc. loanword (LG *holm* 'hill', etc., above, 2). So Berneker 410 f., Stender-Petersen 263 ff.; otherwise Brückner, KZ 48.194.

The usual Boh. and Pol. words for 'hill' are dims. of *gora*, as Boh. *pahorek*, Pol. *pagórek*, *wzgórek*





| 1.32 SEA |                                 |       |                        |
|----------|---------------------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk.     | θάλασσα (álla, πόντος, πέλαγος) | Goth. | marei                  |
| NG       | θάλασσα, πέλαγος                | ON    | haf, <i>see</i> (marr) |
| Lat.     | mare (aequor, etc.)             | Dan.  | hav (sø)               |
| It.      | mare                            | Sw.   | hav (sjö)              |
| Fr.      | mer                             | OE    | sæ (mere, haf)         |
| Sp.      | mar                             | ME    | see                    |
| Rum.     | mare                            | NE    | sea                    |
| Ir.      | muir, fairrge, ler              | Du.   | zee                    |
| Nr.      | fairrge, muir, lear             | OHG   | mári, sio              |
| W.       | mor                             | MHG   | mer, sē                |
| Br.      | mor                             | NHG   | meer, see (fem.)       |

'Sea' is understood here as covering the most general terms applied to large bodies of water and used in such a phrase as 'by land and sea'. But between 'sea' and 'lake' there is no rigid demarcation (either by size, or as salt vs. fresh water), and the same word or related group may serve for either or both, or shift its prevailing application with changed physical conditions. This is notably the case in the Gmc. languages, with the divergent distribution of the groups represented by NE *sea* and NHG *meer*.

Special words for 'ocean' are mostly derived from Grk. *ωκεανός* and are not considered here.

The words for 'sea' reflect such notions as 'deep', 'level', 'way', 'glistening' (?), 'salt', or simply 'water'.

1. IE \**marī* (or \**morī*). Walde-P. 2.234. Ernout-M. 592. Walde-H. 2.39 f. Root connection uncertain, but that with Grk. *μαρμαίρω* 'glisten' the most likely. The wide distribution shows the existence of the word in the IE period, but cannot in itself determine whether what was denoted by it in that period was an ocean, or an inland sea like the Euxine or the Caspian, or even a fresh-water lake.

Lat. *mare* (> Romance words); Ir. *muir*, W., Br. *mor*; Goth. *marei*, ON *marr* (poet.), OHG *mari*, MHG *mer*, NHG *meer* (OE *mere* rarely 'sea', surviving in NE *mer-maid*, but mostly

'lake', as also Du. *meer*); Lith. *marės* (now mostly in names of special seas, as the Black Sea, etc.; NSB s.v.), ChSl. *morje*, etc., general Slavic.

2. Grk. *θάλασσα*, the main word at all periods, fr. \**thalā-sa* (cf. *thalā-gēchan* *θάλασσαν* Hesych., presumably a Maced. form) or the like: *thalāssos* 'inner room', *thalōs* 'vaulted room', ChSl. *dolū* 'pit', Goth. *dals* 'valley', etc. Transition from 'hollow, deep', to 'sea'. Cf. Lk. 5.4 *eis tō bathos*, OE *on dypan* 'into the deep', NE *cross the deep*, and the gloss *δύβρις* *θάλασσα* (prob. Illyr.), with Alb. *det* 'sea': Goth. *diups*, etc. 'deep' (Kretschmer, Glotta 22.16). There is no need to assume, as is generally done, that *thalāssa* is of pre-Greek origin. Buck, Class. Studies Presented to E. Capps 42 ff.

Grk. *πόντος*, poet. or of a special sea (*πόντος* *Εἰζώνιος*, *Πόντος*): Skt. *pañth-*, nom. *pañthās* 'r ad, way', etc. (10.71). Specialization of 'way' to 'seaway', like *κέλευθος* 'way' in Hom. *ἰγρὰ κέλευθα, ἰχθυόεντα κέλευθα*, etc. Walde-P. 2.26.

Other poetical expressions are *ἄλς* 'salt' used for 'sea'; *πέλαγος*: Lat. *plānus* 'level, flat', etc. (12.71) for the (flat surface of the) open sea.

3. Lat. (beside usual *mare*) poet. *aequor*: *aequus* 'level, flat', and *pontus*, *pelagus*, loanwords fr. Greek.

4. Ir. *fairrce*, *fairrge* 'ocean, sea' (rare), Nlr. *fairrge* (Gael. *fairge* 'sea', esp. 'stormy sea, surge', Manx *faarkey*),

now the common generic word (*muir* prevailing in the name of special seas, as the Irish Sea, etc.) etym. disputed the old comparison with Ir. *ferg* 'anger' and the *ωκεανός* *Οὐεργιοῖος* of Ptolemy is phonetically difficult. Stokes 273. Berz. Eriu 3.86. Pedersen 2.669 f. Walde-P. 1.289. Perh. best taken as fr. \**foirsage*: *fairsung* 'wide' (12.61). So Thurneysen, Z. celt. Ph. 11.312, Gram. 95.

Ir. *ler* (gen. *lir*), Nlr. *lear* also 'flood, surge (of the sea)', W. *llyr* 'flood, sea' (arch.), beside *lliant* 'flood, stream', fr. the root in ChSl. *lĭjati* 'pour', etc. (9.35). Loth. RC 50.70 ff.

5. The Gmc. group, Goth. *saiuis* 'lake', ON *sar* (*sjār*, *sjōr*) 'sea' (Dan. *sø*, Sw. *sjö*, usually 'lake', but also 'sea' in phrases), OE *sæ*, ME *see*, NE *sea*, Du. *zee* 'sea'. OHG *sēo*, MHG *sē* 'sea' or 'lake', NHG *see* fem. 'sea', masc. 'lake', all fr. a Gmc. \**saiui-*, outside connections wholly doubtful. Walde-P. 2.464. Feist 406 f. Falk-Torp 1232.

ON *haf*, Sw., Dan. *hav*, OE *haf* (poet. and rare), MLG *haf* (> NHG *hauff* in specialized application), is the same word as ON *haf* 'lifting': Goth. *hafjan*, ON *hefja* 'lift', NE *heave*, etc. Walde-P. 1.343. Falk-Torp 385. Development

through the notion of the convex surface of the high sea, or, more likely, that of the lifting, surging, of the waves.

6. Lith. *jūra* or pl. *jūrės*, Lett. *jūra*, OPruss. *jūrin* (acc. sg.): Skt. *vār-*, *vāri-* 'water', Av. *vār-* 'rain', *vairi-* 'lake', ON *ver* 'sea' (poet.), OE *wær* 'sea' (rare), ON *ār* 'fine rain', etc. (1.31). Walde-P. 1.268.

7. Skt. *sāgara-*, with secondary vrddhi fr. *sa-gara-*, with cop. *sa-* and *gara-* 'drink, swallowing', fr. *gr-* 'swallow'. Conception of the sea as swallowing rivers. Walde-P. 1.682.

Skt. *sam-udra-* and *uda-dhi*: *udan-* 'water'.

Skt. *arṇava-* (freq. late term for 'sea', cf. BR s.v.), sb. of *arṇava-* 'flowing, rising', fr. *arṇas-* 'wave, flood, stream', this fr. *r-* 'move'. Uhlenbeck 13.

Av. *zrayah-*, OPers. *drayah-* (NPers. *daryā* 'sea' or 'large river'): Skt. (Vedic) *ṛjaya-* 'flat surface' (so BR), in which case one would compare the Iranian use with that of Grk. *πέλαγος*, Lat. *aequor* (above), but according to Geldner, Ved. Stud. 2.248 ff., onset, onrush, course', fr. *jri-* 'rush upon'. Walde-P. 1.660.

## 1.33 LAKE

|      |                     |       |                     |       |                |
|------|---------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | λίμνη               | Goth. | saiuis, mari-saiuis | Lith. | ežeras         |
| NG   | λίμνη               | ON    | vain                | Lett. | ežers          |
| Lat. | lacus               | Dan.  | sø, indse           | ChSl. | jezero         |
| It.  | lago                | Sw.   | sjö, insjö          | Scr.  | jezero         |
| Fr.  | lac                 | OE    | mere, sæ            | Boh.  | jezero         |
| Sp.  | lago                | ME    | lac                 | Pol.  | jezero         |
| Rum. | lac                 | NE    | lake                | Russ. | ozero          |
| Ir.  | loch (lind)         | Du.   | meer                | Skt.  | saras-, hrada- |
| Nlr. | loch (linn)         | OHG   | sēo, vāc            | Av.   | vairi-         |
| W.   | llyn                | MHG   | sē                  |       |                |
| Br.  | lenn, loc'h, lagenn | NHG   | see (masc.)         |       |                |

The distinction between the (more enclosed) *gulf* and the (more open) *bay* is a secondary one, which must be ignored here.

The commonest source is that of 'curved shape'. Others are 'harbor', 'branch', 'inlet', or 'inflow' (of the sea).

1. Grk. *κόλπος* 'bosom', 'fold of a garment', and 'gulf, bay': ON *hvalf*, OE *hwealf* 'vault', NHG *wölben* 'form an arch', etc. Walde-P. 1.474.

Hence, with peculiar change in form, the international word, NE *gulf*, etc., the history of which is as follows (cf. Kretschmer, Byz. Z. 10.581 ff.). Late Lat. *colphus* with spelling *ph*, then pronounced and spelled *colfus* (cf. *τόρφασιον* > Lat. *trophaeum*, late *trophaeum* > Fr. *trophée*, NE *trophy*). This *colfus* > late Grk. *κόλφος*, whence NG pop. *κόρφος* (with *ρ* as in *ῥηρα* = *ῥηρα*; but this form now usual only for 'bosom', not for 'gulf', which is *κόλπος*); also (with *g* for *c* as in late *gummi* for *cummi* = Grk. *κόμμη* 'gum') It. *golfo* (> Fr. *golfe* > ME *goulf*, NE *golf*, NHG *golf*, Rum. *golf*, etc.), Sp. *golfo*.

2. Lat. *sinus* 'curve, fold, bosom' and 'gulf, bay', etym.? Ernout-M. 946.

Hence It., Sp. *seno*, generally 'bosom', etc. (as Fr. *sein*), but also used for a (small) 'gulf, bay', though mostly replaced by *golfo*, etc. (above 1). MLat. *baia*, Sp. *bahia*, It. *baia*, Fr. *baie* (> ME *baye*, NE *bay*, Du. *baai*, NHG *bai*), orig. dub., perh. loanword fr. some Mediterranean (Iberian?) source. Walde-H. 1.93. REW 882. Wartburg 1.205.

3. Ir. *cūan*, Nlr. *cuan* 'harbor' and 'bay' (in Gael. 'ocean'): ON *höfn*, 'har-

bor', NE *haven*, etc., ON *haf* 'sea', etc. (1.32). Walde-P. 1.342 ff.

W. *morgaine*, cpd. of *mor* 'sea' and *caine* 'branch'.

Br. *plegmor*, cpd. of *plek* 'fold' and *mor* 'sea'.

4. ON *fjörðr* (whence NE *firth*, *frith*), Dan. *fjord*, Sw. *fjärd*, used of the long, narrow arms of the sea characteristic of the Scandinavian coast: OE *ford* 'ford', Lat. *portus* 'harbor', etc. Walde-P. 2.40. Falk-Torp 226.

ON *vík*, Dan. *vig* 'small inlet', but Sw. *vik* also of a large 'bay': ON *víkja*, OE *wican*, NHG *weichen* 'fall back, recede', fr. the notion of 'recession, bend'. Falk-Torp 1376.

Dan. *bugt*, Sw. *bukt* (also 'bend') fr. LG *bucht* (whence also Du. *bocht*, ME *boght*, NHG *bucht*): OE *byht* 'bend', NE *bight*, all fr. the root of Goth. *biugan* 'bend', etc. Falk-Torp 114. Only the Dan., Sw. word is common for 'bay', the others being used in narrower sense, like NE *bight* (cf. *bight* of a bay).

OHG *ocrinch* lit. 'eye-ring' once glosses Lat. *sinus*. Other OHG or MHG words?

NHG *meerbusen*, in 16th cent. also *meerschoss*, both lit. 'sea-bosom'. Cf. Grk. *κόλπος* and Lat. *sinus*.

5. Lith. *įlanka* (NSB s.v.): lenkti 'bend'.

Lett. *jūras līcis*, lit. 'curve of the sea' fr. *līcis* 'curve': likti, Lith. *linkti* 'bend'.

6. Scr., Boh., Russ. *zaliv*: *za-liti*, *za-livati* 'overflow', ChSl. *liti* 'pour'.

Boh., Pol. *zátoka*: *za-teci*, *za-ciec* 'flow in', ChSl. *tešti*, *teką* 'flow'. Hence an 'in-flow' (of the sea).

| 1.35 WAVE |                         |       |                     |
|-----------|-------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk.      | κύμα                    | Goth. | wīgos (pl.)         |
| NG        | κύμα                    | ON    | bára, alda, bylgja, |
| Lat.      | unda, fluctus           | Dan.  | bølge (vove)        |
| It.       | onda                    | Sw.   | våg, bölja          |
| Fr.       | vague (flat, onde)      | OE    | wæge                |
| Sp.       | ola, onda               | ME    | wave                |
| Rum.      | vul, talaz (undă)       | NE    | wave                |
| Ir.       | tonn                    | Du.   | baar, golf          |
| Nlr.      | tonn                    | OHG   | welle, vāc          |
| W.        | ton, gwanev             | MHG   | welle, vāc          |
| Br.       | gwagenn, koumm, houlenn | NHG   | welle, vāc          |

Words for 'wave' are from such notions as 'move', 'roll', 'swell', 'flow', 'break', 'roar', rarely from 'water'. They readily develop secondary applications ('waves' of invaders, of light, sound, etc.), which in some cases (Fr. *onde*, etc.) have almost smothered the original use.

1. Derivs. of IE \**wel-* 'turn, roll' in Goth. *walujan*, Lat. *wolvere*, etc. (10.15). Walde-P. 1.298 ff.

OHG *wella*, MHG, NHG *welle*; Lith., Lett. *vilnis*; ChSl. *vlāna, valū*, etc., general Slavic (but Pol. *fala*, now the usual word, fr. NHG *welle*); Skt. *ūrmī-*, Av. *varəmi-*.

2. Grk. κύμα, lit. 'swelling': κύμα 'be pregnant', Skt. *grā-* 'swell', etc. Walde-P. 1.365.

3. Lat. *unda*: Grk. *ὕδα*, Skt. *udan-*, etc. 'water' (1.31).

Hence, It., Sp. *onda*, Fr. *onde*, Rum. *unda*, of which only It. *onda* is still the common word for 'wave' of the sea.

Lat. *fluctus* 'flow, flood', and 'wave': *fluere* 'flow'.

Fr. *vague*, loanword fr. Gmc., ON *vagr*, OHG *vāc* (pl. *vāgi*), etc. (below, 5). Fr. *flot*, OFr. *fluēt*, loanword fr. Gmc., OHG *fluot*, etc. 'flood, stream' (1.36). Gamillscheg 426.

Sp. *ola*, fr. Fr. *houle* 'surge of the sea', this fr. Br. *houl* 'waves' (?). REW 9673 (p. 808). Celtic orig. doubted by Thurneysen, Keltorum. 69 f.

ON *alda*: OE *ealdop*, *aldah* 'trough', etc. Walde-P. 1.82. Falk-Torp 789. Otherwise (: Lat. *altus* 'high, deep') Persson, Beiträge 15.

ON *bāra*, MLG *bāre*, Du. *baar*, prob.: ON *bera*, OE, OHG *beran* 'carry', fr. 'carrying', either through an intermediate 'rising' (cf. OHG *burjan*, Du. *beuren* 'raise'), or 'moving' (cf. Goth. *wēgōs*, etc., above); or: ON *berja* 'strike'. Walde-P. 2.156. Persson, Beiträge 15. Frank-v. W. 25.

Du. *golf*, form influenced by *golf* 'gulf, bay', but fr. MDu. *ghelwe* (also *golwe*), MLG *gelwe* 'wave': ON *gjalfr* 'noise of the sea' and 'sea', OE *gielpān* 'boast' (NE *yelp*), etc., fr. extension of \**ghel-* in

OE *giellan* 'cry out' (NE *yell*), etc. Walde-P. 1.628. Franck-v. W. 206 f. Specialization of 'noise, roar' to 'noise of the waves', then 'wave'.

OHG *wella*, etc. above, 1.

6. Lith., Lett. *vilnis*, above, 1. Lith., Lett. *bangā*: Skt. *bhaṅga-* 'breaking' and sometimes 'wave', *bhañj-* 'break'. From the 'breaking' (of the waves). Walde-P. 2.149.

7. ChSl. *vlāna*, etc., above, 1. Scr. *talas* (also Bulg., Alb.; Rum. *talaz*) fr. Turk. *talas* 'surge, wave', this fr. NG *θάλασσα* 'sea' (cf. *πολλή θάλασσα* 'heavy sea').

8. Skt. *ūrmī-*, Av. *varəmi-*, above, 1.

## 1.36 RIVER; STREAM; BROOK

|      |                                |       |                       |        |                                |
|------|--------------------------------|-------|-----------------------|--------|--------------------------------|
| Grk. | ποταμός; πέυμα; χείμαρος       | Goth. | ahwa, flōdus; rinnō   | Lith.  | upė; sriovė; upelis            |
| NG   | ποταμός, ποτάμι; ρωμα; ράμα    | ON    | ā; lakr (bekkr)       | Lett.  | upe; strāva; upole             |
| Lat. | fluvius, flūmen (amnis); rīvus | Dan.  | flođ; ström; bek      | ChSl.  | rēka; tokis; potok             |
| It.  | fluvio; rivo; ruscello, etc.   | Sw.   | flođ; ström; bäck     | Scr.   | rĭjeka; tok, struja;           |
| Fr.  | fleuve; rivière; ruisseau      | OE    | ea; strēam; rīp, brōc | Boh.   | potok                          |
| Sp.  | río; arroyo                    | ME    | river; stream; broke  | Pol.   | rzeka; potok; ruczaj, strumyk  |
| Rum. | fluviu, riū; piriū             | NE    | river; stream; brook  | Russ.  | reka; potok; ručej             |
| Ir.  | abha; sruth; glais             | Du.   | rivier; stroom; beek  | Skt.   | nadi-; sarit-, srotas-; kulyā- |
| Nlr. | abba; sruth; sruithān          | OHG   | fluz, aha; strōm; bah | Av.    | θραολα-, ravan-, etc.          |
| W.   | afon; ffrod; nant, afon        | MHG   | fluz; strōm; bach     | OPers. | raula-                         |
| Br.  | ster (aven); gouer             | NHG   | fluss; ström; bach    |        |                                |

Between the large 'river' emptying into the sea and the tiny 'brook' there are infinite gradations, and often a wealth of words for these, which must be mostly ignored here. But generally there are distinctive words for 'river' and 'brook', and also one for 'stream', used generally for all forms of running water or mainly for those intermediate between the extremes of 'river' and 'brook'.

Words for 'brook' may be diminutives of those for 'river'. Conversely, a word

for 'brook' may be displaced by a diminutive form of it (or otherwise) and itself serve for 'river'.

Most of the words are derived from roots meaning 'flow, run'. Some are cognate with words for 'water', perhaps originally 'flowing water' (cf. 1.31). Some are from verbs for 'rush, plunge', or 'roar', applied first to a rushing, roaring stream.

1. Derivs. of IE \**sreu-* 'flow' in Grk. *πέω*, Skt. *sru-*, etc. Walde-P. 2.702 f.

Grk. *πέυμα*, *πόος*, *πόη* 'stream, current',

*ρόας*, 'swollen brook' (Thuc. 4.96), NG dim. *ρואία* 'brook', also *ρεματιά* 'water-torrent' (with or without water); Ir. *sruth*, *sruth* 'stream, river' (Nlr. 'river' in river names), Nlr. *sruith* 'brook', W. *ffrod* 'stream', Br. *ffrod* 'torrent' (so Pedersen 1.35; fr. \**spru-tu-*: OE *sprutan* 'sprout', etc. Walde-P. 1.c.); ON *straumr*, OE *strēam*, OHG *strōm*, etc. 'stream'; Lith. *sr(i)ovė*, Lett. *strāva*, etc., 'stream', Pol. *strumień*, *strumyk* 'brook'; Skt. *srotas*, *srotas*, Av. *θραολα-* (in cpds.), *ravan-*, *raodah-*, 'stream, river', OPers. *rauta* 'river' (used of the Nile), NPers. *rūd* 'river'.

2. Derivs. of IE \**rei-* in Skt. *ri-* 'let go', mid. 'flow', Goth. *rinnan* 'run, flow', etc. Walde-P. 1.139 ff., Ernout-M. 866 f.

Lat. *rius* 'brook'; OE *rīp* 'brook' (gl. Lat. *rius*), MLG *ride* 'brook'; Goth. *rinnō* 'brook'; ChSl. *rēka*, etc., general Slavic for 'river'.

From Lat. *rius* (through *rius*) come Sp. *rio* 'river' (Olt. *rio* 'brook' and 'river', OFr. *ri* 'brook'), Rum. *riū* 'river' (now *fluviu* for large rivers like the Danube). Dim. forms for 'rivulet, brook', Lat. *riolus*, It. *riolo*, Rum. *riuleț*, It. *ruscello*, Fr. *ruisseau*. REW 7341, 7338a. Gamillscheg 777.

3. From IE \**āp* (and *ab-*) 'water', Skt. *āpas*, etc. (1.31). Walde-P. 1.146. Ernout-M. 45. Walde-H. 1.40.

Lat. *amnis* 'river' (poet.); Ir. *ab* (*aba*, *oub*, etc.), Nlr. *abba* 'river', W. *afon* 'river', *afonig* 'brook', Br. *aven* 'river' (mostly obs.), Lith. *upė*, Lett. *upe*, OPruss. *ape* 'river', Lith. *upelis*, Lett. *upelis* 'brook' (but Lett. *upe* also 'brook').

4. Grk. *ποταμός* (NG pop. *ποτάμι*), fr. root of *πίπτω* 'fall', *πέτομαι* 'fly', Skt. *pat-* 'fly, fall', etc. That is, *ποταμός* was at first the 'falling, plunging, rushing' stream. Walde-P. 2.19. Persson, Beiträge 654. Kretschmer, Glotta 27.248 f.

'Brook' would be covered by *πέυμα*, etc. (above, 1), otherwise by words that commonly denote 'mountain-torrent'. So *χαράδρα*: *χαράσσω* 'cut into'; *χείμαρος* (but once 'river' in LXX, and 'brook' in NT), Hom. *χειμάρρους*, *χειμάρρους*, cpd. of *χεῖμα* 'cold, winter' and *πέω* 'flow'.

5. Lat. *fluvius* (> Fr. *fleuve*; Rum. *fluviu* neolog., and *flūmen* (> It. *fiume*) the common words for 'river' (*fluvius* preferred in earlier writers, *flūmen* in Caesar; Arch. lat. Lex. 7.588), fr. *fluere* 'flow'. Walde-P. 2.213. Ernout-M. 371. Walde-H. 1.519.

OFr. *river*, *riviere*, fr. Lat. *ripāria*, deriv. of *ripa* 'riverbank' (1.27), was used for 'shore' (like It. *riviera*

| 1.37 SPRING; WELL |                        |        |                        |
|-------------------|------------------------|--------|------------------------|
| Grk.              | κρήνη, πηγή; φάρος     | Goth.  | brunna                 |
| NG                | βρύση; πηγάδι          | ON     | kelda, brunnr          |
| Lat.              | fons; puteus           | Dan.   | kilde; brun            |
| It.               | fonte, sorgente; pozzo | Sw.    | källa; brun            |
| Fr.               | source; puits          | OE     | wella, spring; pytt    |
| Sp.               | fuente; pozo           | ME     | welle, spring          |
| Rum.              | izvor; pui; fântână    | NE     | spring; well           |
| Ir.               | topur                  | Du.    | wel, bron; put         |
| Nir.              | topur                  | OHG    | brunno, urspring;      |
| W.                | fynnon, pydew          | pfazzi |                        |
| Br.               | eienenn, mammenn;      | MHG    | brunne, spring; pfutze |
|                   | puis                   | NHG    | quelle; brunnen        |

The natural 'spring' and the constructed 'well' are taken together because of their close relations. The distinction may be a secondary one, or the application of the same word may shift from one to the other. From 'spring' develops also 'fountain', the artificial jet of water or the structure for it. But words for 'fountain', if different from those for 'spring' or 'well', are not included in the list.

Words for 'spring' are most commonly from verbs for 'flow, gush, boil up, spring', etc. Several are from adjectives for 'cold'. Words for 'spring' readily come to be used for 'source, origin', or even cease to be the usual words for 'spring' (cf. NE *source* vs. Fr. *source*, NHG *ursprung*). Conversely, 'source, origin' is the earlier sense of a few words that are used also for 'spring'.

Words for 'well' are mainly words for 'spring' with extension or shift to 'well', but some are of independent origin, reflecting 'hole, pit' or some feature of the construction.

1. Grk. *φάρος* 'well' (\*φρή-αρ), Arm. *albiur*, Ir. *topur* (\*to-od-bhoro-), Nir. *topur* 'spring, well', Goth. *brunna* 'flow, spring', ON *brunnr* 'well', Dan. *brønd* 'well', Sw. *brunn* 'well', OE *burna* 'spring' (renders Lat. *fons* of the Vulgate; but usually 'brook' as NE dial. *burn*), Du. *bron* 'spring, well', OHG

*brunno* 'spring', NHG *brunnen* mostly 'well' or 'fountain': Lat. *fervere* 'boil', Grk. *φύρω* 'mix', Skt. *bhu-* 'quiver, stir', etc. (IE \*bher-, \*bheru-, \*bheuru-, etc.). Walde-P. 2.157 ff., 167 ff. Ernout-M. 353.

2. Grk. *κρήνη* 'spring', Dor. *κράνᾱ*, Lesb. *κράνᾱ*, fr. *κράσνᾱ* (also *κρονῶς*, fr. *\*κρονῶς*); etym.? Walde-P. 1.488 f. Boisacq 515.

Grk. *πηγή*, Dor. *πᾱγᾱ*, Hom. pl. *πηγαί* 'streams', later 'spring, source', etym.? Boisacq 777. In NT also 'well' (Jn. 4.6 = *φάρος*, Jn. 4.11, 12). Hence NG *πηγάδι* 'well'.

NG *βρύση* 'spring', fr. late *βρύσις* 'bubbling up' (Suid., Eust.): *βρύω* 'be full, swell, gush forth'.

3. Lat. *fōns*, *fontis* 'spring': Skt. *dhan-*, *dhan-* 'run, flow'. Walde-P. 1.852. Ernout-M. 375. Walde-H. 1.525.

Hence It. *fonte*, Sp. *fuenta*. Deriv. *fontana*, whence It. *fontana*, Fr. *fontaine* 'spring', >Sp. *hontana*, Rum. *fântână* 'well, fountain'; also W. *fynnon* 'spring, well, fountain', MW *fynhawn*, OCorn. *funten*, Br. *feunteun*. REW 3425, 3426. Pedersen 1.195. Loth, Mots lat. 171 f.

Lat. *puteus* 'well, pit', prob.: *putare* 'cut, prune', *putre* 'strike', etc., that is, a 'cut' in the ground, but thought by some to be a loanword from Etruscan. Walde-P. 2.12. Ernout-M. 827.

Hence It. *pozso*, Fr. *puits* (> Br. *puis*), Sp. *pozo*, Rum. *put*; also OE *pytt* 'pit, well' ('well' e.g. in gospels Jn. 11.12), Du. *put* 'pit, well', OHG *pfuzzi*, MHG *pfutze* 'well' (NHG *pfütze* 'puddle'); also W. *pydew* 'pit, well, spring'. REW 6877. Weigand-H. 419. Loth, Mots lat. 200.

It. *sorgente*, Fr. *source*, fr. pple. of Lat. *surgere* 'rise', It. *sorgere*, Fr. *sourdre*. REW 8475.

Rum. *izvor* 'spring', loanword fr. Bulg., SCR. *izvor* (below, 7).

4. Ir. and W. words, above, 1, 3. Br. *eienenn* 'spring', MBr. *eyen*: *eon* 'foam'? Henry 6.

Br. *mammenn* 'source, spring': MBr. *mamm* 'mother'. Henry, s.v.

5. ON *kelda*, Dan. *kilde*, Sw. *källa* 'spring': ON *kaldr* 'cold', etc. Falk-Torp 507.

OE *wella* (*wylle*, etc.) 'spring' and 'well', so ME *welle*, but NE well normally only in second sense (for 'spring' arch. or dial.), Du. *wel* 'spring': OE *weallan* 'bubble up', OHG *wella* 'wave', Lat. *volvere* 'turn, roll', etc. Walde-P. 1.302. NED s.v. *well*, sb.

OE *spring* (rare), ME, NE *spring* (OHG *urspring*, MHG *spring*, also used for 'spring'): OE *springan* 'move suddenly, spring', etc. NED s.v. *spring*, sb.

NHG *quelle* 'spring': *quellen* 'flow, gush', Skt. *gal-* 'drip', etc. Walde-P. 1.691.

6. Lith. *šaltinis* 'spring': *šaltas*, Lett. *salts* 'cold'. Leskien, Bildung d. Nom. 402.

Lith. *versme* 'spring' (Lett. *versme* 'glow, blast of heat'): *virtis* 'boil', etc. Walde-P. 1.269.

Lith. *šulinys* 'well': *šulas* 'post, stave'. Descriptive of the most primitive type of well, that is, a spring dug out and its sides supported by wooden staves. Leskien, Bildung d. Nom. 403.

Lett. *avuots* 'spring': Skt. *avata-* 'well', *avala-* 'pit', *avani-* 'river, river bed', perh. Grk. *ἀναπος* 'mountain torrent', Lat. *Avernus*, etc. Walde-P. 1.254. Mühl-Endz. 1.233. Walde-H. 1.31 f.

Lett. *aka*, dim. *acina* 'well': Lith. *akas* 'hole cut in the ice', ChSl. *oko* 'eye', Grk. *ὄπη* 'hole', Arm. *akn* 'eye, hole, spring'. Development from 'eye' to 'hole', then 'well'. Cf. NPers. *čāsm* 'eye', *čāšma* 'spring'. Walde-P. 1.170 ff.

7. ChSl. *istočnikū* (reg. for *πηγή* in Gospels, Supr. etc.), Russ. *istočnik* 'spring' (now mostly as 'source'), lit. 'outflow', fr. *is-* 'out' and root of ChSl. *tekā*, *tekli* 'flow'.

ChSl. *studenici* 'well', so SCR. *studenac*, Boh. *studně*, Pol. *studnia*: ChSl. *studenŭ* 'cold' (15.86). Miklosich 327. Brückner 523.

ChSl. *kladēzi* (v.l. of *studenici* in Gospels), Russ. *kolodec* 'well', loanword fr. a Gmc. \**kaldinga*, deriv. of *kalds* 'cold', like ON *kelda* 'spring' (above, 5). Berneker 543. Stender-Petersen 277 f.

SCR., Bulg. *izvor* 'spring' (> Rum. *izvor*): ChSl. *iz-* 'out' and *virēti* 'boil' (10.31). Fr. the same root also SCR. *verlo* 'spring'. Miklosich 381.

Boh. *pramen* 'spring', also 'jet, stream, strand': ChSl. *pramēn* 'thread', SCR. *pramen* 'tuft of hair', Pol. *promień* 'ray', fr. \**por-men-*, deriv. of IE \**per-* 'pass through' (Grk. *πέρω*, etc.). Development in Bohemian through 'thin stream' to 'spring'. Brückner 438.

Pol. *źródło*, Boh. *zřídlo* 'spring': Russ. *žerlo* 'opening, crater', Pol. *gardło* 'throat, gullet' (\**gor-dlo-*), Lith. *garklys* 'crop' (of a bird), Lat. *gurgēs* 'abyss, whirlpool', Grk. *βάραντος* 'pit', etc. fr. IE \**gwer-* in Skt. *gr-* 'swallow', Grk. *βιβρώσκει* 'devour', etc. Development through 'opening' (as in Russ.) to 'spring'. Walde-P. 1.682. Brückner 667.

Sw. *rull* 'pasture', etym. much disputed, but best taken as orig. 'wildland': Goth. *wilþeis*, OE *wilde* 'wild'. Walde-P. 1.297. Falk-Torp 1391. Kluge-G. 668.

OHG-NHG *holz*, see under Ir. *caill*, above, 3.

5. Lith. *girė*, Lett. *dziŗ'a* 'woods', OPruss. *garian* 'tree': ChSl. *gora*, Skt. *giri-*, etc. 'mountain' (1.22).

The development from 'mountain' to 'woods' (whence 'tree' in OPruss.) is complete in Baltic, and also known in Slavic in some regions, as regularly Bulg. *gora*, and frequently SCR. *gora* (Rječnik *gora*, and the dial. use of LG *berg* for 'woods' and the dial. use of LG *berg* for 'woods' (Osthoff, Parerga 48), etc.

Lett. *meŗis* 'woods', OPruss. *median* 'woods', Lith. *medis* 'tree, wood': ChSl. *meŗda*, Russ. *meŗa* 'boundary', Lat. *meŗda*, Skt. *madhya-*, Goth. *midjis* 'mid', with development through 'borderland' as in ON *mrk*, etc. Walde-P. 2.261. Mühl-Endz. 2.611.

## 1.42 TREE

|      |               |       |                    |
|------|---------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | δένδρον       | Goth. | bagms              |
| NG   | δένδρον       | ON    | trē, baðmr (poet.) |
| Lat. | arbor         | Dan.  | træ                |
| It.  | albero        | Sw.   | träd               |
| Fr.  | arbre         | OE    | trēow, bēam        |
| Sp.  | arbol         | ME    | tre                |
| Rum. | arbore, copac | NE    | tree               |
| Ir.  | cranun, fid   | Du.   | boom               |
| Nir. | cranun        | OHG   | boun               |
| W.   | coeden, pren  | MHG   | boun               |
| Br.  | guezenn       | NHG   | baum               |

A widespread group of words for 'tree', many of them meaning also 'wood', go back to an IE word which probably denoted a particular kind of tree, namely the oak. Others are from those for 'wood' (1.41); some perhaps from the notion of 'growth'; while several are of obscure origin.

1. IE \**doru-*, \**derwo-*, etc. Walde-P. 1.804 ff. Osthoff, Parerga 169 ff.

6. ChSl. *lēsā*, Boh. *les*, Pol. *las*, Russ. *les*, the general Slavic word for 'woods' (but SCR. *lijes* 'timber', etc.), etym.? Berneker 713.

SCR. *šuma*, the usual word for 'woods', back formation fr. *šumiti* 'make a noise', denom. of *šum* 'noise'. Similarly the Transylvanian Saxons are said to use *gerāusch* of the 'woods' (Miklosich, Lex. Palaeoslov. s.v. *šumiti*).

7. Skt. *vana-* 'woods, tree, wood', Av. *vanā-* 'tree', etym.? Walde-P. 1.259.

Skt. *aranya-* 'wilderness, forest', also 'distant land': *arāṇa-* 'distant'. Skt. *aṭavi-* 'forest', prob.: *aṭ-* 'wander about, roam'. BR s.v. Uhlenbeck 5.

Av. *razura-* 'woods' and 'pit to catch animals': Av. *razah-*, Skt. *rahas-* 'remoteness, loneliness'. The development assumed by Barth. s.v., namely 'woods' from the trees used to cover the pit, is less likely than 'woods' from 'remoteness', as in Skt. *aranya-*.

pl.), Boh. *dřevo* 'wood', *drevno* 'piece of wood', Pol. *drzewo*, Russ. *derevo* 'tree, wood'; Skt. *dāru-*, *dru-* 'wood', *druma-* 'tree', Av. *dāuru-* 'piece of wood, club'.

2. Grk. *δένδρον* (Hom.), *δένδρον* (also *δένδρος*, -ος), perh. fr. \**den-dre-* (with dissimilated reduplication?): *δένδρ* etc. (above, 1). Walde-P. 1.804. For other views, cf. Boisacq 176.

3. Lat. *arbor*, etym. dub., perh. (through a by-form with *dh* beside *d*): Lat. *arduous* 'high, steep', Ir. *ard* 'high, tall', etc. with development through 'growth' or 'tall' (cf. Boh. *strom*, below, 7). Walde-P. 1.148 ff. Walde-H. 1.62.

Hence It. *albero*, Fr. *arbre*, Sp. *árbol*, Rum. *arbore* (neolog.; early *arbure*; Tiktin 88). Rum. *copac* (the pop. word) is thought to be a loanword fr. Alb. *kopas* 'tree trunk', but the ultimate origin is obscure. Tiktin 410. Densușianu 1.356.

4. Ir. *crann* 'tree', W. *preu* 'tree, log', Br. *prenn* 'wood': Grk. *πῦρος* 'holm oak'? Pedersen 1.44. Walde-P. 1.524. W. *coeden*, sg. of coll. *coed* 'woods, wood, trees' (1.41).

Br. *guezenn*, sg. of coll. *guez* 'trees' = Ir. *fid*, W. *gwydd* 'woods' (1.41).

5. Goth. *bagms*, ON *baðmr* (poet.), OE *bēam* ('tree' and 'beam', NE *beam*), Lith. *medis* 'tree, wood', ChSl. *drvo*, Boh. *drvo*, Pol. *drzewo*, Russ. *derevo*, Skt. *vrkṣa-*, *vana-*, *dru-*, etc. Av. *vanā-* ('tree', etc.).

## 1.43 WOOD

|      |               |       |             |
|------|---------------|-------|-------------|
| Grk. | ξύλον         | Goth. | triu        |
| NG   | ξύλον         | ON    | trē, vōr    |
| Lat. | lignum        | Dan.  | træ, ved    |
| It.  | legno         | Sw.   | trä, ved    |
| Fr.  | bois          | OE    | trēow, wudu |
| Sp.  | madera        | ME    | tre, wode   |
| Rum. | lemn          | NE    | wood        |
| Ir.  | fid           | Du.   | hout        |
| Nir. | adhmād, fiodh | OHG   | holz, witu  |
| W.   | coed          | MHG   | holz        |
| Br.  | koad, prenn   | NHG   | holz        |

Grk. *δόνρ* 'tree' (rare), 'beam, shaft, spear', *δῶς* 'oak'; Ir. *daur* 'oak'; Goth. *triu* 'stick of wood, stave', *veinatriu* 'vine', ON *trē* 'tree, wood', Dan. *træ* 'tree, wood', Sw. *trä* 'wood', *trädd* 'tree' (fr. *træ-el*, with def. article; cf. W. *coeden*), OE *trēow*, ME *tree*, *tre* 'tree, wood', NE *tree* (no longer used for 'wood'); ChSl. *drvo* 'tree', *drava* (pl.) 'wood', SCR. *drvo* 'tree, wood' (distinguished in

Pol. *zdrój*, Boh. *zdroj* 'spring', ChSl. *izroj* 'emission of semen', fr. *iz-* 'out' and the root of *rījati* 'flow', *řeka* 'river', etc. (1.36). Miklosich 278. Brückner 650.

Russ. *rodnik* 'spring': *rod* 'race, birth, origin'. Specialization of 'source' to 'source of water, spring', the opposite of the development in NE *source*.

Russ. *ključ* 'spring': SCR. *ključ* 'gushing of water', *ključiti* 'stiff, cram', *ključati* 'well up, boil', Pol. *klukać* 'coo, kluck', etc., all of imitative orig., like NE *cluck*. Berneker 529.

8. Skt. *utsa-* 'spring': *ulan-* 'water'. Walde-P. 1.252.

Skt. *avata-* 'well': Lett. *avuots* 'spring', etc. (above, 6).

Skt. *kūpa-* 'hole, pit, well' (cf. *kūpa-jala-* 'well-water'): Grk. *κύπη* 'hut', *κύπελλον* 'goblet', Lat. *cūpa* 'tub, vat', etc., all fr. the notion of 'bent, hollow'. Walde-P. 1.373.

Av. *zan-* (nom. pl. *zā*) 'spring': Skt. *khan-* 'dig', *kha-* 'hole, opening', *kha-* or *khan-* (acc. sg. *khām*) 'spring, source'. Walde-P. 1.399. Barth. 531.

Av. *čāt-* 'well', NPers. *čāh* 'well': Av. *kam-* 'dig', parallel form to Skt. *khan-*, Barth. 583.

land in the forest', etc.; cf. Du. Cange s.v. *agistare*. It is now taken by many as a loanword fr. Gmc. (OHG *buse*, NE *bush*, etc.), instead of conversely as formerly. Of other views, the derivation fr. Grk. *βοσκή* 'fodder' with transfer to 'pasture' (cf. CGL 2.258 *βοσκή pastio*, *pabula*, *pascua*) is semantically most attractive (so Baist, Z. rom. Ph. 32.426 ff.). REW 1419b. Wartburg 1.453. Kaufmann, Die gallo-romanischen Bezeichnungen für den Begriff 'Wald' 44 ff. Rohlf, Etym. Wtb. der unteritalienischen Gräzität 350.

MLat. *forestis*, *foresta*, OFr. *forest* (> It. *foresta*, Sp. *foresta*, ME, NE *forest*, Fr. *forêt*; also OHG *forst*) denoted at first esp. 'forest preserve, game preserve', and so is best derived fr. Lat. *forum* in its legal sense 'court, judgment', that is, as land subject to a ban. Otherwise, as formerly preferred, fr. Lat. *forās*, *foris* 'outside'. In either case the formation is on the analogy of *agrestis* fr. *ager*, etc. REW 3459. Wartburg 3.708 ff. Kaufmann, op. cit. 26 ff.

Sp. *monte*, orig. 'mountain' (1.22) with development through 'upland woods' to 'woods'. Cf. Lith. *girė*, below, 5.

Rum. *padure*, fr. Lat. (*palūs*) *palūdem* 'swamp', VLat. *padālem* with metathesis; cf. It. *padule*. Cf. Alb. *pyll* 'woods' fr. the same source. REW 6183. G. Meyer, Alb. Etym. Wtb. 360.

3. Ir. *caill*, Nir. *caill* 'woods', W. *celli* 'grove', ON, OE *holt* 'woods, copse', OHG, MHG *holz* 'wood' (as 'woods' arch.), Du. *hout* 'wood': Grk. *κλάδος* 'branch', ChSl. *kladā* 'beam, block', Skt. *kāṣṭha-* 'stick, piece of wood, wood' (Gypsy *karšt*, *kašt* 'wood'), fr. \**keld-ā* 'break off, split'. Walde-P. 1.438 f. Falk-Torp 417. NED s.v. *holt*. According to this connection, the meaning 'piece of wood' would seem

to be ultimately the earlier, but in Celtic and Germanic the collective 'woods' is clearly the earlier sense.

Ir. *fid*, (also cpd. *fidbad*, Pedersen 1.14), W. *gwydd*: OE *widu* 'woods, wood', etc. (below, 4).

Ir. *ross* 'promontory' and 'woods' (W. *rhos* 'moor'), fr. \**pro-sto-* 'that which stands forth'. Walde-P. 2.604. Stokes 312.

W. *coed* 'woods, wood, trees' (*coeden* 'a tree'), Corn. *cuit*, cos 'woods', Br. *koad* 'woods' and 'wood': Goth. *haiþi* 'field', OE *hēþ* 'uncultivated, wasteland', NE *heath*, NHG *heide*, etc., root connection? Walde-P. 1.328. Feist 237.

Hence W. *coedwig* 'woods', a cpd. with *guig* 'lodge, grove' (fr. Lat. *vicus* 'village', Pedersen 1.210).

4. ON *viðr* 'woods, wood', Dan., Sw. *ved* 'wood' (mostly 'firewood'), OE *wudu*, *wudu* 'woods, wood', so ME *wode*, NE *wood(s)* OHG *witu* 'wood', Ir. *fid* 'woods, tree, wood' (Nir. *fiodh* esp. in cpds. 'wooded' or 'wooden'), W. *gwydd* 'woods, trees', Br. *guez* 'trees' prob.: Lat. *dividere* 'separate', Skt. *vidhu-* 'solitary', Lith. *vidus* 'inside', etc., with development of 'woods' through 'borderland' (as in ON *mrk*, see foll.). Walde-P. 1.314. Falk-Torp 1357.

ON *mrk* 'forest', orig. 'borderland': Goth. *marka*, OHG *marca*, OE *meare* 'boundary, borderland' (NE *marc*), Lat. *margō* 'edge, border'. Walde-P. 2.284. Falk-Torp 700.

ON *skögr*, Dan. *skov*, Sw. *skog* 'woods': ON *skaga* 'project', *skagi* 'promontory', OE *scvaga* 'thicket' (NE *shaw*), ChSl. *skočiti*, iter. *skakati* 'jump', etc., with development fr. 'project, jut out' (wooded) 'promontory'. Walde-P. 2.557. Falk-Torp 1017. Hellquist 940.

OE *wæld* 'woods', also 'hill, upland plain' (NE *wald*), Du. *woud*, OHG-NHG *wald* 'woods', ON *vǫllr* 'untilled field',

Most of the words for 'wood' as material are the same as, or connected with, those for 'woods' or 'tree' (from the standing tree through the felled tree, 'timber, log' to 'wood'), and have been included in the discussion of these (1.41, 1.42).

There remain for notice here.

1. Grk. *ξύλον*, perh.: Lith. *šulas* 'post', Goth. *sauls*, OE *sgyl* 'pillar', etc., with initial doublets (*šs*, *s*). Walde-P. 2.503 f. Boisacq 679.

2. Lat. *lignum*: *legere* 'collect', hence first used of the collected 'firewood' (cf. NHG *lescholz* 'firewood'), and in actual use most commonly pl. *ligna* 'firewood'. Ernout-M. 549. Walde-H. 1.799.

Hence

'climb', NHG *kleben* 'stick to', NE *cleave*, etc. Walde-P. 1.620. Falk-Torp 533, 531.

OHG *felis*, *feliso*, MHG *vels*, *velse*, NHG *fels*, *felsen* : ON *ffall* 'mountain', Grk. πέλλα 'stone' (Ulp. ad Dem., Hesych.), Ir. all 'rock, cliff', Skt. *pāṣya-*, *pāṣāna-* 'stone', root connection? Walde-P. 2.66 ff. Falk-Torp 223.

5. Lith. *akmuo*, Lett. *akmens* 'stone', ChSl. *kamy* 'stone, rock' (renders both *lithos* and *pietra*), SCR. *kamen*, etc. 'stone', Skt. *aśman-*, *aśan-*, Av. *asman-* (*asman-* 'sky') 'stone', adj. Av. *asmana-*, OPers. *aša(n)gāina-* 'of stone', NPers. *sang* 'stone', the general Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian word for 'stone', Grk. *ἀκμων* 'anvil' ('meteoric stone' in Hesiod) : Grk. *ἀκμή* 'point, edge', *ἀκρος* 'topmost', Skt. *agri-* 'edge', Lat. *acer* 'sharp', etc. Walde-P. 1.28 ff.

Lith. *uola* 'rock' (also 'whetstone'), Lett. *uola* 'pebble, egg, rock' : Lett. *velt*, Lat. *volvere* 'roll', Lith. *apvalus*, ON *valr* 'round', etc. (Walde-P. 1.298 ff., without *uola*). Mühl.-Endz. 4.416.

Lett. *klints* 'rock', loanword fr. LG *klint* 'rock, cliff' : ON *kleitr* 'rock, cliff',

etc., fr. IE \**gel-* in words denoting spherical shape, whence 'protuberance', then 'cliff', 'rock'. Walde-P. 1.614. Mühl.-Endz. 2.229.

SCR. *stijena* 'rock' : ChSl. *stěna* 'wall', Goth. *stains* 'stone', etc., above, 4.

Boh., Russ. *skala*, Pol. *skala* 'rock' (ChSl. *skala* rare) : Lith. *skelti* 'split', ON *skilja* 'separate', etc. Walde-P. 2.594. Brückner 493.

Pol. *opoka* 'rock' = Boh. *opoka*, *opuka* 'tufa, marl', Russ. *opoka* 'marl', beside SCR. *upeka* 'brick', fr. root of ChSl. *peka*, *pešti* 'bake'. Miklosich 234. Brückner 380.

6. Skt. *aśman-*, *aśan-*, Av. *asman-*, above, 5.

Skt. *ṣilā-* 'stone, rock' : *ṣilā-* 'sharp', *ṣā-*, *ṣi-* 'sharpen', Lat. *cōs* 'whetstone', ON *heinn* 'whetstone', OE *hān* 'stone', ME *honne*, NE *hone* 'whetstone'. Walde-P. 1.454.

Av. *zaršta-* 'stone' : Skt. *hṛṣ-*, Lat. *horrere* 'be stiff, stick up, bristle'. Cf. Mars. *herna* 'saxa'. Walde-P. 1.610. Development presumably through stones that 'stick up' out of the ground. Walde-P. 1.610. Barth. 1684.

## 1.51 SKY, HEAVENS

|      |                    |       |              |       |                              |
|------|--------------------|-------|--------------|-------|------------------------------|
| Grk. | οὐρανός            | Goth. | himins       | Lith. | dangus                       |
| NG   | οὐρανός            | ON    | himinn       | Lett. | debess                       |
| Lat. | caelum             | Dan.  | himinn       | ChSl. | nebo                         |
| It.  | cielo              | Sw.   | himmel, sky  | SCR.  | nebo                         |
| Fr.  | ciel               | OE    | heofon       | Boh.  | nebo, obloha                 |
| Sp.  | cielo              | ME    | heven, sky   | Pol.  | niebo                        |
| Rum. | cer                | NE    | sky, heavens | Russ. | nebo                         |
| Ir.  | nem                | Du.   | hemel        | Skt.  | div-, nabhas-                |
| Nir. | spīr (neamh)       | OHG   | himil        | Av.   | asman-, asan- (div-, nabah-) |
| W.   | wybr, wybren (nef) | MHG   | himel        |       |                              |
| Br.  | nebu, oabl         | NHG   | himel        |       |                              |

Words for 'sky' often reflect the unsophisticated notion of the sky as a 'covering' or 'vault', the latter in part conceived as a vault of 'stone'. Another frequent source is 'cloud'. There was an IE word for the bright daytime sky, but

only in Sanskrit does this remain a common word for 'sky', elsewhere personified or in the sense of 'god' or 'day'.

For the use of these words as 'heaven', see 22.31.

1. Grk. οὐρανός, Dor. ὠρανός, Lesb.

ὠρανός and ὠρανός. Much disputed, but in spite of some difficulties the derivation fr. IE \**wer-* 'cover' is the most probable view. Walde-P. 1.281. Otherwise Wackernagel, Glotta 7.296 (: Skt. *varṣa-* 'rain'), and Schulze-Specht, KZ 66.200 (: Skt. *varṣiyas-* 'higher').

2. Lat. *caelum* (> the Romance words), etym. dub., perh. fr. \**kaid-slo-* : ON *heið* 'bright sky', *heiðr*, OHG *heitar*, etc. 'bright'. Walde-P. 2.537. Ernout-M. 430. Walde-H. 1.130.

3. Ir. *nem*, Nir. *neamh* (now mostly 'heaven'), W. *nef* (now 'heaven'), Br. *neñv* (also *ene*) : ChSl. *nebo* 'sky', Grk. *néfos* 'cloud', etc. (below, 5 and 1.73?) So Rhys, Duvau, RC 22.82, Pedersen 1.255, 387, Walde-P. 1.131, 2.332. But Ir. *nem* with so early *m* for *b* is at variance with the other evidence (*nāib* 'holy', etc., Pedersen 1.387), and the old derivation fr. IE \**nem-* 'bend', hence 'vault', is not to be disregarded.

Nir. *spēir*, now the usual word for 'sky', also 'sphere, atmosphere', fr. Lat. *sphaera*, Grk. *σφαῖρα* 'ball'. 'Sky' conceived as a hollow sphere. Cf. the similar, now unfamiliar, use of NE *sphere* (NED s.v. 1.1).

W. *wybr, wybren* 'sky', formerly also 'cloud', Br. *oabl* 'sky' (dial. also *ebri*), both orig. 'cloud', like OCorn. *huibren*, Br. *koabrenn*. See 1.73.

4. Goth. *himins*, OE *heofon*, OHG *himil*, etc., the general Gmc. word for 'sky', Gmc. \**hemina-*, \**hemila-* with suffix variation, etym. dub., perh. : Grk. *καμήρα* 'vault', or as orig. 'covering' : OE *hemeþe* 'shirt', etc. Walde-P. 1.349 ff., 386 ff. Falk-Torp 404 f. Feist 256.

ME, NE *sky*, orig. 'cloud' (both senses in ME), fr. Norse, ON *ský*, Dan. *sky* 'cloud', Sw. *sky* 'cloud' and 'sky' (1.73).

Similarly ME *wolkne*, *welken* 'sky', NE *welkin* (in *make the welkin ring*, etc.), orig. 'clouds' : NHG *wolken* 'clouds', etc. (1.73).

5. ChSl. *nebo* (gen. *nebes*), SCR. *nebo*, etc., the general Slavic word, also, with initial *d* fr. the influence of some other word, Lett. *debess* 'sky' sometimes 'cloud', Lith. *debess* 'cloud' : Skt. *nabhas-* 'moisture, cloud, mist' in Rīgveda, later also 'sky', Av. *nabah-* 'sky' (rare), Grk. *néfos* 'cloud', Hitt. *nepis* 'sky'. See 1.73. Walde-P. 1.131.

Lith. *dangus*, fr. *dengti* 'cover' (12.26). Boh. *obloha* : *obložiti* 'cover' (ChSl. *obložiti* 'put around', cpd. of ob 'about' and caus. of *leža*, *lešti* 'lie').

6. Av., OPers. *asman-* 'sky', beside Av. *asan-* 'stone' and 'sky', Skt. *aśan-*, *aśman-* 'stone' (Skt. *aśman-* also 'cloud'; as 'sky' rare and disputed), all orig. 'stone' (1.44), whence 'sky' as a vault of 'stone'. Cf. Reichelt, IF 32.23 ff. For obscure traces of Grk. *ἀκμων* = οὐρανός, cf. Bergk, Poet. lyr. graeci 3.4.68.

Skt. *div-*, nom. *dyāus* 'sky', also personified, also 'day' : Grk. Ζεύς, Lat. *Iuppiter*, Iovis, diēs 'day', deus 'god', OE *Tig*, gen. *Tīwes*, etc., fr. IE \**dyew-*, \**deiw-*, extension of \**dei-* 'shine'. Walde-P. 1.772 ff. So orig. the 'bright' daytime sky, but except in Skt. (and the rare Av. *div-*) only personified or 'day' or 'god'.

*nkāt* (*nkāt* 'god, goddess' used as a determinative); (2) with differentiation, all the Gmc. forms, as Goth. *mēna* 'moon', *mēnōþs* 'month', NE *moon*, *month*, etc.; Toch B *meṃ* 'moon' *meñe* 'month' (so Benveniste, Festschrift Hirt. 2.234, but S. Levi, Fragments Koutsch. 1.121 gives 'lune' for both forms).

Elsewhere, namely in Greek, Italian, Celtic, Albanian, Armenian, and in some of the Slavic languages, the words of this group have persisted only in the sense of 'month' (Grk. μήν, Lat. *mēnsis*, Ir. *mā*, etc.; 14.61) and have been displaced in the sense of 'moon' by other words, most of them from the notion of 'brightness' as follows.

2. Grk. σελήνη, Dor. σελάνα, Lesb. σελάνα : σέλας 'light, brightness' (of fire or the heavenly bodies). Walde-P. 2.531. Boisacq 858.

NG φεγγάρι, dim. of Grk. φάγγος 'light, splendor' (of daylight or moonlight).

3. Lat. *lūna*, fr. \**leuksnā-* (cf. Praen. *losna*) : Lat. *lūx*, *lūmen* 'light', Grk. λευός 'bright', Av. *raoxšnā-* 'light', OPers. *laušnās* 'stars', etc. Here also as 'moon', ChSl. *luna*, Arm. *lušin*, Ir. *luan*, (poet.); Thurneysen, Z. deutsch. Wortf. 1.189) and, fr. a parallel form of

the root, W. *lleuad*, *lloer*, Br. *loar*? Walde-P. 2.408 ff. Ernout-M. 570 ff.

From Lat. *lūna* come It., Sp. *luna*, Fr. *lune*, and Rum. *lună*, the last both 'moon' and 'month', because of the double sense of Slavic *měsēc*.

4. Ir. *ēsce*, Nir. *ēasca* : Osc. *eiduis*, Lat. *īdus* 'ides'?. Walde-P. 1.103.

Nir. *gealach* 'moon' also 'light, brightness', fr. *geal* 'bright, white' (15.57).

Ir. *rē* 'period of time', Nir. also esp. 'moon' : Av. *raṣah-* 'space, room', etc.(?). Vendryes, RC 28.141.

5. ON *tungl*, replacing *māni* in prose, beside *himun-tungl* 'heavenly body' : Goth. *tuggl*, OE *tungol* 'heavenly body', root connection? Walde-P. 1.792. Feist 481 f.

6. Pol. *księżyc*, displacing *miesiąc* in the sense of 'moon', dim. of *ksiądz* in its older meaning 'prince' (19.35). As the sun was the lord of the day, the moon of the night, the latter was the lesser 'prince'. Brückner 277.

7. Skt. *candra-*, also combined with *mās-* *candramas-* : (c) *candra-* 'bright', (c) *cand-* 'shine', Lat. *candere* 'shine', Alb. *hānē* 'moon', etc. Walde-P. 1.352.

Skt. *çaçin-*, fr. *çaça-* 'hare', after the supposed resemblance of the markings on the moon.

## 1.54 STAR

|      |                 |       |                |       |              |
|------|-----------------|-------|----------------|-------|--------------|
| Grk. | ἀστέρι, ἀστρον  | Goth. | stairnō        | Lith. | žvaigždė     |
| NG   | ἀστρον, ἀστρίδι | ON    | stjarna        | Lett. | zvaigzne     |
| Lat. | stella, astrum  | Dan.  | stjerne        | ChSl. | zvezda       |
| It.  | stella          | Sw.   | stjärna        | SCR.  | zvezda       |
| Fr.  | l'étoile        | OE    | steorra        | Boh.  | hvězda       |
| Sp.  | estrella        | ME    | sterre         | Pol.  | gwiazda      |
| Rum. | stea            | NE    | star           | Russ. | zvezda       |
| Ir.  | réglu, rind     | Du.   | ster           | Skt.  | star-, tā ā- |
| Nir. | ricall          | OHG   | sterro, sterno | Av.   | star-        |
| W.   | seren           | MHG   | sterne         |       |              |
| Br.  | steredenn       | NHG   | stern          |       |              |

1. IE \**ster-*, orig. disputed. The old deriv. fr. IE \**ster-* 'spread out', as first in pl. 'the scattered ones' = 'stars', may seem colorless, but no more so than, e.g. that of several words for 'moon' fr. that of *stella* (1.53). Walde-P. 2.635 f. (with refs.). Or (to me less likely) old IE (I) loanword fr. Akkad. *istar* (with refs.; add Wackernagel-Debrunner, KZ 67.161 fr.).

Grk. ἀστέρι, ἀστρον, NG ἀστρίδι fr. dim. form; Lat. *stella* (fr. \**stēr-lā*; otherwise Ernout-M.) and *astrum* (fr. Grk. ἀστρον), It. *stella*, Fr. *étoile*, Rum. *stea*, fr. *stella*, but Sp. *estrella* by mixture with *astrum*; W. *seren*, Br. *sterenn*, *steredenn*; Goth. *stairnō*, OE *steorra*, etc., all the Gmc. forms; Skt. *star-* (Vedic) and *tārā-*, Av. *star-*; Arm. *astl*; Hitt. *astiras*; Toch. A *star-*, nom. pl. (SSS 3, ftn.; Lane, Language 21.23).

2. Ir. *réglu*, Nir. *rélla*, Nir. *réall*, cpds. of *rél* 'thing' (prob.) and *glan* 'pure, bright' (cf. dat. pl. *réglannaib*). Otherwise Pedersen 1.485 (cpd. of *rél* 'star', where is this quotable?), 2.47.

## 1.55 LIGHTNING

|      |                        |       |                    |       |                     |
|------|------------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | ἀστραπή                | Goth. | lauhmuni           | Lith. | žaišas              |
| NG   | ἀστραπή                | ON    | liding             | Lett. | zibens              |
| Lat. | fulgur, fulgor         | Dan.  | lyn                | ChSl. | mlūnījī, bliscanije |
| It.  | lampo, baleno, folgore | Sw.   | blizt              | SCR.  | munja, bljesak      |
| Fr.  | éclair                 | OE    | lēget(u), lēget(u) | Boh.  | blesk               |
| Sp.  | relámpago              | ME    | leiti, lētnynge    | Pol.  | blyskawica          |
| Rum. | fulger                 | NE    | lightning          | Russ. | molnija             |
| Ir.  | lōchet                 | Du.   | bliskem            | Skt.  | vidyut-             |
| Nir. | leintreach             | OHG   | blic               | Av.   | ....                |
| W.   | meill, lluched         | MHG   | blitz(e)ze, blitze |       |                     |
| Br.  | lucheddenn, darenenn   | NHG   | blitz              |       |                     |

Words for 'lightning' are mostly from 'light, fire, shine, blaze, flash, dance'.

1. Grk. ἀστραπή, poet. also ἀστρόπη, ἀστροπή, Arc. στροπά : ἀσθήρ, ἀστρον 'star', and prob. formed fr. this with -π-, -σπ-, etc. (IE \**ok-* in words for 'eye', 'see'), like the numerous words in -σφ-, -ωφ-,

-σπος, etc., hence lit. 'starlike'. Walde-P. 2.635.

2. Lat. *fulgur* n. (gen. -uris) and *fulgor* m. (gen. -oris) : *fulgēre* 'flash', *flagrāre* 'blaze', Grk. φλέγω 'blaze', etc. Hence It. *folgore*, Rum. *fulger* (OFR. *fuildre*, *fouldre*, *foudre* rarely of visual

ON *pruma* (alone and in *reiðar-pruma*) : *pruma* 'to rattle', *þrymr* 'alarm, noise', etc. (Walde-P. 1.749).

Sw. *aska*, older *äskja*, lit. 'god's' (= Thor's) driving' : ON *äss* 'god' and *ekja* 'carrying', aka 'drive'. Hellquist 1425.

OE *þunor*, etc., above, 1.

5. Lith. *perkūnas*, Lett. *pērkuons*, OPers. *percunis*, Pol. *piorun* (Boh., Russ. obs. *perun*), used for both 'thunder' and 'thunderbolt', beside Lith. *Perkūnas*, Slav. *Perun* the Balto-Slavic thunder-god, prob. as orig. 'thunderbolt' : ChSl. *pirati*, *perq* 'strike', etc. Walde-P. 2.43. Mühl.-Endz. 3.209.

Lith. *griaušmas* (also *griauštinė*, -*tinis*) : *griaušti* 'thunder', beside *griauti* 'thunder', this ultimately the same as *griauti* 'overthrow, destroy', beside *griauti* 'fall in ruins', all with the common notion of 'crash'. Walde-P. 1.647 ff.

6. ChSl. *gromŭ*, SCR. *grom*, *grmljāvina*, Boh. *hrom*, Pol. *grom*, *grzmot*, Russ. *grom*, with vb., ChSl. *grimēti* 'thunder', etc. : Lith. *grumėti* 'thunder', Grk. χρεμίζω 'neigh', ON *grimmr*, OE *grim* 'fierce, grim', OE *griman* 'rage, roar', Av. *granta-* 'enraged', etc. Walde-P. 1.655 ff. Berneker 353 f., 360.

7. Skt. *stanita-*, above, 1.

## 1.57 LIGHTNING (AS STRIKING), THUNDERBOLT

|      |  |       |                                   |       |                  |
|------|--|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | κεραυνός, ἀστροπελεκί                        | Goth. | ....                              | Lith. | prkūnas          |
| NG   | κεραυνός, ἀστροπελεκί                        | ON    | þors hamarr                       | Lett. | pērkuons, zibens |
| Lat. | fulmen                                       | Dan.  | lyn(-slag), tordenkile            | ChSl. | ....             |
| It.  | fulmine                                      | Sw.   | blizt (åskslag, åg)               | SCR.  | grom             |
| Fr.  | foudre                                       | OE    | þunor, lēget                      | Boh.  | hrom             |
| Sp.  | rayo   | ME    | thunder, lētnynge                 | Pol.  | grom, piorun     |
| Rum. | trăsnet                                      | NE    | foudre                            | Russ. | molnija          |
| Ir.  | saighnē                                      | NE    | lightning, thunderbolt            | Skt.  | vajra-, tadil-   |
| Nir. | caor   | Du.   | blizem(-straal), donkerkeil, etc. | Av.   | ....             |
| W.   | mellen, taranfoll (tan-)foeltr, (tan-)ku-run | OHG   | donarstrāla, donerstein, etc.     |       |                  |
| Br.  | ....   | MHG   | donerstrāle, donerstein, etc.     |       |                  |
|      |  | NHG   | blitz, donnerkeil                 |       |                  |

lightning; see 1.57). Walde-P. 2.214 ff. Ernout-M. 397 f. REW 3555.

It., Sp. *lampo*, now Sp. *relámpago*, fr. Lat. *lampas* 'torch, lamp' through a late deriv. *lampāre* 'shine'. REW 4870.

It. *baleno*, fr. *ballare* 'dance'. REW 909.

Fr. *éclair*, fr. *éclairer* 'shine'. REW 2973.

3. Ir. *lōchet*, W. *lluched*, Br. *luc'hedenn*, Goth. *lauhmuni*, Dan. *lyn*, OE *lēget(u)*, *lēget(u)*, ME *leit* (NE *layth* obs.), *lētnynge*, NE *lightning* : Lat. *lūx*, Goth. *liuhap* 'light', etc. (1.61). Walde-P. 2.408 ff. Pedersen 1.54. Feist 324 f.

Nir. *leintreach* : adj. *leintreach* 'fiery', fr. *leine* 'fire' (1.81).

W. *meill*, prob. : OPers. *mealde*, ChSl. *mlūnījī*, etc., below, 6. Walde-P. 2.300.

Br. *daredenn* 'heat lightning', fr. *dared* 'a dart' (fr. Fr. *dard*).

4. Goth. *lauhmuni*, OE *lēget*, NE *lightning*, etc., above, 3.

## 1.56 THUNDER

|      |                       |       |               |       |                      |
|------|-----------------------|-------|---------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | βροντή                | Goth. | þeihwō        | Lith. | perkūnas, griaušmas  |
| NG   | βροντή                | ON    | reiðar þruma  | Lett. | pērkuons             |
| Lat. | tonitrus              | Dan.  | torden        | ChSl. | gromŭ                |
| It.  | tuono                 | Sw.   | aska (tordän) | SCR.  | grom, grmljāvina     |
| Fr.  | tonnerre              | OE    | þunor         | Boh.  | hrom                 |
| Sp.  | trueno, tronido       | ME    | thunder       | Pol.  | grzmot, grom, piorun |
| Rum. | tunet                 | NE    | thunder       | Russ. | grom                 |
| Ir.  | torrainn              | Du.   | donder        | Skt.  | stanita-             |
| Nir. | tōirneach             | OHG   | donar         | Av.   | ....                 |
| W.   | taran                 | MHG   | doner         |       |                      |
| Br.  | kurun, kudurun, taran | NHG   | donner        |       |                      |

Words for 'thunder' are mostly from various roots denoting noise, of which one is especially widespread in its application to thunder. But in one group the development is probably through 'thunderbolt' from a root meaning 'strike', in another word through 'thick cloud'; and there are some mythological terms.

1. From IE \*(s)ten-, in Grk. στῆνω,

OE *stenan* (cf. NHG *stöhnen*), Lith. *stenėti*, ChSl. *stenati*, all meaning 'groan', Skt. *stan-* 'roar, thunder', Lat. *tonāre* 'roar, thunder'. Walde-P. 2.626 ff. Ernout-M. 1045 f. REW 8778, 8780. Falk-Torp 1273.

Lat. *tonitrus*, whence Fr. *tonnerre*, OSP. *tonidro*, later *tronido* with transposition, while It. *tuono*, ORum. *tun* (now



formerly Russ. *grom*. But Russ. *molnija* 'lightning' in both senses. In ChSl. prob. both *mlūnījī* and *gromū* so used, but no early evidence.

6. Skt. *vajra-*, a term of mythology, Indra's 'thunderbolt': Av. *vazra-* 'club', NPers. *gurz* 'club'.  
Skt. *taḍit-*, fr. *taḍ-* 'strike'.

## 1.61 LIGHT (sb.)

|                           |                          |                                  |
|---------------------------|--------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>φῶς</i>           | Goth. <i>liuhap</i>      | Lith. <i>šviesa</i>              |
| NG <i>φῶς</i>             | ON <i>ljōs</i>           | Lett. <i>gaišma</i>              |
| Lat. <i>lūx, lūmen</i>    | Dan. <i>lys</i>          | ChSl. <i>svētū</i>               |
| It. <i>luce, lume</i>     | Sw. <i>ljus</i>          | SCr. <i>svjetlo</i>              |
| Fr. <i>lumière</i>        | OE <i>leoht</i>          | Boh. <i>světlo</i>               |
| Sp. <i>luz</i>            | ME <i>liȝt(e), light</i> | Pol. <i>światło</i>              |
| Rum. <i>lumină</i>        | NE <i>light</i>          | Russ. <i>svet</i>                |
| Ir. <i>solais</i>         | Du. <i>licht</i>         | Skt. <i>jyotiḥ, bhās-</i> , etc. |
| Nl. <i>solus, soillse</i> | OHG <i>lioht</i>         | Av. <i>raoča-</i>                |
| W. <i>golen</i>           | MHG <i>lieht</i>         |                                  |
| Br. <i>goulou</i>         | NHG <i>licht</i>         |                                  |

Words for 'light' (sb.) are cognate with others meaning 'bright' or 'shine', and the majority of them belong to one inherited group.

1. Fr. IE *\*leuk-* in Skt. *ruci-* 'shine', Grk. *λεῦκος* 'bright, white', etc. Walde-P. 2.408 ff. Ernout-M. 570 f. REW 5161, 5162. Pedersen 1.98, 351. Falk-Torp 670.

Lat. *lūx, lūcis* (> It. *luce*, Sp. *luz*), *lūmen* (> It. *lume*, Rum. *lumină*; deriv. *lūmināre* > Fr. *lumière*); Goth. *liuhap*, ON *ljōs*, OE *leoht*, etc., general Gmc.; Skt. *ruci-*, *roci-* (but not the usual words), Av. *raoča-* (OPers. *rauca* 'day'); Arm. *lois*; Ir. *solais* (cpd. 'bright'), Nl. *solus*, *soillse*, fr. a *solus* *\*su-luks-*; OW *louber*, W. *lleufer* (obs.) fr. a parallel *\*leug-*, and W. *goleu*, Br. *goulou*, cpd. of same.

2. Grk. *φῶς*, Ion. *φάος*, fr. *\*φά-*os

(cf. Aeol. *φανόφορος*): Skt. *bhā-* 'shine', *bhās-*, *bhāsas-* 'light', etc. Walde-P. 2.122 ff.

3. Lith. *šviesa*, ChSl. *svētū* with the other Slavic forms: Lith. *šviesti*, ChSl. *svētiti* 'shine', Skt. *gvela-* 'white', Goth. *hweits* 'white', etc. Walde-P. 1.469 f. Brückner 535.

Lett. *gaišma*: *gaišs* 'bright', Lith. *gaišas*, *gaišas* 'distant brightness', *gaišrus* 'clear' (of the sky), Grk. *φαιδρός* 'bright'. Walde-P. 1.665. Mühl.-Endz. 1.687 ff.

4. Skt. *jyotiḥ*, fr. *dyut-* 'shine' (*jy* fr. *dy*, Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. 1.163), extension of *dyu-* beside *div-* in words for bright 'sky', etc. (1.51). Walde-P. 1.772 ff.

Skt. *ruci-*, Av. *raoča-*, above, 1. Skt. *bhās-*, etc., above, 2.

## SELECTED INDO-EUROPEAN SYNONYMS

Grk. *ἔρεβος* 'place of nether darkness' (myth.), Skt. *rajas-* 'dim space, cloud, etc'. Walde-P. 2.367. Feist 399.

OE *þōstru*, *þǽstru*, Du. *duisternis*: adj. OE *þōstre*, OS *thiustri*, MLG *duster*, Du. *duister*, NHG *duster* 'dark', etym.? Falk-Torp 173: ON *þoka*, Dan. *taage* 'mist', and so 'dark' fr. 'misty', 1452. Franck-v. W. 141 (: Russ. *tusklyj* 'dim', as also Kluge-G. 119).

OE *deorcnas* (rare), ME *derknes*, NE *darkness*, also ME *derke*, NE *dark* used substantively: OE adj. *deorc* 'dark', OHG *tarchanjan* 'conceal, hide', MHG *terken* 'soil', MLG *dork* 'place where dirt collects', Lith. *dargus* 'dirty, filthy', etc. Walde-P. 1.855. NED s.v. *dark*, adj.

## 1.63 SHADE

|                           |                                  |                                  |
|---------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>σκία</i>          | Goth. <i>skadus</i>              | Lith. <i>šešilis, pa'ėis</i>     |
| NG <i>σκία, ἡσικος</i>    | ON <i>skuggi</i>                 | Lett. <i>paunksnė</i>            |
| Lat. <i>umbra</i>         | Dan. <i>skygge</i>               | Lett. <i>parėnis, ẽna, paĩna</i> |
| It. <i>ombra</i>          | Sw. <i>skugga</i>                | ChSl. <i>senĩ, šẽnĩ</i>          |
| Fr. <i>ombre</i>          | OE <i>sread, sceadu, scā(u)a</i> | SCr. <i>sjena, hladovina</i>     |
| Sp. <i>sombra</i>         | ME <i>shade, shadow</i>          | Boh. <i>stín</i>                 |
| Rum. <i>umbră</i>         | NE <i>shade (shadow)</i>         | Pol. <i>cień</i>                 |
| Ir. <i>scáth, foscadh</i> | Du. <i>schaduw</i>               | Russ. <i>ten' (sen')</i>         |
| Nl. <i>scáth</i>          | OHG <i>scato, scāto, scā</i>     | Skt. <i>chāyā-</i>               |
| W. <i>cysgod</i>          | MHG <i>schate</i>                | Av. <i>*saya-</i>                |
| Br. <i>skeud</i>          | NHG <i>schatten</i>              |                                  |

Most of the words for 'shade' are used also, without differentiation, for the image cast, the 'shadow'. The figurative use for 'disembodied spirit' is also widespread from Homer on.

1. Grk. *σκία*, ChSl. *senĩ*, SCr. *sjena*, Russ. *sen'* (Boh. *stín*, Pol. *śień*, Russ. *seni* 'entrance room', etc., as room without light), Skt. *chāyā-*, Av. *\*saya-* (a *saya-* 'without shadow'), NPers. *sāya*, Alb. *hë*, fr. IE *\*skāi-*, *\*ski-*, prob. the same root as in Goth. *skeinan*, OE *scīnan*, ChSl. *sjati* 'shine' (15.56). Connection through a notion of 'faint light' (as in NE *shimmer*, OHG *schimmer*) or 'reflection'. Cf. OE *scīma* 'shadow, gloom' beside *scīma* 'light, brightness'. Walde-

P. 2.535 ff. Boisacq 875 f. Brückner 489. NG pop. *ἡσικος* (freq. spelled *ἡσικος*), fr. *ἡσικαί* with influence of the opp. *ἡλιος* 'sun, sunshine', Hatzidakis, Einl. 328.

2. Lat. *umbra* (> It. *ombra*, Fr. *ombre*, Rum. *umbră*; Sp. *sombra* 'shade', like Fr. adj. *sombre* 'dark, gloomy', back-formation fr. deriv. vb. VLat. *subumbrāre*), etym. dub., perh.: Skt. *andha-* 'blind'. Walde-P. 1.182. Ernout-M. 1122 f. REW 9046, 8405.

3. Ir. *Nl. scáth* (also *fo-scadh*, but *Nl. foscadh* chiefly 'shelter'), W. *cysgod* (i.e. *cy-sgod*), Br. *skeud*, Goth. *skadus*, OE *sceda*, *scedu*, ME, NE *shade, shadow* (latter now mostly for the image cast), Du. *schaduw*, OHG *scato*, MHG *schate*,

## 1.62 DARKNESS

|                                    |                                   |   |
|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Grk. <i>σκότος</i>                 | Goth. <i>rigis</i>                | Lith. <i>tamsa</i>                      |
| NG <i>σκότος, σκοτάδι</i>          | ON <i>myrkr</i>                   | Lett. <i>tumsa</i>                      |
| Lat. <i>tenebrae</i>               | Dan. <i>mørke</i>                 | ChSl. <i>itma, mrakū</i>                |
| It. <i>tenebre, buio, oscurità</i> | Sw. <i>mörker</i>                 | SCr. <i>itma, tama, mrak</i>            |
| Fr. <i>ténébres, obscurité</i>     | OE <i>þōstru, mirce, deorcnas</i> | Boh. <i>temnota, tma</i>                |
| Sp. <i>tinieblas</i>               | ME <i>mirk, derk(nes)</i>         | Pol. <i>ciemność, ẽma</i>               |
| Rum. <i>întuneric</i>              | NE <i>dark(ness)</i>              | Russ. <i>temnota, t'ma, mrak</i>        |
| Ir. <i>temel, dorche</i>           | Du. <i>duisternis, donker</i>     | Skt. <i>tamas-, timira-, andhakāra-</i> |
| Nl. <i>dorchadas, doircheacht</i>  | OHG <i>finstarnissi, tunchali</i> | Av. <i>tamach-, taḡra-</i>              |
| W. <i>tywylluch</i>                | MHG <i>vinsternisse, tunkel</i>   |   |
| Br. <i>teñalienn, amc'houlou</i>   | NHG <i>finsterniss, dunkel</i>    |   |

For 'darkness' there is one widespread inherited group, common to Italic, Celtic, Germanic (in part), Balto-Slavic, and Indo-Iranian (unknown in Greek). The other words are in part cognate with others meaning 'shade', 'cloud', 'twilight', or from adjectives for 'dark' of diverse origin.

1. IE *\*tem-*, *\*temes-*, etc. in sbs. for 'darkness' and adjs. for 'dark'. Walde-P. 1.720 ff. Ernout-M. 1027 f. REW 8643, 4484. Weigand-H. 1.535. Brückner 65.

Skt. *tamas-*, *tamisra-*, *timira-*, Av. *tamach-, taḡra-*; Lat. *tenebrae* (fr. *\*temes-rā-*, cf. Skt. *tamisra-*), It. *tenebre*, Fr. *ténébres*, Sp. *tinieblas*, Rum. *întuneric* (fr. *\*in-tenebricus*); Ir. *temel* (here also perh. ultimately Br. *teñalienn*, fr. adj. *teñal* 'dark', and even W. *tywylluch*, fr. adj. *tywyll* 'dark', the latter by a blend with *gwyll* 'gloom, darkness'; cf. Loth, RC 18.95 f.); OHG *finstarnissi* (*dinstar*, *finstar* 'dark'), NHG *finsterniss* (cf. also OHG *demar*, NHG *dämmerung* 'twilight'); Lith. *tamsa*, Lett. *tumsa*; ChSl. *itma*, SCr. *tama*, *tmina*, Boh. *tma*, *temnota*, Pol. *ẽma*, *ciemność*, Russ. *t'ma*, *temnota*.

2. ON *myrkr*, Dan. *mørke*, Sw. *mörker*, OE *mirce*, ME *mirk*, NE *mirk* (still common in Scottish for 'darkness'), ChSl. *mrakū*, SCr. *mrak* (Boh. *mrak* 'cloud', Pol. *mrok* mostly 'dusk, twilight'), Russ. *mrak* (fr. ChSl.) : Lith. *merkti* 'shut the eyes, blink', *mirtgiti* 'twinkle, glisten', Grk. *μαρμαίρω* 'glisten', etc., IE *\*mer-*, *\*mer-k-*, *\*mer-g-*. Walde-P. 2.273 ff. Falk-Torp 750. Berneker 2.78. The development seems to be from 'flickering' light through 'twilight' to 'darkness'.

3. Grk. *σκότος*: Ir. *scáth* 'shade', Goth. *skadus* 'shade', etc. (1.63). Walde-P. 2.600. NG pop. *σκοτάδι*.

4. It. *lo scuro, oscurità*, Fr. *obscurité*, fr. Lat. *obscurus* 'dark': OE *scuwa* 'shade', *scēo* 'cloud', etc. (1.63, 1.73), Skt. *sku-* 'cover'. Walde-P. 2.546 ff. Ernout-M. 694.

It. *il buio* 'the dark', *buio* 'dark': OFr. *buire*, Sp. *burriel* 'dark red', fr. Lat. *\*bārius*, *burrus* 'rufus' (Festus), this fr. Grk. *ρυπός* 'yellowish red'. Ernout-M. 122. REW 1410.

5. Ir. *dorche* (also adj.), Nl. *dorchadas*, *doircheacht*, a cpd. *do-rche* (do- 'ill': Grk. *δω-*, etc.), opp. of *so-rche* 'bright' (so- 'well': Skt. *su-*, etc.), second part perh., as suggested by M. Dillon, fr. a cpd. of *ci-* 'see' (cf. *ad-ciu*, 15.54). Otherwise Stokes 229 (but *riched* 'heaven' is prob. cpd. *\*rigo-sedon* 'seat of kings'; K. Meyer, Ber. Preuss. Akad. 1913, 955).

Br. *amc'houlou*, cpd. of neg. *am-* and *goulou* 'light' (1.61).

6. Goth. *rigis*: ON *rökr* 'twilight',

## THE PHYSICAL WORLD IN ITS LARGER ASPECTS

NHG *schatten*: Grk. *σκότος* 'darkness', but without any clear root connection. Walde-P. 2.600. Feist 427.

4. ON *skuggi*, Dan. *skygge*, Sw. *skugga* (Goth. *skuggwa* 'mirror'), OE *scū(w)a*, OHG *scūwo*, *scū*: Lat. *obscurus* 'dark', Skt. *sku-* 'cover', also ON *skj* 'cloud', etc. (1.73). Walde-P. 2.546 ff. Falk-Torp 1045. Hellquist 959.

5. Lith. *šešilis*, a reduplicated formation (with suffix *-lio-*) fr. *še-*: ChSl. *senĩ*, etc. (above, 1). Senn (privately).

Lith. *parėnis*, Lett. *parėnis*: Lith. *vėsus* 'cool, airy', *vėjas* 'wind', Lett. *vējš* 'wind', Lat. *vēntus* 'wind', with development fr. 'windy, airy place' through 'cool place' to 'shady place, shade'. Walde-P. 1.222. Mühl.-Endz. 3.136.

## 1.71 AIR

|                         |                     |                                 |
|-------------------------|---------------------|---------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>ἀήρ</i>         | Goth. <i>luftus</i> | Lith. <i>oras</i>               |
| NG <i>ἀήρας</i>         | ON <i>lopt</i>      | Lett. <i>gaišs</i>              |
| Lat. <i>āir</i>         | Dan. <i>luft</i>    | ChSl. <i>vūzduchū</i>           |
| It. <i>aria</i>         | Sw. <i>luft</i>     | SCr. <i>uzduh, vazduh, zrak</i> |
| Fr. <i>air</i>          | OE <i>liht</i>      | Boh. <i>uzduch</i>              |
| Sp. <i>aire</i>         | ME <i>liht, air</i> | Pol. <i>powietrze</i>           |
| Rum. <i>aer, vazduh</i> | NE <i>air</i>       | Russ. <i>vozdush</i>            |
| Ir. <i>āer</i>          | Du. <i>luht</i>     | Skt. <i>vāta-, vāyu-</i>        |
| Nl. <i>aer</i>          | OHG <i>luft</i>     | Av. <i>vāyu-, vayah-</i>        |
| W. <i>awyr</i>          | MHG <i>luft</i>     |                                 |
| Br. <i>aer</i>          | NHG <i>luft</i>     |                                 |

Words for 'air' are connected with those for 'wind', 'blow'; 'brightness'; 'ceiling' through 'sky'; 'open field' through 'outdoors, in the open air'; 'breath'. The last source is uncommon. That 'air' is what we breathe was recognized by the Greeks, but is a sophisticated notion which plays a small part in the derivation.

1. Grk. *ἀήρ*, in Homer mostly 'thick air, haze' (*ἀέρα ἔχεν, ἐσκέδασεν, ἀήρ ἐρεβενή*, etc.), later simply 'air' as one of the four elements: *ἀήρ*, Skt. *vā-* 'blow', *vāta-*, *vāyu-* 'wind, air', Av. *vāyu-*,

*vayah-* 'air' (personified), Lat. *vēntus* 'wind', OE *wind*, etc. (1.72). Walde-P. 1.221.

Hence Lat. *āer*, Oit. *aire*, It. *aria*, Fr. *air* (> ME, NE *air*), Sp. *aire*, Rum. *aer*, Ir. *āer*, Nl. *aer*, W. *awyr*, Br. *aer*. REW 240. Pedersen 1.203.

(Grk. *αἰθήρ*, in Homer 'sky, heavens, the upper air, ether', above the *ἀήρ*: *αἰθήρ* 'burn', *αἰθρῖος* 'clear, bright', etc. Hence Lat. *aether*, NE *ether*, etc.).

2. The Gmc. group, Goth. *luftus*, ON *lopt*, OE *liht*, ME *liht* (NE *liht* rare and only for 'sky', but the vb. *liht* 'raise' is fr.

## SELECTED INDO-EUROPEAN SYNONYMS

same source), OHG-NHG *luft* (> Dan., Sw. *luft*), is in origin the same as ON *lopt* 'loft, attic, etc.' (> ME, NE *loft*; OE 'loft, sky'). Development from 'ceiling, loft' to 'sky, air'. Further connection prob. (but less certain and immaterial for the immediate source of 'air') with OHG *loft* 'bark', *louba* 'roof, attic, etc.', *loub*, Goth. *laufs*, OE *leaf* 'leaf', Lith. *lupis* 'peal', etc., with development from 'bark' to 'bark' roof, ceiling'. Walde-P. 2.418. Falk-Torp 652.

3. Lith. *oras*: Lett. *āra* 'open field, the outdoors, the outside', prob. fr. the root of Lith. *arti*, Lett. *art* 'plow', with development indicated by the Lett. uses. Walde-P. 1.79. Mühl.-Endz. 1.240.

## 1.72 WIND

|                        |                    |                                  |
|------------------------|--------------------|----------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>ἀνεμος</i>     | Goth. <i>winds</i> | Lith. <i>vėjas</i>               |
| NG <i>ἀνεμος</i>       | ON <i>vindr</i>    | Lett. <i>vējš</i>                |
| Lat. <i>ventus</i>     | Dan. <i>vind</i>   | ChSl. <i>větrā</i>               |
| It. <i>vento</i>       | Sw. <i>vind</i>    | SCr. <i>vjetar</i>               |
| Fr. <i>vent</i>        | OE <i>wind</i>     | Boh. <i>větr</i>                 |
| Sp. <i>viento</i>      | ME <i>wind</i>     | Pol. <i>wiatr</i>                |
| Rum. <i>vin</i>        | NE <i>wind</i>     | Russ. <i>vetel</i>               |
| Ir. <i>gáth</i>        | Du. <i>wind</i>    | Skt. <i>vāta-, vāyu-, anila-</i> |
| Nl. <i>gaoth</i>       | OHG <i>wint</i>    | Av. <i>vāta-</i>                 |
| W. <i>gwynt, awel</i>  | MHG <i>wint</i>    |                                  |
| Br. <i>awel, gwent</i> | NHG <i>wind</i>    |                                  |

Most of the words for 'wind' belong to an inherited group connected with (less widespread) verbs for 'blow'.

1. From IE *\*wē-* 'blow' in Skt. *vā-*, Grk. *ἀνμ*, etc. Walde-P. 1.220 ff. Ernout-M. 1086. Pedersen 1.37, 60.

Lat. *ventus* (> Romance words); W. *gwynt*, Br. *gwent*, W. *awel*, Br. *awel* (cf. Grk. *έλλα* 'whirlwind'); Goth. *winds*, etc., general Gmc.; Lith. *vėjas*, ChSl. *větrā*, etc., general Balto-Slavic; Skt., Av. *vāta-*, Skt. *vāyu-*, Toch. A *want*, B *yante*.

6. Goth. *rigis*: ON *rökr* 'twilight',

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ered, weak' (secondary sense, cf. foll.), Lith. *vilgyti* 'moisten', Lett. *valgs*, ChSl. *vlağa* 'moisture', etc. Walde-P. 1.306. Weigand-H. 2.1283.

ME, NE *cloud*, fr. OE *clūd* 'mass of rocks, hill' (cf. NE *clod*, fr. same root), fr. IE *\*gleu-*, *\*gel-* in words for round-shaped objects. Walde-P. 1.612 ff., 618. NED s.v. *cloud*.

5. Lith. *debesis*, Lett. *padebesis*, above, 1.

Lett. *mākuona* 'cloud': *makna* 'swamp', Lith. *miklus* 'damp', ChSl. *mokrū* 'wet', Russ. *moknut* 'get wet', etc., with common notion of 'moisture'. Walde-P. 2.224. Mühl.-Endz. 2.580.

6. ChSl. *oblakū*, etc., general Slavic for 'cloud', lit. 'covering', fr. *\*obā-* *volkū*, cpd. of *obā* 'about' and root of *věsti*, *věkū* 'draw': Lith. *vilkti* 'clothe', etc.; Walde-P. 1.306). Miklosich 379. Brückner 371.

## 1.74 MIST (FOG, HAZE)

|   |                          |                          |
|---|--------------------------|--------------------------|
| Grk. <i>μίχλη</i>                       | Goth. <i>...</i>         | Lith. <i>migla</i>       |
| NG <i>μίχλη</i> (lit.), <i>καταιχμή</i> | ON <i>...</i>            | Lett. <i>migla</i>       |
| Lat. <i>nebulā</i>                      | Dan. <i>þoka</i>         | ChSl. <i>mīgla</i>       |
| It. <i>nebbia</i>                       | Sw. <i>dimma, töcken</i> | SCr. <i>mīgla</i>        |
| Fr. <i>brouillard, brume</i>            | OE <i>mist</i>           | Boh. <i>mist</i>         |
| Sp. <i>niebla, neblina, bruma</i>       | ME <i>mist</i>           | Pol. <i>migla</i>        |
| Rum. <i>ceață, negură</i>               | NE <i>mist</i>           | Russ. <i>tuman, mglā</i> |
| Ir. <i>cío</i>                          | Du. <i>nevel, mist</i>   | Skt. <i>mih-</i>         |
| Nl. <i>ceo</i>                          | OHG <i>nebul</i>         | Av. <i>dunman-</i>       |
| W. <i>niwl, nudd</i>                    | MHG <i>nebel</i>         |                          |
| Br. <i>latar, lusenn</i>                | NHG <i>nebel</i>         |                          |

The present differentiation of NE *mist*, *fog*, and *haze* cannot be matched in the other languages, where with some exceptions the same word answers roughly to all three. Many of the words are cognate with some of those for 'cloud'. Others are from such diverse notions as 'vapor', 'dim', 'gray', 'wet', 'winter', etc.

1. Grk. *μίχλη*, Lith., Lett. *migla*, ChSl. *mīgla*, etc., general Slavic (but Russ. *mglā* less common than *tuman*)

Lett. *gaišs*: *gaišs* 'bright', *gaišma* 'light', etc. (1.61).

4. ChSl. *vūzduchū*, SCr. *uzduh*, *vazduh*, Boh. *vzduch*, Russ. *vozdush*, cpd. of *vūzū* 'up' and *duchū* 'breath'. Berneker 234 f.

SCr. *zrak*: ChSl. *zrakū* 'sight, look', *zřeti* 'look at, see', Lith. *žerėti* 'shine', etc., with development through 'brightness'. Cf. SCr. *zraka* 'ray'. Miklosich 402.

Pol. *powietrze*: *wiatr* 'wind', with perfect. prefix and coll. suffix. Cf. Boh. *povětří* 'air, weather, storm'. Brückner 433, 611.

5. Indo-Iranian words, above, 1.

## THE PHYSICAL WORLD IN ITS LARGER ASPECTS

Some of the words for 'rain' are connected with one special group of words for 'water'; others with words for 'flow', 'pour', 'wet', etc.

Words for 'shower, storm', though often used for 'rain', as Grk. *θύεσσα*, Lat. *imber*, are not included.

1. Grk. *δέρω*, with vb. *ἔει* 'it rains': Toch. A *swase*, B *swese* 'rain', Skt. *su-* 'press out, extract', *soma-* 'juice', Lat. *sūcus* 'juice', *sūgere* 'suck', OE *sūcan* 'suck', etc. Walde-P. 2.468 ff. Boisacq 399.

Grk. *βροχή*, quotable as 'rain' once from 5th cent. B.C. and regular word from Hellenistic times on, fr. *βρέχω* 'wet' (vb. trans., mid. 'get wet'), 3 sg. *βρέχει* 'it rains' (quotable once from 5th cent. B.C., as regularly NG) : Lett. *merga* 'light rain', etc., ultimate root connection? Walde-P. 2.280. Boisacq 133.

2. Lat. *pluvia* (> Romance words), with vb. *pluit* 'it rains': Grk. *πλῦω* 'sail', Skt. *plu-* 'float, swim, sail', ChSL *pluti* 'sail', OE *flowan* 'flow', etc., IE \**pleu-* 'flow, float'. Walde-P. 2.94 ff. Ernout-M. 781 f. REW 6620.

3. Ir. *flechud* : Ir. *flúch* 'wet' (15.83). Ir. *bréan* 'drop, rain, shower' (K. Meyer, Contrib. 266), etym.? Walde-P. 1.268.

Ir. *báisteach* (rare), Nlr. *báisteach*, same word as Ir. *báisteach* 'shower' (orig.

'baptism'), fr. Ir. *báistim*, Nlr. *baistim* 'baptize' (22.25). K. Meyer, Contrib. 169.

Nlr. *fearthainn* : Ir. *feaim* 'pour', Skt. *vári-* 'water', etc. Walde-P. 1.268. W., C.rr. *glaw*, Br. *glao*, etym.? Henry 133 (: Lat. *lavare* 'wash', rejected by Walde-P. 2.441). Morris Jones 214.

4. Goth. *riqn*, OE *regn*, etc., general Gmc., etym. dub., perh. (*rek-* beside *reg-*?) : ON *rakr* 'wet', Lat. *rigare* 'moisten, water' (with *i* fr. cpds.), etc. Walde-P. 2.365. Falk-Torp 887. Feist 397.

5. Lith. *lytus*, Lett. *lietus*, with vb. Lith. *lyti*, Lett. *li* 'rain': Lith. *lieti*, Lett. *liet*, ChSL *liti*, *lējā* 'pour', etc. (9.35). Walde-P. 2.392.

ChSL *dūžti*, etc., general Slavic, etym. dub. Berneker 248. Troubet-skoj, Zsl.Ph. 4.62, Vaillant, Rev. ét. sl. 7.112 f. (both as \**dūz-dju-* 'bad sky'). Endzelin Z. sl. Ph. 13.79.

SCR. *kiša*, back-formation fr. *kašnati* 'get wet, soaked': ChSL *kysnati* 'get sour, fermented'. Berneker 678.

6. Skt. *varṣa-*, *varṣi-*, with vb. *varṣ-* 'rain': Grk. *ἔρση*, *ἔρση* 'dew', fr. \**wers-*, extension of \**wer-* in Skt. *vāri-* 'water', etc. Here prob. also Ir. *frass*, Nlr. *fras* 'shower'. Walde-P. 1.268 f.

Av. *vār-* : Skt. *vāri-* 'water', ON *ūr* 'fine rain', etc. (1.31). Walde-P. 1.268 f.

## 1.76 SNOW (sb.)

|      |                   |       |                     |       |         |
|------|-------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|---------|
| Grk. | χιών (νίφα poet.) | Goth. | snaiwas             | Lith. | sniegas |
| NG   | χιών              | ON    | snær (snjör, snjár) | Lett. | sniegs  |
| Lat. | nix               | Dan.  | snø                 | ChSL  | sniegā  |
| It.  | neve              | Sw.   | snö                 | SCR.  | snijeg  |
| Fr.  | neige             | OE    | snaw                | Boh.  | sněh    |
| Sp.  | nieve             | ME    | snou                | Pol.  | śnieg   |
| Rum. | zăpadă            | NE    | snou                | Russ. | sneg    |
| Ir.  | snécht            | Du.   | snueuw              | Skt.  | hima-   |
| Nlr. | snechta           | OHG   | snē                 | Av.   | vafra-  |
| W.   | eira (nyff)       | MHG   | snē                 |       |         |
| Br.  | erch              | NHG   | schnee              |       |         |

Words for 'snow' are mostly inherited from an IE noun and verb meaning 'snow', any further analysis of which is futile. For the meaning of Skt. *snih-* 'sticky', if this is the same word, is probably secondary rather than the primary notion. Of the others, some are connected with words for 'winter, cold', and some rest on specialization of 'fall', etc. to 'snowfall, snow'.

1. IE. *\*sneig-h-*, \**snoig-ho-*, with vb. \**sneig-h-*. Walde-P. 2.695. Ernout-M. 673.

Grk. *νίφα* acc. sg. (poet.), with vb. *νέφεω*; Lat. *nix*, *nivis*, with vb. *ningui*; Lett. *neve*, OFr. *noif*, Fr. *neige* (fr. *neiger*, \**nivare*. REW 5934), Sp. *nieve*, Rum. *nea* (dial.); Ir. *snécht* (but *snigid* 'it rains'), Nlr. *snechta*, W. *nyf* (obs.); Goth. *snaiwas*, OE *snaw*, etc. general Gmc.; Lith. *sniegas*, ChSL *sniegā*, etc., general Balt.-Slavic; Av. *snēcē-* only in vb., pres. *snēcē-* (but Pahl. sb. *snēhr* 'snow', Horn 292); here prob., but with

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5. Ir. *loiscim*, Nl. *loiscim*, W. *loisgi*, Br. *leski*, etym. dub. (fr. \**lop-sk* : OPruss. *lopis* 'flame', Grk. *λάμπω* 'shine', etc.). Stokes 256. Walde-P. 2.383. Pedersen 1.76 (fr. \**luks* : Lat. *lūx* 'light').

Ir. *breaaim*, deriv. of *breo* 'flame' (1.82).

Br. *devi* : W. *deifio* 'sing', Ir. 3 sg. *altai* 'kindles' (cpd. with *ad-*), Skt. *du-* 'burn', Grk. *δαίω* (\**δα-ω*) 'kindle', etc. Walde-P. 1.768. Thurneysen, Z. celt. Ph. 8.64 f. Pedersen 2.507 f. (but here and 1.108 preferring to derive the Br. and W. words fr. \**deg*-h-, above, 1).

6. Goth. *brinnan*, caus. *brannjan*, etc., all the Gmc. words, with uses b and a expressed by simple verb or causative respectively in the earlier periods, but later merged in a single form. Here the intransitive meaning of the simple verb is, of course, the more original (in contrast to the opposite relation in Grk. *καίω*,

*καίωμαι*, and others), and this, analyzed as \**bhre-n-wo-*, may be combined with \**bher-*, \**bhre-u-* in words used for the gushing and seething of liquids, as Lat. *fervere* 'boil', Goth. *brunna* 'spring', etc. Walde-P. 2.168. Feist 106. Falk-Torp 111.

7. Lith. *degti*, ChSl. *žešti*, etc., above, 1.  
ChSl. *gorěti*, etc., general Slavic for 'burn' b; : Skt. *gharma-* 'heat', Grk. *θερμός* 'hot', etc. (15.85), Ir. vb. *gorim* 'heat, warm'. Walde-P. 1.688. Berneker 333 f.

Boh. *spaliti*, Pol. *palić* (now the usual words for 'burn' a and used with reflexive for 'burn' b) = ChSl. *paliti* (also *polěti*) 'blaze, burn' (e.g. Supr. = *φάγομαι*), SCl. *paliti* 'set on fire, burn' a, Russ. *palit'* 'blaze, burn, singe', all with primary notion of 'blaze' fr. \**pel-* in ChSl. *plamy* 'flame', etc. (1.82). Walde-P. 2.59 f. Miklosich 235. Brückner 392.

## 1.86 LIGHT (vb.), KINDLE

|      |                         |       |                      |       |                        |
|------|-------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | (ἀν)άπτω (δαίω, αἰθώ)   | Goth. | tandjan              | Lith. | uždegti                |
| NG   | ἀνάπτω, ἀνάβω           | ON    | tendra, kynda        | Lett. | aiz- (or ie-) dedzināt |
| Lat. | incendere (also ac-suc) | Dan.  | (an)tende            | ChSl. | rūžestī                |
| It.  | accendere               | Sw.   | (upp)tända           | SCr.  | zapaľiti               |
| Fr.  | allumer                 | OE    | onȝlan, (on)tendan   | Boh.  | zapaľiti               |
| Sp.  | encender                | ME    | līhte, kindle        | Pol.  | zapaľić                |
| Rum. | aprinde, încinge        | NE    | light, kindle        | Russ. | zazheč'                |
| Ir.  | altai (3 sg. pres.)     | Du.   | aansteken            | Skt.  | idh-                   |
| Nl.  | lasaim                  | OHG   | zunden               | Av.   | ....                   |
| W.   | ennyn, cynneu           | MHG   | zünden               |       |                        |
| Br.  | enaoui                  | NHG   | anzünden (anstecken) |       |                        |

Words for 'light' (a fire, etc.), 'kindle' are mostly connected with words for 'burn', 'blaze', 'flame', but some are based on the notion of 'make light' or on that of 'grasp, seize' (cf. NE *catch fire*).

1. Grk. *ἀπύω* 'fasten, grasp, touch' (15.71), also 'light, kindle', esp. *ἀνάπτω*, NG pop. *ἀνάπτω* or *ἀνάβω* (new pres. to aor. *ἀνάβω*).

Grk. *δαίω* (poet.): Skt. *du-* 'burn, torment', etc. Walde-P. 1.767 f.

Grk. *αἰθώ* (poet.), see 1.85.

2. Lat. *accendere* (> It. *accendere*), *incendere* (> It. *incendere*, Sp. *encender*, Rum. *încinge*), *succendere*, cpds. of \**candere*: *candere* 'shine, glow' (15.56).

Fr. *allumer*, fr. VLat. \**allūmināre*: *lūmen* 'light' (1.61). REW 372. Wartburg 1.73.

Rum. *aprinde*, fr. Lat. *apprehendere* 'seize'. Cf. *prinde* for 'catch fire', Fr.

(obs.) *eprendre* 'kindle', refl. 'catch fire'. REW 554, 6736. Tikin 80 f.

3. Ir. *altai* (3 sg. pres.), vbl. n. *atud*, etc., cpd. : Grk. *δαίω* 'kindle', etc. Here also W. *cynneu* and perh. W. *ennyn*, Pedersen 2.507 f.

Nl. *lasaim* : *lasair* 'flame' (1.82). Br. *enaoui*, also and orig. 'animate, give life to', fr. *ene* 'soul' (16.11). Henry 113.

4. Goth. *tandjan*, ON *tenda*, *tendra*, Dan. (an)tende, Sw. (upp)tända, OE *ontendan* (also *a-*, but *for-tendan* 'burn off'), ME *tenden*, NE dial. *tind*, OHG *zunden*, MHG *zünden*, NHG *anzünden*, outside root connection wholly dub. Feist 474. Falk-Torp 1311. NED s.v. *tind*, vb.

ON *kynda*, whence ME, NE *kindle*, etym.? Falk-Torp 610. NED s.v. *kindle*, vb.

ME *lihte*, NE *light* (much more com-

mon than *kindle* even with fire, and only *light*, not *kindle*, with candle, lamp, pipe, etc.), orig. 'give light'. NED s.v. *light*, vb.2.

Du. *aansteken*, cpd. of *steken* 'thrust'. So locally NHG *anstecken*, Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 79 f.

5. Lith. *uždegti*, Lett. *aiz-* (or *ie-*) *degti*, more commonly *dedzināt*, cpds. of Lith. *degti*, Lett. *degt* 'burn' (1.85).

6. ChSl. *vūžestī*, Russ. *zazheč'*, cpds. of ChSl. *žešti*, Russ. *žeč'* 'burn' (1.85).

Scr. *zapaľiti*, Boh. *zapaľiti*, Pol. *zapaľić*, cpds. of ChSl. *paliti* 'blaze, burn', etc. (1.85).

Boh. *rozsvítiti* ('light' a candle, etc.), cpd. of *svítiti* 'make light, light the way' : ChSl. *světi* 'light', etc. (1.61).

7. Skt. *idh-* Grk. *αἰθώ* 'kindle' etc. (see 1.85).

## 1.87 MATCH (sb.)

|      |                  |        |                       |       |             |
|------|------------------|--------|-----------------------|-------|-------------|
| NG   | σπίτρο (σπιρίον) | Dan.   | tendstik              | Lith. | degtukas    |
| It.  | fiammifero       | Sw.    | tändsticka            | Lett. | sērkuocin's |
| Fr.  | allumette        | Nicel. | eldspjita             | Boh.  | sírka       |
| Sp.  | fósforo          | NE     | match                 | Pol.  | zapalka     |
| Rum. | chibrit          | Du.    | lucifer               | Russ. | spīčka      |
| Nl.  | maiste           | NHG    | streichholz, zündholz |       |             |
| W.   | matsen           |        |                       |       |             |
| Br.  | enaouidenn       |        |                       |       |             |

Although the inclusion in this chapter of the humble and strictly modern 'match' for lighting seems the acme of incongruity, its present importance in connection with the preceding groups is obvious; and the great diversity of the terms that are in common use for this invention is of some interest. Several are derived from the verbs for 'light, kindle', or 'burn', or mean literally 'flame-bringing' or 'light-bringing'. The old sulphur matches (the offensive *brimstone* matches of my boyhood) were often denoted by a compound or deriva-

tive of the word for 'sulphur'; and some of these remained, either generally or locally, in common use for the 'match', regardless of the change in materials used. Less common was the use of 'phosphorus' for 'match'. Terms which apply to the wax tapers but do not match in general, as It. *cerino* (vs. *fiammifero*), Sp. *cerilla* (Am. Sp. *cerillo*) are not included in the list. The wooden 'stick' appears in some of the words, either in combination (NHG *streichholz*, etc.) or alone (SCr. *šibica*, Russ. *spīčka*). The important notion of friction has

## CHAPTER 2

## MANKIND: SEX, AGE, FAMILY RELATIONSHIP

|       |                          |      |                 |
|-------|--------------------------|------|-----------------|
| 2.1   | MAN (Human Being)        | 2.47 | GRANDMOTHER     |
| 2.21  | MAN? (vs. Woman)         | 2.48 | GRANDSON        |
| 2.22  | WOMAN                    | 2.49 | GRANDDAUGHTER   |
| 2.23  | MALE                     | 2.51 | UNCLE           |
| 2.24  | FEMALE                   | 2.52 | AUNT            |
| 2.242 | SEX                      | 2.53 | NEPHEW          |
| 2.25  | BOY                      | 2.54 | NIECE           |
| 2.26  | GIRL                     | 2.55 | COUSIN          |
| 2.27  | CHILD                    | 2.56 | ANCESTORS       |
| 2.28  | INFANT                   | 2.57 | DESCENDANTS     |
| 2.31  | HUSBAND                  | 2.61 | FATHER-IN-LAW   |
| 2.32  | WIFE                     | 2.62 | MOTHER-IN-LAW   |
| 2.33  | MARRY                    | 2.63 | SON-IN-LAW      |
| 2.34  | MARRIAGE; WEDDING        | 2.64 | DAUGHTER-IN-LAW |
| 2.35  | FATHER                   | 2.65 | BROTHER-IN-LAW  |
| 2.36  | MOTHER                   | 2.66 | SISTER-IN-LAW   |
| 2.37  | PARENTS                  | 2.71 | STEPPATHER      |
| 2.41  | SON                      | 2.72 | STEPMOTHER      |
| 2.42  | DAUGHTER                 | 2.73 | STEPSON         |
| 2.43  | CHILD (Son or Daughter)  | 2.74 | STEPDAUGHTER    |
| 2.44  | BROTHER                  | 2.75 | ORPHAN          |
| 2.45  | SISTER                   | 2.76 | WIDOW           |
| 2.452 | BROTHER(S) AND SISTER(S) | 2.81 | RELATIVES       |
| 2.46  | GRANDFATHER              | 2.82 | FAMILY          |

## 2.1 MAN (Human Being)

|      |          |       |                     |        |                    |
|------|----------|-------|---------------------|--------|--------------------|
| Grk. | ἀνθρωπος | Goth. | manna               | Lith.  | žmogus, pl. žmonės |
| NG   | ἀνθρωπος | ON    | mañr, gumi          | Lett.  | cīvēks             |
| Lat. | homō     | Dan.  | menneske            | ChSl.  | člověk             |
| It.  | uomo     | Sw.   | människa            | SCr.   | čovjek             |
| Fr.  | homme    | OE    | man(n), guma        | Boh.   | člověk             |
| Sp.  | hombre   | ME    | man                 | Pol.   | człowiek           |
| Rum. | om       | NE    | man                 | Russ.  | человек            |
| Ir.  | duine    | Du.   | mensch              | Skt.   | manu-, puruṣa-     |
| Nl.  | duine    | OHG   | man, mannisco, gomo | Av.    | mašya-, mašyaka-,  |
| W.   | dyn      | MHG   | mensch              | OPers. | martiya-           |
| Br.  | den      | NHG   | mensch              |        |                    |

The more general notion of 'man' as a human being ('man') and the more specific notion of 'man' as an adult male human being ('man') may be combined in the same word, as in NE *man*, Fr.

where the use of *homō* was extended at the expense of *vir*; or it may be re-estimated, as in Rumanian, where *bărbat* is frequently preferred to *om* when the meaning is 'man'. There is not only extension but sometimes complete shift of application from 'man' to 'man', and of the latter again to 'husband'.

The principal source of words for 'man', so far as their etymology is clear, is the notion of 'earthly' or 'mortal', thus distinguishing men from the gods. But a few are derivatives of words for 'man', and the ultimate semantic source of one important group (NE *man*, etc.) is uncertain.

1. Lat. *homō* (> It. *uomo*, Fr. *homme*, etc.), OLat. *hemo*, Osc. *humuns* 'homines'; Ir. *duine*, W. *dyn*, Br. *den*; OLith. *žmuo*, OPruss. *smoy*, Lith. *žmogus*, pl. *žmonės*; Goth. *guma* (but translates *ánhrō*), ON *gumi*, OE *guma*, OHG *gomo* (*ánhrō*), now surviving only in cpds., as NHG *bräutigam*, NE *bridegroom* fr. OE *brydguma*; Toch. B *šaumō*, pl. *šáma* : Lat. *humus*, Grk. *χθών*, Lith. *žemė*, etc. 'earth' (1.21). Cf. Hom. *ἄνθρωποι*, in contrast to *ἰουάνοι θεοί*, and even *ἄνθρωποι* alone (II. 24.220). Walde-P. 1.663. Ernout-M. 457 f. Walde-H. 1.654 f. Pedersen 1.89. Vendryes, RC 40.437 f.

2. Goth. *manna*, ON *mañr*, OE *man(n)*, *mon*, NE *man*, OHG *man*, NHG *männ*, etc. (the most widespread Gmc. word, with extension fr. 'man' to 'man'); ChSl. *muž* (fr. \**maggo*- with a guttural suffix, as in Lith. *žmogus*), SCl., Boh., Russ. *muž*, Pol. *muż* (general Slavic word, with shift from 'man' to 'man'); Skt. *manu-*, *manuṣ-*, *manuṣa-*, *mānuṣa-*. These point to an IE word for 'man', but its root connection and so its ultimate semantic source are wholly uncertain. It has been derived from IE \**men-* 'think', or, since the designa-

tion 'thinker' seems too sophisticated, from \**men-* in an assumed earlier meaning 'breath' or the like; or by some connected with Lat. *manus* 'hand' (cf. NE *all hands*). Walde-P. 2.266. Falk-Torp 693. Feist 344 f.

In Germanic the prevailing meaning in the earlier period is 'man' (so Goth. *manna* reg. = *ánhrō*, only a few times = *ánhrō*). After the extension of use to include 'man', its place in the sense of 'man' was taken, except in English, by forms going back to a deriv. adj. like Goth. *mānnisks* = *ánhrō*. Hence OHG *mānnisco*, *mānnisco*, MHG, NHG, Du. *mensch*, Dan. *menneske*, Sw. *meniska*. Falk-Torp 714. Weigand-H. 2.168.

In Slavic there was a complete shift from 'man' to 'man' and 'husband', and in part a later restriction to 'husband' with new derivatives in the sense of 'man', as SCl. *muškarac*, Russ. *mužčina*, etc.

3. Grk. *ánhrō*, etym. much disputed. But the old analysis *ánhrō* = *ánhrō* 'man-faced, man-like', fr. the stem of *ánhrō*, *ánhrō* remains the most probable. Cf. Hesych. *δρῶν* *ánhrō*, and for the semantic relation cf. OHG *mānnisco* fr. *man* (above, 2). The change of *ánhrō* to *ánhrō* is due to a 'in the second element (cf. *τέθριππον* fr. \**τετρ-ππον*), which does not belong properly to the root *ánhrō* but may be due to the influence of *δρῶν*. Kretschmer, Glotta 9.231 f., 27.246.

4. Ir. *duine*, W. *dyn*, Br. *den*, above, 1.  
5. ChSl. *člověk*, etc., the general Slavic word for 'man' (SCr. *čovjek* also 'man'), whence Lett. *cīvēks* (fr. Russ.), much disputed but best explained as cpd. of a \**čelo-* (whence ChSl. *čeljad* 'household') and \**věkū* : Lith. *vaikas* 'child', hence orig. 'member of the household', with later extension to 'man'. Cf.

SCr. *čeljad* coll. for 'household' but also 'men, people'. Berneker 141. Brugmann, Festgabe Kaegi 33. Brückner 79 (differently for second part of cpd.).  
6. Skt. (beside *manu-*, etc., above, 2) *puruṣa*- etym.? Uhlenbeck s.v.  
Av. *mašya-* mostly 'man', OPers.

## 2.21 MAN? (vs. Woman)

|      |               |       |                             |       |                              |
|------|---------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| Grk. | άνήρ          | Goth. | vair (yuma, manna)          | Lith. | vyras                        |
| NG   | άνήρ          | ON    | karl, karlmañr              | Lett. | vīrs                         |
| Lat. | vir           | Dan.  | mand                        | ChSl. | muž                          |
| It.  | uomo          | Sw.   | man                         | SCr.  | čovjek, muškarac             |
| Fr.  | homme         | OE    | wer (wepnedman, ceorl, man) | Boh.  | muž                          |
| Sp.  | hombre, va-ón | ME    | man (were)                  | Pol.  | muż, mężczyzna               |
| Rum. | bărbat, om    | NE    | man                         | Russ. | mužčina                      |
| Ir.  | fer           | Du.   | man                         | Skt.  | nar-, nara-, vira-, pumanis- |
| Nl.  | fer           | OHG   | man, gomman (wer, karl)     | Av.   | nar-, vira-, OPers. martiya- |
| W.   | guer          |       |                             |       |                              |
| Br.  | gwaz          | MHG   | man                         |       |                              |
|      |               | NHG   | männ                        |       |                              |

Many of the words for 'man', namely most of the Romance and Germanic and all the Slavic, were originally words for 'man', or derivatives of these and have been included in the discussion 2.1.

Many of the words for 'man' were also used for 'husband', and some of them are quotable only in the latter sense, so that they do not appear in this list (so ON *verr*).

1. IE \**wtro-*, that is, \**wt-ro-* : Lat. *vis*, Skt. *vayas*, etc. 'strength'. Walde-P. 1.314 ff. Ernout-M. 1112 f.

Lat. *vir*, Umbr. *uuro* (acc. pl.); Ir. *fer*, Nl. *fer*, W. *gur*, MBr. *gour* (now used with neg. for 'no one'); Goth. *wear* (ON *verr* 'husband'), OE *wer*, etc. (old Gmc. word, but now obs. except in cpds., as NE *werewolf*, NHG *wergeld*; also NE *world*, etc. 1.1); Lith. *vyras*, Lett. *vīrs*; Skt., Av. *vira-*.

2. IE \**ner-*. Various cognates, as Ir. *ner* 'strength, might', show that the notion of 'strength' is dominant, as in IE

\**wtro-*, but the ultimate root connection is uncertain. Walde-P. 2.332 f. Ernout-M. 667 f.

Grk. *άνήρ*, gen. *άνδρός*, NG *άνήρ*; Osc.-Umbr. *ner-* used of men of rank, officials (here also Lat. *Nerō* and *Neridō*; cf. also MW *ner* 'chief, master', Loth, RC 41.207); Skt. *nar-*, *nara-*, Av. *nar-*; Alb. *njeri*; Arm. *air*.

3. Sp. *varón* = late Lat. *barō*, *-ōnis* 'man' (Lex Salica, etc.), OFr. *baron*, 'husband' fr. a Gmc. word meaning orig. 'fighting man' (: ON *berjask* 'fight'), whence 'man', 'retainer', etc. Wartburg 1.254 f. (best account of the complicated history). REW 962. Gamillscheg 83. NED s.v. *baron*.

Rum. *bărbat*, fr. Lat. *barbatus* 'bearded' through Byz. *βαρβάρος* used for one who was not a eunuch. Cf. NG *βαρβάρος* used of an animal that is not castrated, as *ἀλγος βαρβάρω* 'stallion'.

4. Br. *gwaz*, fr. OBr. *guas*, MBr. *goas*

wife', Rum. *muier* formerly 'woman, wife', now derogatory, etym. dub., possibly formed with a comp. suffix from the root of Lat. *molliis* 'soft, delicate', and so used of the weaker sex, or from the same root in an obscene sense? Walde-P. 2.285. Ernout-M. 637 f.

Lat. *fēmina* 'a female' in general and 'woman' (> It. *femmina* formerly 'woman', now only 'female', Fr. *femme* 'woman, wife', Sp. *hembra* 'female'), orig. mid. pple. fr. the root of Lat. *fēlāre* 'suck', Grk. *θήλαει*, *θήλας*, *θήλας*, Skt. *dhayati* 'sucks', etc. (5.16), hence 'one who gives suck'. Walde-P. 1.829 ff. Ernout-M. 341, 343.

It. *donna*, now 'woman', formerly 'mistress, lady', like Fr. *dame*, etc., fr. Lat. *domina* 'mistress'.

Rum. *femeie* 'woman, wife', dial. 'children, family', fr. Lat. *familia* 'household'. REW 3180. Puşcariu 595.

3. Ir. *frace* 'woman', W. *gwach* 'old woman, witch', *gwraig* 'woman, wife', Br. *gwreg* 'wife', prob. fem. derivs. of Ir. *fer*, W. *gur*, etc. 'man' (Pedersen, 1.159 dub.). Cf. Lat. *virāgō* 'manlike female', *virgō* 'maiden', fr. *vir*, W. *dynes* 'woman' (cf. Morris Jones 223) fr. *dyn* 'man', and Skt. *nārī* 'woman' fr. *nar-* 'man'.

Br. *maouez* : Corn. *moues* 'girl', Goth. *mavi* 'girl', fem. of Ir. *magu* 'servant', Goth. *magus* 'boy', etc. (2.25-26). Walde-P. 2.228. Pedersen 1.98.

4. ON *vif* (poet.), OE *wif*, ME *wife* 'woman, wife', cpd. *wifman* 'woman' > ME, NE *woman*, finally displacing *wife* in its wider sense (except dial. or in cpds.), OHG *wib*, MHG *wip*, NHG *weib* 'woman' and 'wife', now mostly (but not always) derogatory and re-

placed by *frau*, as likewise Du. *wijf* by *vrouw*. Etym. much discussed and wholly dub. Falk-Torp 1390. Weigand-H. 2.1224. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v. *Weib* (on its use).

NHG *frau*, Du. *vrouw*, orig. 'mistress' as OHG *frouwa*, fem. of OHG *frō*, Goth. *frayja* 'master' : Skt. *pūṣva-* 'in front, former', Grk. *πρώτος* 'first', etc. Walde-P. 2.37. Falk-Torp 278.

NHG *frauenzimmer*, orig. a room for the women at court, then coll. for 'woman', finally 'a woman, female', now mostly with derogatory feeling. Weigand-H. 1.577.

5. Lith. *motė*, gen. *moters* (now usually *moteris* or *moteriskė*), orig. 'mother' = Lett. *māte*, ChSl. *mati*, Lat. *māter*, etc. (2.42).

Lith. *žmona* (but now mostly 'wife'), fem. of *žmogus* 'man' (2.1).  
Lett. *sieva* 'wife' (2.32), also 'woman'.



|       | 2.23 MALE                   | 2.24 FEMALE              |
|-------|-----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Grk.  | ἄρσεν, ἄρσεν                | θῆλυς                    |
| NG    | ἀρσενικός                   | θηλυκός                  |
| Lat.  | māle (māsculus, māsculinus) | fēmina                   |
| It.   | maschio                     | femmina                  |
| Fr.   | mâle                        | femelle                  |
| Sp.   | macho                       | hembra                   |
| Rum.  | bărbalesc                   | femeiesc                 |
| Ir.   | fer-, fiend                 | bainneann                |
| NIr.  | freann                      | benyu                    |
| W.    | gwyw                        | maouez                   |
| Br.   | gwaz                        | gineins                  |
| Goth. | gumains, gumakunds          | gineins                  |
| ON    | karl- (karligr)             | kvenn-                   |
| Dan.  | mandlig                     | kvindelig                |
| Sw.   | manlig                      | kvinnlig                 |
| OE    | wēpned, wēpman              | wif, wifman              |
| ME    | wif, wifman                 | femelle                  |
| NE    | male                        | female                   |
| Du.   | mannelijk                   | femelle                  |
| OHG   | gomman                      | wouweleijk               |
| MHG   | man                         | wib                      |
| NHG   | männlich                    | wēiblich                 |
| Lith. | vyriškas                    | moteriškas               |
| Lett. | višķis                      | sieviešķis, sievietis    |
| ChSl. | mužskij                     | ženskij                  |
| SCr.  | muški                       | ženski                   |
| Boh.  | mužský                      | ženský                   |
| Pol.  | męski                       | żeński                   |
| Russ. | mužskoj, mužeskij           | ženskij                  |
| Skt.  | uṣṣan-, pūnis-, nara-       | stri-                    |
| Av.   | aršan-, nairya-             | stri-, hāirisi-, zšaθri- |

2.23, 2.24. Most of the words listed are the adjective forms; some of these are also used substantively. But in some cases it is the substantive form that is commonly used, either prefixed or added in apposition to another noun and so with virtually adjectival force. So Lat. *fēmina*, It. *femmina*, Fr. *femelle*, Sp. *hembra*, etc.

Many of them, but not all, are applied to animals as well as to human beings. See 3.12, 3.13.

The majority are obvious derivatives or compounds of the words for 'man' or 'woman' (2.21, 2.22) and need no further discussion.

Those of different origin are as follows:

1. Grk. ἄρσεν 'male', ἔρσην, ἄρσην (without *τ*; alleged El. gen. sg. *ῥάρρηνορ*

now rejected), late also ἀρσενικός, ἀρρενικός (cf. θηλυκός, below, 2), NG ἀρσενικός, Skt. uṣṣan- (cf. uṣṣabha-, and ṛṣabha- 'bull'), Av. aršan- (also varāšana-, cf. NPers. gušan 'male'), parallel forms with and without init. *w*, the former : Skt. uṣ- 'to rain', varṣa- 'rain', Grk. ἔρση 'dew', the latter : Skt. ῥ- 'flow'. Whether or not these two roots belong together formally, the semantic development is the same, 'male' from the notion of emitting semen. Walde-P. 1.149 ff., 269.

2. Grk. θῆλυς 'female', whence θηλυκός 'woman-like', 'like the female' (Aristot.), later (pap., LXX, etc.) simply 'female', as in NG; Lat. *fēmina* (> It. *femmina*, Sp. *hembra*), dim. *femella* (> Fr. *femelle* > ME; NE *femelle*), also *fēmineus*, *fēminus*, It. *femi-*

*neo*, *feminino*, *feminile*, etc. (but these mostly 'feminine' rather than 'female'), all orig. 'giving suck': Grk. θῆσθαι 'suck', Skt. *dhayati* 'sucks', etc. Walde-P. 1.829 ff. Ernout-M. 341, 343. Walde-H. 1.476.

3. Lat. *mās* 'male', also *māsculus* (> It. *maschio*, *maschile*, Fr. *mâle*, ME, NE *male*, Sp. *macho*), *māsculinus* (> It. *mascolino*, Fr. *masculin*, NE *masculine*, now mostly of gender, attributes, etc.), etym.? Ernout-M. 594. Walde-H. 2.46 f.

4. OE *wēpned* 'male', also cpd. *wēpnedman*, *wēpman* fr. *wēpen* 'weapon, penis' (4.492, 20.21).

OE *werlic*, *wiflic* are used for 'masculine', 'feminine' gender (so Aelfric) but rarely, if at all, for 'male, female'.

5. Skt. (beside adj. *uṣṣan-*) prefixed *pūnis-* or *nara-* (2.21) for 'male' human beings or animals. Similarly *stri-* (2.22) prefixed or added for 'female' human beings or animals.

Av. (beside adj. *aršan-*) also adj. *nairya-* fr. *nara-* 'man' (2.21), for 'male' human beings or animals.

Av. *hāirisi-* noun for 'female', applied to human beings and animals, perh. \**hār-* : second part of IE \**swe-sor-* 'sister' (2.45). Benveniste, BSL 35.1.104 f. Av. *zšaθri-* likewise noun for 'female', etym.? Barth. 547.

|       | 2.242 SEX              |
|-------|------------------------|
| Grk.  | γένος, φύλον           |
| NG    | φύλον                  |
| Lat.  | sextus                 |
| It.   | Sesso                  |
| Fr.   | sexe                   |
| Sp.   | sezo                   |
| Rum.  | sez                    |
| Ir.   | gné(?)                 |
| NIr.  | gné, cenál, saghas     |
| W.    | rhyno, ystlen          |
| Br.   | reiz                   |
| Goth. | ON kyn                 |
| Dan.  | køn                    |
| Sw.   | kön                    |
| OE    | cynn(n)                |
| ME    | kynne, seze            |
| NE    | sez                    |
| Du.   | gné(?)                 |
| OHG   | geslacht, kunne, sekse |
| MHG   | geslecht(e)            |
| NHG   | geschlecht             |

The abstract notion of 'sex' is in many languages expressed only by words of broader scope, the special reference to sex being shown by the context (as 'male kind' = 'male sex'). But there are some distinctive words in which the specialization to 'sex' is complete (so Lat. *sextus*, with derivs.) or nearly so. The semantic source is most commonly 'sort, kind' (this often from 'birth, kin, race'), but in part 'section', 'side', 'half', or 'flesh, complexion'.

Natural 'sex' and grammatical 'gender' are most commonly expressed by the same word, as in the case of Grk. γένος, OE *cynn*, *gecynde*, NHG *geschlecht*. But they may be differentiated, as in

Lat. *sextus* vs. *genus* (with their Romance and English derivs.), NG φύλον vs. γένος, Russ. *pol* vs. *rod* ('race, clan' 19.23, 'kind', and 'gender').

1. Grk. γένος 'race, kin, clan' (19.23), hence 'class, kind' and 'sex'.

Grk. φύλον 'race, tribe' (beside φύλη, 19.23) and 'sex' (Aristoph., Xen.), latter reg. NG.

2. Lat. *sextus* (> It.  *Sesso*, Fr. *sexe*, Sp. *sezo*; Rum. *sez* neolog. fr. Fr.), beside *secus* prob. : *secare* 'cut' (9.22), hence orig. 'section', but with prehistoric specialization to 'sex' (old etym. questioned by Ernout-M. 935, but still prob.).

3. Ir. *gné* 'countenance, appearance,

1.45; Ivan Pauli, 'Enfant', 'garçon', 'fille' dans les langues romanes (426 pp.); Taylor, Mod. Lang. Notes 1929. 309 ff.; Hilding Back, The Synonyms for 'Child', 'Boy', 'Girl' in Old English (271 pp.).

Here only those that have become the usual words are considered, unless incidentally.

2.25. 'Boy'. 1. Grk. παῖς, gen. παῖδος (fr. \**παῖδ-*) 'boy, girl, child', NG παις 'child' (fr. dim. παιδιον), Lat. *puer* 'boy', whence *puella* 'girl' : Skt. *puer*, Av. *puṣra-* 'son', Osc. *puclum* 'filium', Pael. *puclis* 'pueris', Skt. *pota-* 'young of an animal', Grk. *παῖπος* 'little', Lat. *putus* 'boy' (rare), *pusillus* 'little', Lat. *pauci* 'few', etc., all 'very small', Goth. *faui* 'few', etc., all fr. the notion of 'small'. Walde-P. 2.75 ff. Ernout-M. 782, 790.

Grk. *κόρος* (mostly poet.), Ion. *κοῦρος*, fr. \**κόρος*, with fem. *κόρη* 'girl', Ion. *κόρη*, Dor. *κόρα*, Arc. *κόρα* : *κοριννυμ* 'nourish', Lat. *crēscere* 'grow', etc. Walde-P. 1.408. Hence NG *κόρη* 'girl, daughter' or *κοῖρος* with dim. suffix.

NG ἄγορ- 'boy' (of school age), dim. of Grk. *ἀγορ* 'untimely, immature'. Cf. *ἀγορ* in a late Theban epitaph of a youth of 23 years (Glotta 15.174).

2. It. *ragazzo* (whence *ragazza* 'girl'), in earliest use 'stableboy, servant', orig. dub. REW 7019.3. Pauli, op. cit. 143.

Fr. *garçon*, OFr. *gars* (nom.), *garçon* 'servant, young man', of Gmc. orig., perh. fr. a Frank. \**uwarjo* = OFris. *wrekkio* = OHG *reccho* 'exile, adventurer' (NHG *recke*), OE *wrecca* 'exile, wretched person' (NE *wretch*). Gamillscheg 457 f. Bloch 1.302. Otherwise (fr. a Frank. \**wurkjo* 'worker') REW 9578a.

Sp. *muchacho*, with fem. *muchacha*

'girl', perh. through *mocho* fr. Lat. *mutulus* 'maimed'. REW 5791.

Rum. *băiat*, generally taken as ppl. of *băia* 'bathe' (mostly *imbaia*). So Tiktin, Săineanu, s.v. Otherwise REW 887, fr. a *băia* 'streicheln', easier semantically, if *băia* in this sense exists (not in Tiktin and unknown to informant).

Rum. *făt* (now used only in certain phrases), fr. Lat. *fētus* 'offspring'. REW 3273. Hence fem. *fătă* 'girl' (so with Diez, Densuianu, and Pauli, op. cit. 71, more probably than as directly fr. Lat. *feta* 'pregnant, newly delivered', with shift of application to 'one capable of childbearing', as REW 3269, Puscaru 588, Tiktin s.v.).

3. Ir. *macc* 'boy' and 'son' (NIr. *mac*, W., Br. *mab* 'son'), see under 'son' (2.41).

NIr. *buachaill* 'boy, servant, cowherd', fr. Mlr. *buachaill* 'cowherd', like W. *bugail* 'cowherd', Corn. *bugel* 'herdsman, shepherd', Br. *bugel* 'child' : Grk. *βουκόλος* 'cowherd'. Walde-P. 1.696. Pedersen 1.54. Henry 47.

W. *bachgen*, cpd. of *bach* 'little' and *cen* of *cenau* 'offspring' : Ir. *cinim* 'spring from', *cenél* 'race', etc. Pedersen 2.33.

W. *hogyn*, prob. new masc. to *hogen* 'girl' (2.26).

Br. *paotr* 'boy, valet', MBr. *pautr*, loanword from OFr. fr. Gmc. Cf. OFr. *pautraile* 'canaille', orig. 'pack of ragamuffins', LG *paltrig* 'ragged', NE *paltry*, dial. *pal* 'rubbish', Dan. *pjalt* 'rag', etc. Henry 217. Falk-Torp 831.

4. Goth. *magus* 'boy', ON *mogr* 'boy, son, man', OE *magu* 'son, servant, young man', with derivs. for 'girl', Goth. *mawi* (*magaps* 'virgin'), ON *mār*, OE *mægeþ*, *mærgden*, ME, NE *maiden*, *maid*, Du. *meisje* (dim. of *meid*, dial. form of *maagd*, Franck-v. W. s.v. *meid*), OHG *magad*, MHG *maget*, NHG *magt*, *mädchen* : Ir. *magu* (Ogam), *mag* 'servant', Br. *maouez* 'woman', Av. *magarwa-* 'un-

'strength'. Brugmann, IF 38.140 ff. Walde-P. 2.110 ff.

Skt. *kumāra-* 'boy', with fem. *kumārī-* 'girl', etym.? Perh. prefix *ku-*, here in dim. sense) : Skt. *marya-* 'young man', Grk. *μαῖρα* 'young girl', *μαῖράκιον* 'boy', etc. (Walde-P. 2.281, but without mention of Skt. *kumāra-*). Against connection with Lith. *kumelys* 'foal' (Charpentier, Monde oriental 1.22), cf. Pokorny, KZ 56.131.

2.26. Several of the words for 'girl' are feminine forms of words for 'boy', and so already discussed in 2.25.

1. Grk. *παρθένος* 'maiden', esp. 'young unmarried woman', perh. a cpd. *παρ-θένος* : *εὐ-θενής* 'vigorous', *εὐθηνία* 'abundance', etc. applied to the young woman as of exuberant physique. Walde-P. 1.679. Boisacq 747.

NG *κορέλλα* 'girl' (used without derogatory sense; also *κορέλ* 'boy, servant') : Rum. *copil* 'child', *copila* 'young girl', Alb. *kopil* 'servant, young man', SCr. *kopile* 'bastard', etc., a general Balkan word the ultimate source of which is unknown. Berneker 564. Sandfield, Ling. balk. 94.

2. Fr. *filie* 'girl' and 'daughter', fr. Lat. *filia* 'daughter' (2.44).

3. Ir. *ingen* 'girl' and 'daughter', orig. the latter (2.44).

NIr. *cailin* (*caile* mostly derogatory), Gael. *caile*, *caileag*, Br. *plac'h*, prob. loanword fr. Lat. *pellez* 'concubine'. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 119. Henry 224.

W. *geneth*, fr. *gent* 'bear' (4.72).

W. *hogen*, perh. fr. \**sukā* : Ir. *sūgim*, OE *sūcan*, etc. 'suck' and so orig. 'suckling'. G. S. Lahe, Language 13.25 f.

4. ON *stúlka* (also the common Nlcel. word for 'girl'), Sw. dial. *stulka* : Sw. dial. *stulk* 'stump, piece', etc. Björkman, IF 30.273.

Dan. *pige* 'girl', Sw. *piga* now 'servant

married', etc., all with a common notion of 'young person', and perh. fr. the same root as Goth. *mag* 'can', *mahis* 'strength, might', NE *might*, etc. Walde-P. 2.228. Falk-Torp 748. Feist 339.

ON *piltir* 'boy', Dan., Sw. *pilt* 'small boy', orig. dub., but perh. (cf. Br. *paotr*, above, 3) : Sw. *palt*, Dan. *piält* 'rag', Sw. dial. *pult* 'bit of wood', orig. something broken off. Johansson, KZ 36.377. Cf. NE *runt*, orig. 'stump' now applied to a small person, a little runt.

Dan. *dreng* : Sw. *dräng* 'servant', ON *drengr* 'youth, brave man', *drangr* 'rock pillar', ChSl. *dragū* 'beam'. Cf. NHG *bengel* 'cudgel' applied to a child, *der kleine bengel*. Falk-Torp 154. Johansson, KZ 36.374.

Norw. *gut* (vs. Dan. *dreng*) = Du. *guil* 'rogue' : Norw. *gaut* 'prate, chatter', MDu. *guilen* 'make fun of', etc. Falk-Torp 362. Torp, Nynorsk 191.

Sw. *gosse* : Norw. *gosse* 'strong fellow' and 'boar', NE dial. *gussie* 'swine, pig', etc., a colloq. word of the most diverse applications. Björkman, IF 30.252 ff. Hellquist 294.

Sw. *pojke*, fr. Finn. *poika* 'boy', Hellquist 774.

OE *cnapa*, *cnafa*, ME *knave* 'boy, servant' (NE *knave* 'rascal'), Du. *knaap*, OHG *knabo*, MHG, NHG *knabe* (also OHG *knappe* 'boy, youth', NHG *knappe* 'page') : ON *knappr* 'knob', OE *cnaep* 'top', Sw. dial. *knabb* 'peg, knob, small thick-set person or animal'. Falk-Torp 543, 544. Johansson, KZ 36.374. Walde-P. 1.585 f. Bäck, op. cit. 139.

OE *cniht* 'boy, servant, attendant' (NE *knight*), OHG, MHG *kneht* 'boy, servant' (NHG *knecht*) : ME, LG *knagge* 'peg', etc. Wood, Mod. Ph. 2.474. Holthausen, KZ 47.307. Falk-Torp 1498 f. Walde-P. 1.580.

ME, NE *boy*, E. Fris. *boi* 'boy', prob. : ON *bōfi*, Du. *boef* 'knave, rogue', NHG

*bube* 'knave, servant', dial. 'boy', orig. a nursery word like NE *baby*, etc. NED s.v. Weigand-H. 1.298.

ME *ladde*, NE *lad*, etym. dub., but perh., as orig. 'attendant', fr. the pass. ppl. of ME *leden* 'lead'. NED s.v.

5. Lith. *vaikas*, OPruss. *waiz* : Lith. *viekas* 'strength', *veikti* 'do, work' (these : Lat. *vincere* 'conquer', Goth. *weihan* 'fight', etc. Walde-P. 1.232 ff.). Brugmann, IF 38.141.

Lett. *puis*, fr. Liv. *pois* 'young man'. Mühl.-Endz. 3.403.

Lett. *puika*, fr. Finn. *poika* 'boy' (or the Esth. *poeg*), same as the source of Sw. *pojke*. Mühl.-Endz. 3.403.

6. ChSl. *otrokū* 'boy, servant' (Boh., Pol., Russ. *otrok*, but not the usual words for 'boy'), with fem. *otrokovica* 'girl', cpd. of *otā* 'out of' and the root of *reka*, *rešti* 'say, speak', hence orig. 'one who cannot speak, infant', like Lat. *infans*, but with extension to one older (as in Fr. *enfant*) and use of dim. *otroček* for 'infant'. Miklosich 274. Brückner 387.

SCr. *dječak*, deriv. of *dijete* 'child', ChSl. *děti* (2.27).

Boh. *chlapec*, Pol. *chłopiec* : ChSl. *chlapa* 'servant', Russ. *cholop* 'serf', etc., outside connection dub. Berneker 394. Brückner 180 (: Goth. *skalks* 'servant').

Boh. *hoch*, short form of *holec* 'bald head', *holek* 'beardless young man' : 'top', Sw. dial. *knabb* 'peg, knob, small thick-set person or animal'. Falk-Torp 543, 544. Johansson, KZ 36.374. Walde-P. 1.585 f. Bäck, op. cit. 139.

OE *cniht* 'boy, servant, attendant' (NE *knight*), OHG, MHG *kneht* 'boy, servant' (NHG *knecht*) : ME, LG *knagge* 'peg', etc. Wood, Mod. Ph. 2.474. Holthausen, KZ 47.307. Falk-Torp 1498 f. Walde-P. 1.580.

ME, NE *boy*, E. Fris. *boi* 'boy', prob. : ON *bōfi*, Du. *boef* 'knave, rogue', NHG

(after J. Schmidt), Walde-P., and favoured by the actual use of ChSl. *děva* = *παρθένος*, *děvsto* = *παρθένια*. Otherwise, as orig. 'suckling', like ChSl. *děti* 'child' (2.27), Miklosich and recently Pedersen, Gram. Misc. Jespersen 67, in connection with a similar question regarding OE *fæmne* 'young woman'.

7. Skt. *kanyā-*, Av. *kainyā-*, *kainī-* : Skt. *kanina-* 'young', Grk. *καῖος* 'new', etc. Walde-P. 1.397 ff.

2.27. 'Child' is understood here as 'boy or girl'. Most of the words serve also for 'child' with reference to the parents, 'son or daughter', and in several cases this was the original application as shown by the etymology. But there are also some words that are normally used only in the second sense, as Grk. *τίκτωρ*, Lat. *liberi* vs. *pueri*, etc. See 2.43.

Some of the words for 'child' belong with those for 'boy', already discussed (2.25). So Grk. *παῖς*, NG *paḍi*, Skt. *bala-*, *kumāra-*, and in plural for 'children' Lat. *pueri*, Lith. *vaikai*. Colloqually and in dialects many of the other words for 'boy' are used in the plural for 'children'.

1. Lat. *infāns* 'infant' (2.28) extended its scope to include older children. Hence Fr. *enfant* and with suffix It. *fanciullo* 'child' and 'little boy' beside *fanciulla* 'little girl' (2.44).

Let. *meila*, fr. MLG *meid* 'girl' (see 2.25). Mühl.-Endz. 2.593.

6. ChSl. *děva*, *děvica*, SCr. *djevojka*, Boh. *divka*, etc. (the general Slavic word, with a variety of suffix forms), fr. the root of ChSl. *dojiti* 'give suck', Skt. *dhayati* 'sucks', etc. Berneker 197. Walde-P. 1.830. Semantic development prob. fr. 'one who gives suck, female' (like Grk. *θήλυς*, Lat. *fēmina*), only here, beside the existing *žena* 'woman, female', applied to the physically matured marriageable young woman, whence dim. forms for 'young girl'. So Berneker

NIr. *páiste*, fr. NE *page* (in earlier sense *páiste*). Pedersen 1.230.

W. *plenty*, new sg. to *plant* 'children', orig. a coll. 'offspring' fr. Lat. *planta* 'sprout, shoot'.

Br. *bugel* 'child' also 'cowherd' : W. *bugail* 'cowherd', Ir. *buachaill* 'cowherd, boy' (2.25).

Br. *krouadur*, *kroeadur*, orig. 'creator', fr. Lat. *creatūra*. Loth, Mots lat. 153 f. Cf. Sp. *criatura* 'infant' (2.28).

Corn. *floch* (OCorn. *flogh* gl. *puer*), pl. *flechcs* 'children' = Br. *floc'h* 'page' (cf. NIr. *páiste* 'child' fr. NE *page*, above), etym.? Henry 123.

3. Goth., ON, OHG *barn*, OE *bearn* (NE *bairn* in Sc.), etc., once general Gmc. fr. \**barna-* 'born', ppl. of Goth. *bairan*, OE *beran*, etc. 'bear'. Cf. Lith. *bernas* 'servant' and Lett. *bērns* 'child', fr. the same root. Walde-P. 1.56. Falk-Torp 51. Feist 82.

Russ. *rebenok*, deriv. of *rob*, ChSl. *rabū* 'servant' (19.43).

5. Av. *apərənāyu-*, *apərənāyūka-*, cpd. of *apərəna-* 'unfilled' and *āyu-* 'age', hence 'one of unfilled age, child'.

2.28. 'Infant' may be covered by words for 'child', some of which had this sense originally. More commonly it is expressed by derivatives of words for 'child' (or 'boy'), either with dim. suffix, or cpds. or phrases with words for 'little' or 'young'. But there are also many words of different origin. The numerous nursery words are not included, except where they have become the normal terms of reference, like It. *bambino*, or at least common as such, like NE *baby* beside *infant*.

1. Grk. *νήπιος* (adj. and noun) in Homer 'child, infant' (so also *νηπίος*) and 'childish, silly', prob. fr. *\*νή-πιος* with neg. *νη-* and the root of *πινύς* 'wise', etc. Walde-P. 2.13. Otherwise F. Specht, KZ 56.122 ff.

Grk. *παῖς*, dim. of *παῖς* 'child', is 'young child', in NT frequently 'infant' (Mt. 2.11, 13, etc. of the infant Jesus, in our version 'the young child').

Grk. *βρέφος* 'foetus' and 'newborn babe' (Simon. +, so in LXX, pap., NT, Lk. 2.12, 16, etc.), in NG the usual lit. word for infant: ChSl. *ѿбѣѣ*, 'foal'. Walde-P. 1.689.

NG *μωρό* *παῖς* or simply *μωρό*, the usual pop. word, fr. Grk. *μωρός* 'stupid, foolish'.

2. Lat. *infāns*, lit. 'not speaking', fr. neg. *in-* and pple. of *fārī* 'speak'. Hence OFr. *enfant* (> ME *enfant*, NE *infant*), Fr. *enfant* now 'child', *petit enfant* 'infant'.

It. *bambino*, nursery word beside *bimbo* 'child' (2.45).

Fr. *bébé*, nursery word like NE *baby* (below), and if not an actual loanword

its present common use in this sense is doubtless due to the latter. Gamillscheg 93. Wartburg 1.304.

Sp. *criatura*, fr. late Lat. *creātūra* 'creation, creature', hence as coll. for 'offspring', then 'infant'. The same use in It. dial. and elsewhere (Pauli, op. cit. 76).

Rum. *copilaș*, dim. of *copil* 'child' (2.27).

Rum. *prunc*, fr. Hung. *poronty* 'brood, little fellow, kid'. Tiktin 1274.

3. Ir. *nōidiu*, Nlr. *naoidhe*, prob. fr. *\*no-widiōn-* or the like 'unknowing'. Stokes, BB 25.257.

W. *maban* fr. *mab* 'boy'.

Br. *bugelig*, *krouadurig*, dims. of *bugel*, *krouadur* 'child' (2.27), which may also be used for 'infant'.

4. Goth. *barn*, etc., OE *cild*, OHG *kind*, all words for 'child' (2.27), are used freely (as properly by origin) for 'infant'. But for the latter also cpds., dims., or phrases, like ON *ungbarn* (*ungr* 'young'), NE *young child* (often in NT versions), Dan. *spæd barn*, Sw. *spådt barn* (*spæd*, *spåd* 'tender'), NHG *kindchen*, *kindlein*, *kleines kind*, *das kleine*, etc.

ME *baban*, *babe*, *babi*, NE (*babe*) *baby* nursery word, but now in more general use than corresponding forms in other languages.

NHG *säugling*, lit. 'suckling', fr. *säugen* 'suck', now the standard literary term, but not much used in the family.

5. Lith. *kūdikis*, loanword fr. Slavic, ChSl. *chudū* 'small, poor', etc. Berneker 405.

Let. *pupa bērns*, lit. 'child of the breast' (*pupa* gen. sg. of *pups* 'mother's breast').

6. ChSl. *otročē*, dim. of *otrokū* 'boy' (2.25).

ChSl. *mladničē* (translates Grk. *νή-*

*παις*, but *otročē* for the commoner *παῖς* or *βρέφος*, deriv. of *mladū* 'tender, young'. So Russ. *mladenec*.

Scr. *djelešce*, Boh. *dělatko*, Pol. *dziewciątko*, etc. dims. of *dziele*, etc. 'child' (2.27).

Boh. *nemluně*, Pol. *niemowlę*, cpds.

## 2.31 ff. WORDS FOR FAMILY RELATIONSHIP

Delbrück, Die indogermanischen Verwandtschaftswörter. Schrader, IF 17.11 ff. and Reallex., s.v. Familie. Tappolet, Die romanischen Verwandtschaftswörter. Wiedermann, BB 27.205 ff. Hermann, Gött. Nachr. 1918.204 ff.

Many of the words of relationship belong to well-known groups of cognates pointing to specific words for these relations existing in the parent speech. The most widespread are those which are represented by NE *father*, *mother*, *son*, *daughter*, *brother*, *sister*. Others for which there is sufficient agreement to indicate IE origin are words for 'grandson' or 'nephew', for 'paternal uncle', and, in relationship by marriage, those for the 'daughter-in-law' and for her husband's father, mother, brother, or sister, or even her husband's brother's wife. That is, the IE family was obviously not matriarchal. The wife became one of her husband's family, and it was the relations between her and her husband's family that were important. The relations between the husband and his wife's relatives were remoter; and special terms for the 'wife's father', etc. arose only later, either by extension of the inherited group or otherwise.

For 'husband' and 'wife' there is great divergence in the actual words, but considerable agreement in employing words for 'man' and 'woman', or, to some extent, words for 'master' and 'mistress'. Probably this was the situation in the

parent speech. Words for 'marry' and 'marriage' are from the most diverse sources, and there is no group of cognates that can be certainly taken as reflecting an IE word for 'marry'. Yet, of course, even from the other linguistic evidence, the existence of the institution in the IE period is apparent.

In the inherited group the suffix *-ter-* or in some cases *-er-*, *-or-*, is conspicuous (cf. Skt. *pitar-*, *mātar-*, *bhrātār-*, *duhitār-*, *jāmātār-*, *yātār-*; *devar-*, *svasār-*). Owing to the well-known use of this suffix in agent-nouns, these words of relationship were also formerly interpreted as agent-nouns from certain roots, e.g. 'father' as 'protector', 'mother' as 'measurer, thoughtful one', or the like, 'brother' as 'supporter', 'daughter' as 'milkmaid', either the 'suckling' or the 'milkmaid', etc. Most of these derivations now seem fanciful and pointless and are generally given up. The use of the suffix is not to be connected directly with its use in agent-nouns, but rather with the use of *-tero-* (*-ero-*) in words of contrasted relationship, like Lat. *dexter* vs. *sinister*, *nos-* vs. *vester*, etc., that is, it was used in words for 'father' and 'mother', etc. as contrasted terms. Cf. Streitberg, IF 35.196.

The actual root connection and ultimate meaning of these inherited words of relationship is mostly obscure. But those represented by Lat. *pater*, *māter* are probably based upon the intrinsic-

ness of the words, but not much used in the family.

For 'husband' and 'wife' there is great divergence in the actual words, but considerable agreement in employing words for 'man' and 'woman', or, to some extent, words for 'master' and 'mistress'. Probably this was the situation in the

The speaker may take the point of view of another, as when a man calls his wife 'mother', from the point of view of the children. Such use of Lith. *motė* as 'woman' or 'wife' replaced the original sense of 'mother'. One's father's 'nephew' is one's own 'cousin', and there are several examples of shift from 'nephew' to 'cousin'. Furthermore, there is

## 2.31 HUSBAND

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| Grk.  | <i>ἀνὴρ</i> ( <i>ánōros</i> )                               |
| NG    | <i>ántrōpas</i> , <i>ántrōpas</i>                           |
| Lat.  | <i>vir</i> , <i>maritus</i> ( <i>coniu-</i> )               |
| It.   | <i>marito</i> , <i>sposo</i>                                |
| Fr.   | <i>mar</i> , <i>époux</i>                                   |
| Sp.   | <i>marido</i> ( <i>esposo</i> )                             |
| Rum.  | <i>soț</i>  |
| Ir.   | <i>fer</i> , <i>cile</i>                                    |
| Nlr.  | <i>feer</i> , <i>cile</i> , <i>nuachar</i>                  |
| W.    | <i>gwr</i> , <i>pri-d</i>                                   |
| Br.   | <i>ozac'h</i> , <i>pried</i>                                |
| Goth. | <i>aba</i>  |
| ON    | <i>verr</i> , <i>maðr</i> ( <i>hús-bōndi</i> )              |
| Dan.  | <i>mand</i> , <i>ægtemand</i>                               |
| Sw.   | <i>man</i> , <i>akta man</i> ( <i>make</i> )                |
| OE    | <i>wer</i>  |
| NE    | <i>husbande</i>   |
| ME    | <i>man</i> ( <i>gade</i> )                                  |
| Du.   | <i>man</i> , <i>klus</i> , <i>gimahalo</i>                  |
| OHG   | <i>man</i> , <i>gemahale</i>                                |
| MHG   | <i>mann</i> , <i>ehemann</i> , <i>gatte</i> , <i>gemahl</i> |
| NHG   | <i>mann</i> , <i>ehemann</i> , <i>gatte</i> , <i>gemahl</i> |
| Lith. | <i>vyras</i> ( <i>pats</i> )                                |
| Let.  | <i>vīrs</i>   |
| ChSl. | <i>muž</i> , <i>sapragū</i>                                 |
| Scr.  | <i>muž</i> <i>suprug</i>                                    |
| Boh.  | <i>muž</i> , <i>manžel</i> , <i>choť</i>                    |
| Pol.  | <i>mąż</i> , <i>malżonek</i>                                |
| Russ. | <i>muž</i> , <i>suprug</i>                                  |
| Skt.  | <i>pati-</i> , <i>bhartar-</i>                              |
| Av.   | <i>pati-</i>  |

2.31, 2.32. Words for 'husband' and 'wife' are most commonly from those for 'man' and 'woman'. Some are from the notion of 'master' or 'mistress' of the household. Many words meaning originally 'united, married, promised, companion', or the like are used for 'husband', and 'wife', mostly in pairs of corresponding masculine and feminine

## 2.32 WIFE

|       |   |
|-------|---|
| Grk.  | <i>γυνή</i> ( <i>gynē</i> )   |
| NG    | <i>gynaike</i> , <i>gynaike</i>                                     |
| Lat.  | <i>uxor</i> , <i>coniu-</i> ( <i>marita</i> )                       |
| It.   | <i>moglie</i> , <i>sposa</i>  |
| Fr.   | <i>femme</i> , <i>épouse</i>  |
| Sp.   | <i>mujer</i> , <i>esposa</i>  |
| Rum.  | <i>soție</i> , <i>nevastă</i>                                       |
| Ir.   | <i>ben</i> , <i>séitig</i>  |
| Nlr.  | <i>bean</i> , <i>cíle</i> , <i>nuachar</i>                          |
| W.    | <i>guraig</i> , <i>priod</i>  |
| Br.   | <i>gureg</i> , <i>pried</i>   |
| Goth. | <i>gēns</i>   |
| ON    | <i>kona</i> ( <i>kvān</i> )   |
| Dan.  | <i>kone</i> ( <i>hustru</i> )                                       |
| Sw.   | <i>hustru</i> ( <i>maka</i> )                                       |
| OE    | <i>wif</i> , <i>ewen</i>  |
| NE    | <i>wife</i>   |
| ME    | <i>wife</i>   |
| Du.   | <i>vrouw</i> , <i>gade</i>  |
| OHG   | <i>quana</i> , <i>wib</i> , <i>hwa</i> , <i>gimahala</i>            |
| MHG   | <i>kone</i> , <i>wip</i> , <i>gemahale</i>                          |
| NHG   | <i>frau</i> , <i>chefrau</i> , <i>gattin</i> , <i>gemahlin</i>      |
| Lith. | <i> žmona</i> , <i>pati</i>   |
| Let.  | <i>sievu</i>  |
| ChSl. | <i>žena</i> ( <i>sapragū</i> )                                      |
| Scr.  | <i>žena</i> , <i>suprug</i>   |
| Boh.  | <i>žena</i> , <i>manželka</i> , <i>choť</i>                         |
| Pol.  | <i>żona</i> , <i>malżonka</i>                                       |
| Russ. | <i>žena</i> , <i>suprug</i>   |
| Skt.  | <i>patnī-</i> , <i>jāyā-</i> , <i>janī-</i> , <i>bhāryā-</i> , etc. |
| Av.   | <i>nāīrī-</i> , <i>nāīrīka-</i>                                     |

forms. These have not become the common, everyday terms but are often felt as the more refined. Some are in much more general use than others, and it is difficult to know where to draw the line in including them. But at least most of those listed are in more common use than the corresponding NE *spouse*, which is now virtually confined to po-

etic, humorous, or legal expression (but will be used in the following as the most convenient translation of forms used for either husband or wife).

1. From words for 'man' and 'woman', which have already been discussed in 2.21, 2.22. Probably in every IE language the words for 'man' and 'woman' may be used for 'husband' and 'wife', at least in colloquial or vulgar speech, as is true even in NE *my man*, *my woman*. Here are listed only those that are the usual terms. (So NG *γυναικα* for 'wife' is not vulgar, like NE *woman* in this sense, but is used in the best circles, where *εἰς* would be felt as super-refined, almost like NE *spouse*; Dan. *kone* is now in the best usage, more usual than *hustru*; NHG *wib* for 'wife', vulgar in the north, is usual in southern Germany). While many of these retain also their earlier use, as Grk. *ἀνὴρ*, *γυνή*, Lat. *vir*, Fr. *femme*, NHG *mann*, ChSl. *muž*, *žena*, etc., others have come to be used prevalently or exclusively for 'husband', 'wife', as ON *verr* 'husband', Goth. *gēns* 'wife', NE *wife*, Br. *gureg* 'wife', Lith. *žmona*, Pol. *żona* 'wife', Russ. *muž*, *žena* 'husband, wife'. All such relations are shown by a comparison of the lists 2.21, 2.22 and 2.31, 2.32.

In some cases where the same words serve for 'man, woman' and 'husband, wife', they may be made unambiguous in the latter sense by prefixing a word for 'marriage'. So Dan. *ægtemand*, Sw. *akta man*, MLG *echte man* (cf. Du. *echtgenoot*), MHG *ē-man*, NHG *ehe-mann*, *ehe-frau*, the first part of which belongs with OHG *ewa* 'law, marriage state' (2.34).

2. Grk. (poet.) *πόσις* 'husband', *πόρις* 'mistress', Skt. *pati-*, Av. *patī-* 'master, husband', Skt. *patnī-* 'mistress, wife', Lith. *pats* 'self, husband', *pati* 'self, wife' (*pati* 'wife' more common

than *pats* 'husband', which is mostly obs.), Toch. A *pats* 'husband': Lat. *potis* 'able', Goth. *brufjaps* 'bridegroom', Hitt. *-pat* 'self'. Walde-P. 2.77 f. For similar development of 'master, mistress' (of the house) to 'husband, wife', cf. Dan., Sw. *hustru* 'wife' (below, 6), and NHG *frau* (2.22).

3. Grk. (poet.) *ἀκοίτης* 'husband', *ἀκοίτις* 'wife', both lit. 'bedfellow, fr. *ἀ-* cop. and *κοίτη* 'bed'.

Grk. (poet.) *ἀδελφος* 'wife', lit. 'bedfellow', fr. *ἀ-* cop. and *ἀδελφός* 'bed'.

Grk. *σύνυος* 'yoked together, united' (: *σύνος* 'yoke'), 'comrade', rarely 'wife', later (eccl.) as in NG 'consort, spouse', either 'husband' (δ) or 'wife' (ῃ). Cf. Lat. *coniux* (below, 4).

4. Lat. *uxor* 'wife': Arm. *am-usin* 'spouse', and to be analyzed as *\*uk-sor-*, first part: Skt. *uc-* 'be accustomed to, take pleasure in', Lith. *junkti* 'be accustomed', etc. (Walde-P. 1.111), second part as in *\*swesor* 'sister', etc. (2.45). Ernout-M. 1143.

Hence OFr. *oissor*, OSp. *uxor*, and the verbal deriv. Rum. *însura* 'marry', etc. (REW 9106-7), but generally replaced.

Lat. *maritus* 'husband' (> It. *marito*, Fr. *mari*, Sp. *marido*), perh. as lit. one provided with a 'young woman, bride', fr. a *\*mari-*: Skt. *maryā-* 'young man', Lith. *marti* 'bride', etc. Hence the later and much less common *marita* 'wife'. Walde-P. 2.281. Ernout-M. 593. Walde-H. 2.40 f.

Lat. *coniū(n)x* freq. 'wife', less commonly 'husband', fr. *coniungere* 'unite'. Lat. *spōnsus* (pple. of *spōndere* 'promise') 'betrothed, bridegroom', fem. *spōnsa* 'betrothed, bride'. Hence with extension or with complete shift to 'husband, wife', It. *sposo*, *sposa*, Fr. *époux*, *épouse* (OFr. *spus*, *spuse* > ME, NE *spouse*), Sp. *esposo*, *esposa*.

## 2.33 MARRY

(Partly distinguished as a) take a Wife; b) take a Husband:

|      |   |
|------|---|
| Grk. | <i>γαμέω</i> (a); <i>γαμέομαι</i> (b)                           |
| NG   | <i>γαμέω</i> (a); <i>γαμέομαι</i> (b)                           |
| Lat. | <i>dūcere</i> ( <i>užōrem</i> ) (a), <i>nūbere</i> (b)          |
| It.  | <i>sposare</i> ; <i>maritarsi</i> (b)                           |
| Fr.  | <i>se marier</i> , <i>épouser</i>                               |
| Sp.  | <i>casarse</i>  |
| Rum. | <i>se căsători</i> ; <i>se însura</i> (a); <i>se mărita</i> (b) |
| Ir.  | <i>dobair stíle</i> (a); <i>in-bhoithig</i> (b)                 |
| Nlr. | <i>pósaím</i>   |
| W.   | <i>priod</i>  |
| Br.  | <i>dimezi</i> , <i>eureuji</i>                                  |

Among words for 'marry' there is a part a distinction between 'take a wife' and 'take a husband'. This is indicated by the use of a and b, it being understood that where there is no such notation the words are used of either party. In several cases words that were originally used only of the one party have lost this restriction. The forms listed are those used of the parties themselves, not those (if distinguished) that are used for 'give in marriage' of the father or the one who performs the ceremony—hence Fr. *se marier* (*avec*), not *marier*, and similarly the reflexive forms in the other Romance languages and in Slavic.

Words for 'marry' (and 'marriage') are from such diverse sources as the following: 'husband', 'wife' (the verbs, at first at least, used only in sense a or b respectively), 'spouse', 'union', 'pairing', 'house', 'household', through the notion of establishing a family; various practices preceding or accompanying the marriage ceremony, as 'contract', 'oath', 'bargain', 'betrothal', 'giving' (orig. of the father giving his daughter in marriage, hence mostly in sense b); 'balding' (the husband leading the bride, so orig. in sense a); 'following' (the bride

following the husband, hence in sense b); 'taking the hand' (either husband taking the hand of the bride, hence sense a, or conversely, hence sense b); 'veiling' (of the bride, hence orig. in sense b); 'crowning' (orig. used of the one performing the ceremony, then in mid. or refl. 'get crowned', of either party).

1. Grk. *γαμέω* (a), *γαμέομαι* (b), but *γαμέω* also for either party, NT; in pop. NG 'coire', beside *γάμος* 'marriage, wedding': Grk. *γαμβρός*, Skt. *jāmātār-* 'son-in-law', etc. (2.63). Walde-P. 1.574.

NG *παντρεύομαι* (of either party; act. *παντρεύω* is 'give in marriage'), fr. Hellenistic Grk. *παντρεύω* 'woman under a man, married woman'.

NG *νυμφεύομαι* (formerly only a, now also b, as *τὸν νυμφεύει*), lit. 'take a bride', fr. *νύμφη* 'bride'.

NG *στεφανίζομαι*, used with special reference to the ceremony, lit. 'be crowned' fr. *στέφανος* 'crown' (wreaths are placed on the head of the bride and groom). Hence the similar use of Rum. *cununa* (fr. sb. *cunund*, Lat. *corōna* 'crown') and other Balkan words. Puscariu 448. Sandfeld, Ling. balk. 35.

NG *παίρω* 'take' (11.13) is a common

Rum. *soț* 'husband', fr. Lat. *socius* 'companion'. Hence also *soție* 'wife'. Puscariu 1610. Cf. fr. the same source, Alb. *shoq* 'husband', *shogë* 'wife'.

Rum. *nevastă* 'wife', loanword fr. Slav., ChSl. *nevěsta* 'bride' (cf. 2.22 on OPol. *niewasta* 'woman'). Tiktin 1054.

5. Ir. *céle* 'companion, husband', Nlr. *céle* 'companion, spouse', prob. : OHG *hiwo*, *hiwa* 'husband, wife', etc. (below, 5). Walde-P. 1.359, 446.

Ir. *séitig* 'wife', orig. 'companion', deriv. of *sét* 'way'. Pedersen 2.89.

Nlr. *nuachar*, 'lover, spouse' (also *snachar*, fr. *so-nuachar* 'good spouse'), cpd. of *nua-* 'new'; second part disputed, perh. a vbl. n. to *cuirim* 'place, put', the whole orig. 'newly settled, newcomer (in the home)'. G. S. Lane, Language 8.297 f.

W. *priod*, Br. *pried* 'spouse', fr. Lat. *priēdus* 'one's own, private'. Pedersen 1.214.

Br. *ozac'h* 'master of the house, husband', etym.? Loth, RC 41.234 f.

6. Goth. *aba* 'husband': ON *afi* 'grandfather', etc., orig. nursery word (above, p. 94). Walde-P. 1.47.

ON *hūsbōndi* 'man of the house, husband', cpd. of *hūs* 'house' and *bōndi* 'yeoman', the latter also used alone for 'husband'. Hence ME *husbonde*, NE *husband*.

Dan., Sw. *hustru*, fr. *hus-fru*, cpd. of *hus* 'house' and *fru* 'mistress', like NHG *hausfrau*, Du. *huisvrouw*.

Sw. *make*, fem. *maka*, ME *make* properly 'mate': OE *gemæcca* 'mate' *gemæc* 'equal, well matched', etc., these : OE *macian* 'make', etc. Falk-Torp 689. Hellquist 621.

Du. (lit.) *echtgenoot* 'spouse', with new fem. *echtgenote* for 'wife', cpd. of *echt* 'marriage' (2.35) and *genoot* 'companion' : NHG *genosse*, etc.

OHG *hiwo* 'husband', *hiwa* 'wife', OE *hiwa* 'wife' (Goth. *heiva-frau* 'master of the house'): Lett. *sieva* 'wife', Lat. *civis* 'citizen', Lith. *šeimyna* 'family', OE *hām* 'home', etc., all fr. IE *\*kei-* 'lie' in Grk. *κείω*, etc., whence the notion of 'home, household' and also its master or mistress. Walde-P. 1.359. Walde-H. 1.224. Feist 253 f.

NHG *gatte*, whence fem. *gattin*, fr. MHG *gale* 'companion', here also Du. *gade* now used mostly for 'wife': MLG *gaden* 'be suitable', OE *gegada* 'companion', *tō gadere* 'together', Goth. *gaddiligs* 'cousin', etc. Walde-P. 1.531 ff. Weigand-H. 1.628. Franck-v. W. 172.

OHG *gimahalo* 'bridegroom, husband', *gimahala*, *gimāla* 'bride, wife', MHG *gemahale* masc. and fem., NHG *gemahl*, fem. *gemahlin*, fr. OHG *mahal* 'contract', esp. 'marriage contract': Goth. *maþl* 'place of assembly, market', OE *maþel* 'assembly, speech', etc. Walde-P. 2.304. Weigand-H. 1.671.

7.





have been included in the discussion under 2.48, 2.49. They cover most of the Romance, Celtic, and Gmc. forms and a few of the Slavic.

2. Grk. ἀδελφός, dim. of ἀδελφός 'brother', but not restricted to 'brother's son'. Hence fem. ἀδελφὴ.

Byz., NG ἀνεψίος, ἀνεψία (NG also ἀνεψίος, -ά), with shift from earlier 'cousin' (2.55).

3. Sp. *sobrina*, *sobrina*, fr. Lat. *sobrīnus*, -a 'cousin' (2.55).

4. Nlr. *garmhac* 'grandson' and 'nephew'. Cf. 2.48.

5. OE *suhterga*, *suhtriga* 'brother's son', etym.? Walde-P. 2.470.

6. Lith. *brólėnas* 'brother's son' (also 'cousin'), deriv. of *brólis* 'brother'.

Lith. *seserėnas* 'sister's son', deriv. of *sesuo* 'sister'.

Lith. *seseryčia* 'sister's daughter', deriv. of *sesuo* 'sister'.

ChSl. (late) *synovi*, *synovič*, fem. *synovica*, dim. of *synū* 'son', and orig. used for 'nephew' on either side, as still Boh. *synovec*. But SCR. *sinovac*, fem.

*sinovica*, Pol. *synowiec*, fem. *synowica* used only for brother's son or daughter.

SCR. *bratanec*, Pol. *bratanek*, Russ. (obs.) *bratanič*, Boh. *bratranec* (also 'cousin'), *bratovec* 'brother's son', with fem. SCR. *bratanica*, Boh. *bratovna*, etc. 'brother's daughter' (most of these not in common use), derivs. of *brat(r)ū* 'brother'. Berneker 82.

Pol. *siostrzeniec* 'sister's son', *siostrzenica* 'sister's daughter', derivs. of *siostra* 'sister'. Similar Boh. *sestfenec*, fem. *sestfenice* used also for 'cousin'.

Russ. *plenjannik* 'nephew', *plenjannica* 'niece', derivs. of *plenja* 'clan, family' (19.23), hence orig. 'relative'.

7. Skt. *bhrātrīya* 'brother's son' (Pāṇini), *svasrīya* 'sister's son', *svasrīyā* 'sister's daughter', derivs. of *bhrātār* 'brother', *svasar* 'sister'.

Skt. *bhrātrīya* 'brother's son' (but also 'cousin'), Av. *brātrūya*, *brātrūyā* 'brother's son, brother's daughter', derivs. of words for 'brother', with suffix as in Skt. *pitṛya*-father's brother', etc. (2.51). Wackernagel, Andreas Fest-schrift 1 f.

## 2.55 COUSIN

a, Male b, Female c, Father's Brother's Son (Daughter) d, Father's Sister's Son (Daughter) e, Mother's Brother's Son (Daughter) f, Mother's Sister's Son (Daughter)

|      |   |       |  |       |   |
|------|---|-------|--|-------|---|
| Grk. | ἀνεψίος (a); ἀνεψία (b)   | Goth. | gadiſlīgs  | Lith. | pusbrolis (a); pusse-serē (b); brólėnas (a)   |
| NG   | ἑτερόκλητος (a); ἑτερόκλητος (b)                                    | ON    | bræðrungr (ac); bræðrunga (bc); systrungr (af); systrunga (bf) | Lett. | brālēns (a); māšica (b)   |
| Lat. | consobrinus (a); consobrina (b); patruelis (ac, bc); patruelis (ae) | Dan.  | søskendebarn; fætter (a); kusine (b)                           | ChSl. | bratu-čedū (a); sestričištī (a)   |
| It.  | cugino (a); cugina (b)  | Sw.   | syskonbarn, kusin  | SCR.  | bratūceda (ab); bratūceda (b); bratūceda (c); bratūceda (d); bratūceda (e); bratūceda (f) |
| Fr.  | cousin (a); cousine (b)   | OE    | fæderan sunu (ac); mōdrigan sunu (af); mōdrige (bf)            | Boh.  | bratranec (a); sestfenice (b)   |
| Sp.  | primo (a); prima (b)  | ME    | cosyn  | Pol.  | kuzyn (a); kuzyna (b)   |
| Rum. | văr (a); vară (b); verișor (a); verișoară (b)                       | NE    | cousin   | Du.   | neef (a); nicht (b)   |
| Ir.  | mac bráthar aithar (ac); macc bráthar máthar (ae), etc.             | Du.   | neef (a); nicht (b)  | OHG   | fetirunsun (ac); oheimessun (ae); muomunsun (af); fetirin tohter (bc), etc.               |
| Nlr. | cel dearthar (a); cyfniether (b)                                    | MHG   | veter (n)sun (ac), etc.  | Skt.  | bhrātrīya- (ac); pitṛvasrīya- (ad); mātṛvasrīya- (af); mātṛvasrīya- (bf)                  |
| Br.  | kenderu (a); keniterv (b)   | NHG   | vetter (a); cousine (b); (base, muhme b)                       | Av.   | tūryā, puṣra- (ac); tūryā, du-yār- (bc)   |

'Cousin' is understood here in the stricter and usual current sense of NE *cousin*, namely as 'first cousin, cousin-german'. Even so, it covers eight more specific varieties of relationship, there being three pairs of variable factors, that is, 'father's (or mother's) brother's (or sister's) son (or daughter)'.

Many of the expressions listed are specific terms for just one of these relations, as OE *fæderan sunu* 'father's brother's son', *mōdrigan sunu* 'mother's sister's son', etc. So the Ir., ON, OE, OHG, Skt., and most of the Slavic terms. These are phrases, compounds, or derivatives containing words for 'son, daughter' (2.41, 2.42), 'brother, sister' (2.44, 2.45), and the more specific terms for 'uncle, aunt' (2.51, 2.52); and their liter-

al meaning and application are mostly too obvious to require further comment.

But those containing words for 'brother' or 'sister' have arisen in two ways. Some denote the relationship through the brother or sister of one's parent. Others reflect an early direct association between 'brother, sister', and 'cousin' as a 'kind of brother or sister'. So Lat. *patruelis* started as *frater patruelis* (*frater tuus erat frater patruelis meus*, Plautus), Lith. *pusbrolis* is literally 'half-brother', SCR. *brat od strica*, not like OE *fæderan sunu* 'son of father's brother', but literally 'brother from father's brother', Russ. *dvujurodnij brat* lit. 'second line brother', etc. This extension of 'brother' and 'sister' is conspicuous in Balto-

5. Lith. *pusbrolis*, *pussešerē* lit. 'half-brother, half-sister' and also used in that sense, cpds. of *pus*- 'half' and the words for 'brother' and 'sister'.

Lith. *brólėnas*, Lett. *brālēns* 'nephew' and 'cousin', derivs. of word for 'brother'. Muhl-Endz. 1.328.

Lett. *māšica* 'sister-in-law' and 'cousin', deriv. of *māsa* 'sister' (2.45).

ChSl. *bratu-čedū*, in Supr. 'nephew' and 'cousin', SCR. *bratūceda*, fem. *bratūceda* 'cousin', cpd. of *bratū* 'brother' (*bratu* gen.-loc. dual, Vondrák 1.675) and *čedo* 'child'.

6. Skt. *bhrātrīya*, orig. 'brother's son' (2.53).

Skt. *pitṛvasrīya*, etc. patronymics fr. cpds. meaning 'father's sister', etc.

Av. *tūryā, puṣra*, *tūryā, du-yār*, cpds. of *tūryā* 'father's brother' (2.51) and words for 'son and daughter'.

## 2.56 ANCESTORS

|      |                                   |       |   |        |                       |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------|---|--------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | πρόγονος, πρόπατορ                | Goth. | fadreina  | Lith.  | senėvėnai, pralėvėnai |
| NG   | πρόγονος, πρόπατορ                | ON    | forfæder  | Lett.  | senči, tėvi tėvi      |
| Lat. | maiorēs                           | Dan.  | forfædre  | ChSl.  | predci                |
| It.  | avī, antenati                     | Sw.   | forfäder  | Boh.   | predkové              |
| Fr.  | ancêtres, aïeux                   | OE    | ealdfæderas   | Russ.  | predki                |
| Sp.  | antecesores, antepasados, abuelos | ME    | elðern, forfæder, ancestors, forefathers, ancestors | Skt.   | pitāras               |
| Rum. | stramoși, străbuni                | NE    | ancestors, forefathers, ancestors                   | OPers. | apanyāka- (sg.)       |
| Ir.  | senathair, sruiithi               | Du.   | voorouderen, voorvaderen                            |        |                       |
| Nlr. | sinnasir                          | OHG   | afjfordoron, altmāgā                                |        |                       |
| W.   | cyndadaw                          | MHG   | altvorderen   |        |                       |
| Br.  | gourdadou                         | NHG   | ahnen, vorfahren, voreltern                         |        |                       |

Words for 'ancestors' are from such obvious sources as 'born before', 'going before, predecessors', 'elders', 'fathers', 'grandfathers', 'fore-fathers', 'fore-parents', 'old-fathers'.

1. Grk. πρόγονος lit. 'of previous birth'. Also προπάτορες 'forefathers'. Also sometimes simply πατρες 'fathers', as likewise Lat. patrēs, Fr. pères, NE fathers, etc.

2. Lat. maiorēs lit. 'elders', comp. of magnus 'great', but in the secondary

Du. voorouderen, MHG vorallern, NHG vorältern, lit. 'fore-elders, fore-parents', cpds. of the words used for parents (2.37).

OHG altmāgā, cpd. of alt 'old' and māgā 'relatives' (2.58).

OHG (alt)fjordan, MHG (alt)vorderen, fr. OHG fjordoro, MHG vorder 'former', formed like Grk. πρότερος 'former'.

NHG ahnen, fr. OHG ano, MHG ane 'grandfather' (2.46).

NHG vorfahren lit. 'fore-goers' and formerly only 'predecessors' (as MHG vorvaren), with late specialization to 'ancestors', parallel to that of Lat. antecessōres to OFr. ancestres, etc. (above, 2).

5. Lith. senėvėnai, lit. 'old-fathers' and pralėvėnai lit. 'fore-fathers', cpds. of tėvas 'father' with senas 'old' and pra- 'fore'. Also simple tėvai formerly so used, and Lett. tėvi. Also Lith. tėvų tėvai (Kurschat), Lett. tėvu tėvi 'fathers of fathers' (Mühl-Endz. 4.178).

Lett. senči, fr. sens 'old'.

6. SCR. predci, Boh. předkové, Pol. przodkowie, Russ. predki, all derivs. of the word for 'before', ChSl. předū, etc.

7. Skt. pitāras 'fathers' regularly used for 'ancestors'.

OPers. apa-nyāka- (sg.) cpd. of apa 'from' and nyāka- 'grandfather' (2.46), like Lat. ab-avus 'grandfather'.

4. Goth. fadreina 'parents' (2.37) also used for 'ancestors'.

ON forfæðr, Dan. forfædre, Sw. för-fäder, ME forfæder, NE forefathers, Du. voorvaderen, all lit. 'fore-fathers'.

OE ealdfæderas, pl. of ealdfæder 'grandfather', lit. 'old-father' (2.46).

## 2.61 FATHER-IN-LAW

(a, Husband's Father; b, Wife's Father)

|      |                       |      |       |     |         |     |           |     |        |      |      |     |          |      |             |    |          |     |          |       |          |    |                    |      |           |     |         |    |        |    |               |    |               |     |             |     |        |     |                           |       |                     |      |         |       |                       |      |                                 |      |         |      |                       |       |                       |      |         |     |         |
|------|-----------------------|------|-------|-----|---------|-----|-----------|-----|--------|------|------|-----|----------|------|-------------|----|----------|-----|----------|-------|----------|----|--------------------|------|-----------|-----|---------|----|--------|----|---------------|----|---------------|-----|-------------|-----|--------|-----|---------------------------|-------|---------------------|------|---------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------------------------------|------|---------|------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------|-----|---------|
| Grk. | κύριος (a), πατήρ (b) | Lat. | socer | It. | suocero | Fr. | beau-père | Sp. | suegro | Rum. | socr | Ir. | ciannaim | Nlr. | ahair ciele | W. | lad-kaer | Br. | lad-kaer | Goth. | svaithrō | ON | māðr, verfaðir (a) | Dan. | svigermor | Sw. | svärfar | OE | svæger | ME | modyr in laue | NE | father-in-law | Du. | schoonvader | OHG | swiger | MHG | schwiegervater (schwager) | Lith. | uošė (šėšuras obs.) | Let. | tevuoci | ChSl. | svekrū (a), tšist (b) | SCR. | svekar (a), tšat (b), punac (b) | Boh. | tšichán | Pol. | świekra (a), tšek (b) | Russ. | svekor (a), tšet' (b) | Skt. | svasura | Av. | z'asura |
|------|-----------------------|------|-------|-----|---------|-----|-----------|-----|--------|------|------|-----|----------|------|-------------|----|----------|-----|----------|-------|----------|----|--------------------|------|-----------|-----|---------|----|--------|----|---------------|----|---------------|-----|-------------|-----|--------|-----|---------------------------|-------|---------------------|------|---------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------------------------------|------|---------|------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------|-----|---------|

## 2.63 SON-IN-LAW

|      |                       |      |        |     |                   |     |        |     |        |      |       |     |          |      |             |    |          |     |          |       |          |    |      |      |           |     |         |    |        |    |               |    |               |     |             |     |        |     |                           |       |                     |      |         |       |                       |      |                                 |      |         |      |                       |       |                       |      |         |     |         |
|------|-----------------------|------|--------|-----|-------------------|-----|--------|-----|--------|------|-------|-----|----------|------|-------------|----|----------|-----|----------|-------|----------|----|------|------|-----------|-----|---------|----|--------|----|---------------|----|---------------|-----|-------------|-----|--------|-----|---------------------------|-------|---------------------|------|---------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------------------------------|------|---------|------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------|-----|---------|
| Grk. | γυνή (a), σύζυγος (b) | Lat. | genero | It. | beau-fils, gendre | Fr. | gendre | Sp. | genaro | Rum. | giner | Ir. | ciannaim | Nlr. | ahair ciele | W. | lad-kaer | Br. | lad-kaer | Goth. | svaithrō | ON | māðr | Dan. | svigermor | Sw. | svärfar | OE | svæger | ME | modyr in laue | NE | father-in-law | Du. | schoonvader | OHG | swiger | MHG | schwiegervater (schwager) | Lith. | uošė (šėšuras obs.) | Let. | tevuoci | ChSl. | svekrū (a), tšist (b) | SCR. | svekar (a), tšat (b), punac (b) | Boh. | tšichán | Pol. | świekra (a), tšek (b) | Russ. | svekor (a), tšet' (b) | Skt. | svasura | Av. | z'asura |
|------|-----------------------|------|--------|-----|-------------------|-----|--------|-----|--------|------|-------|-----|----------|------|-------------|----|----------|-----|----------|-------|----------|----|------|------|-----------|-----|---------|----|--------|----|---------------|----|---------------|-----|-------------|-----|--------|-----|---------------------------|-------|---------------------|------|---------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------------------------------|------|---------|------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------|-----|---------|

## 2.62 MOTHER-IN-LAW

(a, Husband's Mother; b, Wife's Mother)

|      |                       |      |       |     |         |     |           |     |        |      |      |     |          |      |             |    |          |     |          |       |          |    |                    |      |           |     |         |    |        |    |               |    |               |     |             |     |        |     |                           |       |                     |      |         |       |                       |      |                                 |      |         |      |                       |       |                       |      |         |     |         |
|------|-----------------------|------|-------|-----|---------|-----|-----------|-----|--------|------|------|-----|----------|------|-------------|----|----------|-----|----------|-------|----------|----|--------------------|------|-----------|-----|---------|----|--------|----|---------------|----|---------------|-----|-------------|-----|--------|-----|---------------------------|-------|---------------------|------|---------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------------------------------|------|---------|------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------|-----|---------|
| Grk. | κύριος (a), πατήρ (b) | Lat. | socer | It. | suocero | Fr. | beau-père | Sp. | suegro | Rum. | socr | Ir. | ciannaim | Nlr. | ahair ciele | W. | lad-kaer | Br. | lad-kaer | Goth. | svaithrō | ON | māðr, verfaðir (a) | Dan. | svigermor | Sw. | svärfar | OE | svæger | ME | modyr in laue | NE | father-in-law | Du. | schoonvader | OHG | swiger | MHG | schwiegervater (schwager) | Lith. | uošė (šėšuras obs.) | Let. | tevuoci | ChSl. | svekrū (a), tšist (b) | SCR. | svekar (a), tšat (b), punac (b) | Boh. | tšichán | Pol. | świekra (a), tšek (b) | Russ. | svekor (a), tšet' (b) | Skt. | svasura | Av. | z'asura |
|------|-----------------------|------|-------|-----|---------|-----|-----------|-----|--------|------|------|-----|----------|------|-------------|----|----------|-----|----------|-------|----------|----|--------------------|------|-----------|-----|---------|----|--------|----|---------------|----|---------------|-----|-------------|-----|--------|-----|---------------------------|-------|---------------------|------|---------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------------------------------|------|---------|------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------|-----|---------|

## 2.64 DAUGHTER-IN-LAW

|      |                       |      |        |     |                   |     |        |     |        |      |       |     |          |      |             |    |          |     |          |       |          |    |      |      |           |     |         |    |        |    |               |    |               |     |             |     |        |     |                           |       |                     |      |         |       |                       |      |                                 |      |         |      |                       |       |                       |      |         |     |         |
|------|-----------------------|------|--------|-----|-------------------|-----|--------|-----|--------|------|-------|-----|----------|------|-------------|----|----------|-----|----------|-------|----------|----|------|------|-----------|-----|---------|----|--------|----|---------------|----|---------------|-----|-------------|-----|--------|-----|---------------------------|-------|---------------------|------|---------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------------------------------|------|---------|------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------|-----|---------|
| Grk. | γυνή (a), σύζυγος (b) | Lat. | genero | It. | beau-fils, gendre | Fr. | gendre | Sp. | genaro | Rum. | giner | Ir. | ciannaim | Nlr. | ahair ciele | W. | lad-kaer | Br. | lad-kaer | Goth. | svaithrō | ON | māðr | Dan. | svigermor | Sw. | svärfar | OE | svæger | ME | modyr in laue | NE | father-in-law | Du. | schoonvader | OHG | swiger | MHG | schwiegervater (schwager) | Lith. | uošė (šėšuras obs.) | Let. | tevuoci | ChSl. | svekrū (a), tšist (b) | SCR. | svekar (a), tšat (b), punac (b) | Boh. | tšichán | Pol. | świekra (a), tšek (b) | Russ. | svekor (a), tšet' (b) | Skt. | svasura | Av. | z'asura |
|------|-----------------------|------|--------|-----|-------------------|-----|--------|-----|--------|------|-------|-----|----------|------|-------------|----|----------|-----|----------|-------|----------|----|------|------|-----------|-----|---------|----|--------|----|---------------|----|---------------|-----|-------------|-----|--------|-----|---------------------------|-------|---------------------|------|---------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------------------------------|------|---------|------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|------|---------|-----|---------|

## 2.57 DESCENDANTS

(Or sg. coll. Offspring, Progeny)

|      |                         |       |                                    |       |                                 |
|------|-------------------------|-------|------------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|
| Grk. | ἄγονος, ἀπόγονος        | Goth. | afspringr                          | Lith. | ainiai                          |
| NG   | ἀγονος                  | ON    | afspringr                          | Let.  | piēnācēji, piēnākami            |
| Lat. | prōgenies (sg.), poster | Dan.  | efterkommere                       | ChSl. | potomci                         |
| It.  | descendenti, poster     | Sw.   | afkomlingar, ätlingar              | SCR.  | potomei                         |
| Fr.  | descendants             | OE    | afspring                           | Boh.  | potomci                         |
| Sp.  | descendientes           | ME    | afspring                           | Russ. | potomkowie                      |
| Rum. | descendentes            | NE    | descendants, offspring             | Russ. | potomki                         |
| Ir.  | iarlinge, aue           | Du.   | na-(af-)komelingen, afstammelingen | Av.   | frazainti-, naptiažū (loc. pl.) |
| Nlr. | sliocht                 | OHG   | afterkumft                         |       |                                 |
| W.   | disgynnyddion           | MHG   | after-(nach-)kumft (komen)         |       |                                 |
| Br.  | diskennidi              | NHG   | abkömmlinge, nachkommen            |       |                                 |

Words for 'descendants' are from such obvious sources as 'born from', 'coming from', 'coming after', 'those after'.

1. Grk. ἄγονος, ἀπόγονος lit. 'having birth from'.

2. Lat. prōgenies lit. 'a bringing forth' (cf. prōgignere 'bring forth'), hence 'offspring, progeny', used as coll. for 'descendants'.

Lat. posterī (> It. posterī), pl. of posterus 'coming after', deriv. of post 'after'. Hence also sb. posteritas > Fr. postérité > ME posterite, NE posterity.

It. descendenti, Fr. descendants (> NE descendants), Sp. descendientes, Rum. descendenți, fr. pple. of Lat. descendere 'come down, descend'.

Rum. coboritori, fr. cobori 'descend' (this of Slavic orig., Tiktin 379).

3. Ir. iartage, sg. coll., cpd. of iar 'after' and taig- 'come', thiā fr. to-tiag, cpd. of tiagu 'go' (Pedersen 2.645). Hence like NHG nachkommen.

Ir. aui, pl. of aue 'grandfather' (2.46) also used for 'descendants'.

Nlr. sliocht 'race, family', also 'offspring, descendants', same word as Mir. sliocht, sliocht 'trace, track'. Walde-P. 2.706.

W. disgynnyddion, Br. diskennidi, fr. disgyn, diskenn 'descend' (fr. Lat. descendere).

4. ON afspringr, OE ofspring, ME, NE offspring, sg. coll., cpd. of af-, of-'from', 'coming after', 'those after'.

Sw. ätlingar, fr. ätt 'family' in wide sense (19.23).

Dan. efterkommere, Sw. afkomlingar, Du. nakomelingen (also af-), OHG afterkumft (sg. coll.), MHG afterkumft, afterkomen and nachkumft, nachkommen, NHG abkömmlinge, nachkommen, all cpds. of words for 'after' or 'from', and 'come'.

5. Lith. ainiai (NSB, Lalis; not in Kurschat, who has vaikų vaikai 'children of children'), also coll. ainybė (NSB), neologisms based on eiti, pres. einu (dial. ainu) 'go, come' (Senn in private letter; ainei coined in 1885).

Lett. piēnācēji, piēnākami, fr. adv. pēc 'later'. Mühl-Endz. 3.205.

6. SCR., Boh. potomci, Pol. potomkowie, Russ. potomki, all fr. adv. potom 'afterward' (ChSl. po tomi 'after this').

7. Skt. prajā-, Av. frazainti-, both sg. coll., fr. Skt. pra-jan- 'bring forth, be born', Av. fra-zan-, like Lat. prōgenies.

Skt. tana-, tanas- (RV), fr. tan- 'stretch', as 'what stretches on, continuation'.

Av. naptiažū (loc. pl.) : napāt- 'grandson' (2.46). Barth. 1040.

Slavic, but may also be observed elsewhere.

Some of the other terms, as Lat. *consobrinus*, must, according to their etymology, once have had only a specific application, but came to be used without such restriction.

The cousin relationship is one of the fourth degree, reckoned through the common ancestor. Cf. Gaius, Dig. 38. 10.1.6 *quarto gradu [cognationis sunt] consobrini, consobrinaeque*. This is reflected in Nlr. *col ceathar* (lit. 'relationship four').

A few of the words represent an extension or shift from 'nephew', one's father's 'nephew' being one's own 'cousin'.

1. Grk. ἀνεψίος, ἀνεψία 'cousin', later 'nephew, niece' (2.53, 2.54), cpd. (with cop. ā- fr. ā-) : Lat. *nepōs*, Skt. *napāt* 'grandson', etc. (2.47). Walde-P. 2.329 ff.

Grk. (Hellenistic) ἑτερόκλητος 'nephew' (LXX, Josephus) and 'cousin' (pop.; re-proved by Phrynicius), also fem. ἑτερόκλητος (inscr.), hence the NG forms. A phrase-compound fr. ἑτερόκλητος, hence orig. 'nephew', then with shift to 'cousin', as in NHG *vetter*, etc.

2. Lat. *patruelis*, deriv. of *patruus* 'father's brother' (2.51), hence reg. 'father's brother's son or daughter' (rarely also 'father's sister's son').

Lat. *mātruelis* formed as a pendant to *patruelis*, and *amitinus*, fr. *amila* 'father's sister' (2.52), are late and rare.

Lat. *consobrinus*, fem. *consobrīna* (also *sobrīnus*, *sobrīna*), fr. \**con-suescīno*, deriv. of *soror* 'sister', and prob. first used in pl. *consobrīni* 'fellow descendants of sisters'. In legal language applied to cousin on the mother's side, as contrasted with *patruelis*, but in common usage extended to cousin on either side.

Hence It. *cugino*, *cugina*, Fr. *cousin*,

*cousine* (> ME *cosyn*, NE *cousin*, Dan. *kusine*, Sw. *kusin*, NHG *cousine*, Pol. *kuzyn*, *kuzyna*). REW 2165.

Sp. *primo*, *prima* 'first' (Lat. *primus*) and 'cousin', latter prob. fr. phrase with *sobrinus*, *sobrīna* when these were still 'cousin' (above, 2). But cf. Tappolet, op. cit. 119.

Rum. *văr*, *vară*, fr. Lat. *vērū* 'true', orig. *cusurin văr* 'true cousin' (still dial. *cusurin ver*). Hence also, in more familiar use, dim. *verișor*, *verișoară*. Pug-cariu 156.

3. Nlr. *col ceathar*, lit. 'relationship four', that is, reckoned from a common ancestor, 'first cousin', as *col seisear* lit. 'relationship six' is 'second cousin'.

W. *cefnider*, fem. *cyfnider*, Br. *ken*





Dan. *svigerfar*, etc., and by imitation Sw. *svärfar*, etc., in which, however, *svär* represents the old masc. form = Goth. *swaihra*, etc. (2.61). Falk-Torp 1216. Hellquist 1132.

4. Ir. *cliamain* 'relation by marriage', quotable for 'father-, son-, and brother-in-law': *clemnas* 'alliance by marriage' (root connection?). Hence Nlr. *cliamhain* 'son-in-law' (dial. also 'father- or mother-in-law'), and *bainchliamhain* 'daughter-in-law' (*ban*- 'female').

Nlr. *athair* (*máthair*, etc.) *céile*, 'father (mother, brother, sister) of spouse'.

5. Goth. *mēgs* 'son-in-law', ON *māgr* 'father-, son-, or brother-in-law', *māgkona* 'mother-, daughter-, or sister-in-law', Sw. *måg* (obs.), ODan., Norw. *maag* 'son-in-law': OE *māg*, OHG *māg* 'relative', all perh. (cf. Fr. *beau-père*, etc.): Lith. *mėgti* 'be pleasing'. Walde-P. 2.256. Feist 352.

6. ON *sifjar* 'relationship by marriage' (: Goth. *sibja*, OE *sibb*, etc. 'kinship'), hence *sifjunngr* for male, *sifkona* for female relative by marriage. Cf. also Nicel. *tengda-faðir*, etc. (whole series): ON *tengdir* 'relationship' (esp. by marriage) fr. *tengja* 'fasten'.

7. Lat. *adfinis*, lit. 'bordering, near', was used as a general term for any relative by marriage, but without displacing the specific terms.

2.61, 2.62. 'Father-in-law' and 'mother-in-law'. 1. IE \**swekuro-*, fem. \**swekru-*, doubtless a cpd. of refl. \**swe-*, but the second part dub. Walde-P. 2.521 ff. Ernout-M. 948 f. Orig. used only by the wife of her husband's father or mother, as in Vedic Sanskrit, Homeric Greek, and still in Slavic; elsewhere the differentiation is lost.

Hence (with some new stem formations, fem. fr. masc. or conversely) Grk.

*ekupós*, with new fem. *ekupá*; Lat. *socer*, *socrus* (> It. *suocero*, OFr. *suevre*, Sp. *suegro*, Rum. *socru*, with new fem. It. *suocera*, Sp. *suegra*, Rum. *socrá*); W. *chwegr* fem., with new masc. *chwegrun* (both in Bible, but mostly obs.); Goth. *swaihra*, *swaihrō* (*n*-stems), ON *swēra* fem., OSw. *swēr* masc., Sw. *svär* (*far*), OE *swēor*, *sweger*, MLG *zweer* masc., OHG *suehur*, *swigar*, NHG *schwäher*, *schwieger* (*mutter*), whence by analogy *schwiegervater* (-*sohn*, -*tochter*); Lith. *šešuras* (obs.); ChSl. *svekrū*, *svekry*, SCR. *svekar*, *svekrva* (Boh. *svekr*, *svekra* now obs.), Pol. *swiekier*, *swiekra*, Russ. *svekor*, *svekrōv*; Skt. *ṣvaśura-*, *ṣvaśrā-*, Av. *xšaśura-*; Arm. *skesur* fem., with new masc. *skesurair*; Alb. *vjehër*, *vjehëre*.

From a secondary deriv. with strengthened grade of the first syllable (cf. Skt. *ṣvāśura-* 'belonging to a father-in-law') comes OHG *swāgur*, MHG *swāger*, NHG *schwager* 'brother-in-law', that is, by derivation 'son of one's father-in-law'.

2. Grk. *πενθερός*, in Homer only 'wife's father', later generalized at the expense of *ekupós* (and sometimes used also for 'son-in-law, brother-in-law'), fem. *πενθερά*; Skt. *bandhu-* 'relative', *bandh-* 'bind', IE \**bhendh-*. Walde-P. 2.152.

3. Sp. beside *suegra* 'mother-in-law', also *madra política* 'mother by courtesy'. 4. Lith. *uošvis*, *uoštė*, formerly only 'wife's father, mother', now 'father-in-law', 'mother-in-law' without restriction, etym.?

Lith. *anyta* 'husband's mother', pet-name type: Lat. *anus* 'old woman', etc. (above, p. 94). Walde-P. 1.55.

Lett. *tēvuociis*, *mātiice* derivs. of *tēvs* 'father', *māte* 'mother'. But usually *vīra* (*sievas*) *tēvs* (*māte*) 'husband's (wife's) father (mother)'.

5. ChSl. *tišti*, *tišťa*, etc., general Slavic

word for 'wife's father, mother' (but Boh. *tschdn*, *tschyně* with added suffix, and extension to 'husband's father, mother' at the expense of the old *svekr*, *svekra*), pet-name type: Lat. *tata*, Lith. *lėtis* 'father', etc. (above, p. 94). Brückner 569.

SCR. *punac*, *punica*, etym.?

2.63. 'Son-in-law'. 1. Grk. *γυμνός* mostly 'son-in-law', but also 'brother-in-law', 'father-in-law', 'relative by marriage', NG 'bridegroom', 'son-in-law' or 'sister's husband': *γάμος* 'marriage'. From the same root also Skt. *jāmātar-*, Av. *zāmātar-*, with suffix as in *pīlār-mātar-*, etc. Walde-P. 1.574.

2. Lat. *gener* (> It. *genero*, Fr. *gendre*, Sp. *yerro*, Rum. *ginere*), Lith. *ženias*, Lett. *znuots* (also 'brother-in-law'), ChSl. *zēti*, etc., the general Slavic word, all apparently fr. IE \**ǵen-* in Lat. *gignere* 'beget, bear', etc. Ernout-M. 414 f. Or Lat. *gener* for *gemer* (with *n* by influence of *genitor*, etc.) and so belonging orig. to preceding group? So Walde-P. 1.574, Walde-H. 1.590 f.

3. W. *daw*, Br. *devn*, MBr. *deuff*, OCor. *dof*: Ir. *dām* 'a following, band', Nlr. *damh* 'tribe, family', with specialization of 'relative' to 'son-in-law'. Walde-P. 1.764. Pederson 1.48.

4. OE *ārum* (also 'sister's husband'), OHG *eidum*, MHG *eidem*, NHG *eidam*, perh. (Gmc. \**aīrūma-*): Osc. *aeteis*, Grk. *ateia* 'portion' and orig. applied to the one who marries a man's heiress-daughter and has a share in the inheritance. Hermann, Gött. Nachr. 1918.216 ff. Kluge-G. 123.

NHG now *schwiegerson*, dial. *tochtermann*. Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 454.

2.64. 'Daughter-in-law'. 1. IE

\**susno-*, prob. orig. 'bride', like the various later substitutes for it, and plausibly explained as fr. \**sneu-* 'bind' in Skt.

*snāwan-* 'sinew', etc. Walde-P. 2.701. Ernout-M. 689.

Grk. *vús*; Lat. *nurus*, late *nura*, \**nora* (> It. *nuora*, OFr. *nuere*, Sp. *nuera*, Rum. *nord*); ON *snor*, OE *snoru*, ME *snore*, OHG *snura*, MHG *snur*, NHG *schnur*; ChSl. *snūcha*, SCR. *snaha*, Boh. *snacha*, Russ. *snocha*; Skt. *snusā-*; Arm. *nu*.

2. Grk. *νύμφη* 'bride' (: Lat. *nūbere* 'marry', etc., 2.33) replaced *vús* in Hellenistic times (LXX, NT; cf. Mt. 10.35), and prob. earlier (for *vús* is quotable only from poetry).

3. Fr. *bru*, fr. OFr. *brut* 'bride' loan-word fr. Gmc. (OHG *brūt*, etc.). REW 1345. Gamillscheg 154.

4. W. *gwaudd*, Br. *gouhez*, etym.?(Pedersen 1.514, fr. \**upo-siyu-*, meaning connection with Skt. *si-* 'bind', etc.?).

5. Goth. *brūps* properly 'bride' (as in *brūpfaps* 'bridegroom', cf. OE *brīd*, OHG *brūt*, etc.) is used for 'daughter-in-law', prob. influenced by the similar use of Grk. *νύμφη*, which it translates (Mt. 10.35). Hence also VLat. *bruta*, *brutis* 'daughter-in-law'. Cf. Fr. *bru*, above, 3.

6. Lith. *marti* 'bride' and (now mostly) 'daughter-in-law', prob.: Skt. *mar-ya-* 'young man', Grk. *μειραξ* 'young girl', etc. Walde-P. 2.281.

Lett. *vedekle* orig. 'bride', fr. *vedu*, *vest* 'marry'.

Lett. *jaunava* 'young woman, bride, daughter-in-law', fr. *jauns* 'young': Lat. *iuvenis* 'young', etc.

7. ChSl. *nevěsta* 'bride' (see 2.22 under Pol. *nieściasta*), used also for *νύμφη* as 'daughter-in-law' (Mt. 10.35). So Russ. *nevestka* beside *nevěsta* 'bride'.

Pol. *synowa*, fr. *syn* 'son', hence lit. 'son's wife'.

2.65. 'Brother-in-law' covers 'husband's brother', 'wife's brother', 'sister's husband', and sometimes even

|       | 2.71<br>STEPFATHER   | 2.72<br>STEPMOTHER      | 2.73<br>STEPSON        | 2.74 STEP-<br>DAUGHTER     |
|-------|----------------------|-------------------------|------------------------|----------------------------|
| Grk.  | (μπαππός, παππός)    | μπαμμά                  | παππός                 | παπποσύνη                  |
| NG    | μπαππός              | μπαμμά                  | παππός                 | παπποσύνη                  |
| Lat.  | patrignus, patrāster | noverca, matrāster      | privignus, filiāster   | privigna, filiāstra        |
| It.   | beau-père            | belle-mère (marâtre)    | beau-fils              | belle-fille                |
| Fr.   | padastro             | madrastra               | hijastro               | hijastra                   |
| Sp.   | tald vitreg          | madra vitregā           | fiu vitreg             | fatā vitregā               |
| Rum.  | lesathair            | lesmāthair              | lesmac                 | lesinghean                 |
| Nlr.  | leasathair           | leasmāthair             | leasmac                | leasinhēan                 |
| W.    | llysdad              | llysfam                 | llysfab                | llysfach                   |
| Br.   | lez-lad              | lez-vamm                | lez-vab                | lez-verc'h                 |
| Goth. | stjūpfaðir           | stjūpmōðir              | stjūpsoon, stjūpr      | stjūpdottir                |
| ON    | stjafader            | stjufoder               | stjifson               | stjifdatter                |
| Dan.  | stjafar              | stjufoder               | stjifson               | stjifdatter                |
| Sw.   | stjofader            | stjofoder               | stjofson               | stjofdatter                |
| OE    | stepfader            | stepmōder               | stepson                | stepdoughter               |
| ME    | stepfader            | stepmōder               | stepson                | stepdoughter               |
| NE    | stepfader            | stepmōder               | stepson                | stepdoughter               |
| Du.   | stiefvader           | stiefmoeder             | stiefzoon              | stiefdochter               |
| OHG   | stiuufater           | stiuufmoater            | stiuufsun              | stiuuftochter              |
| MHG   | stiefvater           | stiefmuoter             | stiefsohn              | stieftochter               |
| NHG   | stiefvater           | stiefmutter             | stiefsohn              | stieftochter               |
| Lith. | palėvis              | pamėtis                 | pasėlis                | podukra                    |
| Let.  | palēvis              | pamėtis                 | pasėlis                | podukra                    |
| ChSl. | otčimū, otčičū       | mašecha                 | pastorāku              | pastorūka (pa-dūti)        |
| SCR.  | očuh                 | mačecha                 | pastorak               | pastorka                   |
| Boh.  | nevlasní otec, otčim | nevlasní matka, macecha | nevlasní syn, pastorek | nevlasní dcera, pastorkyně |
| Pol.  | ojczym               | macocha                 | pasierb                | pasierbica                 |
| Russ. | otčim, volčim        | mačicha                 | pasynok                | padčerica                  |
| Skt.  | (tāta- yatiyan-)     |                         |                        |                            |
| Av.   | .....                | .....                   | .....                  | .....                      |

2.71-2.74. Words for 'stepfather', etc. are, with some exceptions, derivatives or compounds of the words for 'father', etc.

1. Grk. *μπαππός*, Ion. *μπαμμά* (Hom. +) 'stepmother', deriv. of *μάρη* with suffix related to that of *πατρός*, *μήτρας*, Lat. *patruus*, Skt. *pitrūya-* 'uncle' (2.51). From this was formed masc. *μπαππός* or *παππός* 'stepfather' (both late and rare), NG *μπαππός*.

Grk. *παππός*, lit. 'of previous birth', hence 'ancestor' (2.56), but also, as one born of a previous marriage, 'stepson' or 'stepdaughter', for latter also *παρὸν*. But NG *παρὸν* 'stepson' (thus differentiated from *παρὸν* 'ancestor'), *πα-*

*γος* 'stepdaughter', or dim. form *παρὸν* for young 'stepchild' of either sex.

2. Lat. *vitricus* 'stepfather', etym. dub., but perh. an extension of IE \**wti-* in Skt. *vitaram* 'farther, more distant', etc., from \**wi-* 'apart', and orig. *pater vitricus* 'remoter father'. Walde-P. 1.313. Hence Rum. *vitreg* (fr. lit. Latin, prob. through Hung. official Latin, cf. Tiktin s.v.), in *tald vitreg*, and by extension *madā vitregā*, *fiu vitreg*, *fatā vitregā*.

Lat. *noverca* 'stepmother', deriv. of *novus* 'new', as one's 'new mother'. Ernout-M. 680.

Lat. *privignus* 'stepson', *privigna* 'stepdaughter', deriv. (orig. cpd. with *gno-*: *gignere*, *genus*) of *privus* 'single', hence

'one of separate birth' (i.e. of a previous marriage). Ernout-M. 811.

It. *patrigno* 'stepfather', *matrigna* 'stepmother', formed fr. the words for 'father' and 'mother', with the suffix *-igno-* used as in *rossigno* 'reddish', etc., hence 'a sort of father (mother)'. Perhaps also first based on the obs. *privigno*.

The above words are those used in Latin literature. Inscriptions and glosses show the series *patrāster*, etc., derivatives of the words for 'father, mother', etc., and meaning 'a kind of father', etc. Hence It. *figliastro*, *figliastro*, OFr. *parastre*, *marastre*, *fillastre*, Fr. *parastre* (obs.), *marâtre*, Sp. *padrastra*, *hijastra*, *hijastra*, Rum. (obs.) *fiastru*, *fiastă*.

In French the words came to be used in a derogatory sense, and became obsolete, except *marâtre* and this now mostly the typical cruel 'stepmother'. They were replaced by the polite phrases *beau-père*, etc., the same as for 'father-in-law', etc. (2.61-2.64).

3. The Celtic series, Ir. *leasathair*, etc., Nlr. *leasathair*, etc., W. *llysdad*, etc., *Br. lezlad*, etc., cpds. of the words for 'father' etc., the first part, as in Ir. *leas-ainm*, W. *llys-enu* 'nickname', cognate with Ir. *leth*, W. *lled* 'side, half'. Pedersen 2.8.

OBr. *eltroguen*, OCor. *altruan* 'nourish', fr. *al-* 'nourish', perh. also associated with 'other'. Pedersen 1.137.

4. The Gmc. series, ON *stjūpfaðir*, etc. (also *stjūpr* alone for 'stepson'), OE *steopfader*, etc., OHG *stiuufater*, etc., started in words for 'stepchild, stepson' as orig. 'orphan', like OE *steopcild*, *steopbarn* 'orphan', the first part: OE *ā-stīpan*, OHG *bi-stīufan* 'bereave', ON *stūfr* 'stump', etc. Walde-P. 2.619. Falk-Torp 1161. NED s.v. *step-*.

5. The Baltic series, Lith. *patėvis*, etc., Lett. *patēvs*, etc. (so also OPruss. *patowelis*, *pomatre*, *passons*, *poducere*; also late ChSl. *padūšti*, *padūšterica*, Russ. *padčerica*, *pasynok*), cpds. of words for 'father', etc. (Lith. *dukra* pet form of *duktė* 'daughter') with prefix *pa-*, *po-* 'after, under' used also like Lat. *sub-*, hence here 'a sort of father', etc.

6. The Slavic words for 'stepfather, stepmother', late ChSl. *otčimū*, *otčičū*, *mašecha*, SCR. *očuh*, *mačecha*, Boh. *otčim*, *macecha*, etc., all derivs. of the words for 'father, mother'.

Late ChSl. *pastorāku* 'stepson', *pastorka*, *pastorka*, Boh. *pastorek*, *pastorkyně*, etym. disputed, but best explained as starting in a \**pa-dūktorūka* (cf. *pa-dūšti*, etc., above), whence an abbreviated \**padtorūka* > *pastorūka*, with new masc. formed from this. Miklosich 55. Meillet, MSL 13.28. Otherwise Zubatý, Arch. sl. Ph. 13.315 f. Still otherwise M. Vey, BSL 32.66.

Pol. *pasierb* 'stepson', *pasierbica* 'stepdaughter' (also Russ. dial. *paserb*), cpd. of *pa-* (as in Lith. *pa-dukra*, etc., above), the second part being much disputed; taken as \**serbū* by transposition from \**sebrū* (\**sebrū* in OSerb. *sebrū* 'free peasant', Russ. *sjaabr* 'neighbor, friend'): Goth. *sibja* 'kinship', by Solmsen, KZ 37.592 ff., Walde-P. 2.456; as 'one who does not suck the same milk' fr. the root of *sorbač*, Lat. *sorbere* 'suck in' by Brückner 398.

Boh. new series *nevlasní otec*, etc., lit. 'not own father', etc., from neg. *ne* and *vlasní* 'own'.

7. Skt. only late and rare words *tāta-yatiyan-* 'stepfather' lit. 'younger (later) father', *dvāimātura-bhrātar-* 'stepbrother', lit. 'having two mothers'.

'wife's or husband's sister's husband', and 'husbands of sisters'; and these may be expressed by different terms. The inherited group is used only of 'husband's brother'.

1. IE \**daivēr-*, root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.767. Ernout-M. 541. Walde-H. 1.787 f.

Grk. *δᾱίρ* (rare; Hom., Men. and a late inscr.); Lat. *tēvir* (rare; Festus, etc.; with dial. *l* for *d*, late *ē* for *ae*, and late syllable influenced by *vir*); OE *tācor*, OHG *zeihhur*; Lith. (obs.), Lett. (obs.) *dieveris*, ChSl. *děverī*, SCR. *djever* (Boh. *dever*, Pol. *dziewierz* obs. or dial.), Russ. *dever*; Skt. *devar*; Arm. *taigr*; all meaning 'husband's brother'.

2. Grk. *γαμβρός* 'son-in-law' (2.63), also 'husband's or wife's brother', NG also 'sister's husband'.

Grk. *ἀνδρός* (*γυναικός*) *ἀδελφός*, late *ἀνδράδελφος*, *γυναικάδελφος*. NG *κουιάδος*, see below, 3.

3. Lat. *cognātus* 'relative' in late inscr. 'brother-in-law'. Hence It. *cognato* (> NG *κουιάδος* 'husband's or wife's brother'), Sp. *cuñado*, Rum. *cumnat*, with the corresponding fem. forms. REW 2029.

4. OHG *swāger*, MHG, MLG *swāger* (> Dan. *svoger*, Sw. *svägar*), Du. *zwager*, NHG *schwager* (> Boh. *švagr*, Pol. *szwagier*, Lith. *švogėris* and, through Hung., SCR. *šogor*), fr. a deriv. of the word for 'father-in-law'. See 2.61, above, p. 124.

OE *ādūm* 'son-in-law' (2.63) also 'sister's husband'.

5. Lith. (obs.) *laiguonas* 'wife's brother', etym.?

6. ChSl. (late) *šurī*, *šurinā*, SCR. *šura*, *šurjak*, Russ. *šurin*, Skt. *syāla-*, all 'wife's brother', perh. from \**siū-* 'sew' (Lat. *suere*, etc.), through 'bind'. Walde-P. 2.514.

7. Grk. *ἀδελφοί* (Hesych.), *ἐλπίονες* (Pollux), ON *svilar*, 'husbands of sis-

ters'; Lith. *svainis*, Lett. *svainis* (cf. Mühl.-Endz. s.v.), pl. *svaini* 'husbands of sisters'; ChSl. *svatū*, *svojakū* 'relative', SCR., Russ. *svojak* 'wife's sister's husband', Boh. *svat*, *svak* for various 'in-laws'; all fr. refl. \**swo-* 'one's own', applied to these secondary relationships mainly because the primary relationships already had their fixed terms. Walde-P. 2.457, 533.

2.66. 'Sister-in-law', like 'brother-in-law', covers a variety of specific relations, which may be expressed by different terms. One inherited group applies to the 'husband's sister', another to the 'husband's brother's wife' or in the plural 'wives of brothers'.

1. IE \**glōu-*, etc., root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.631. Ernout-M. 426.

Grk. \**γάλως*, Hom. *γάλως*, Att. *γάλως* 'husband's sister'; Lat. *glōs* (attested only in glosses) 'husband's sister' (also 'brother's wife'). Cf. Arch. lat. Lex. 12.413 ff.; ChSl. *zlūva*, SCR. *zaova*, OBoh. *zēlva*, Russ. *zolvka* 'husband's sister'.

2. IE \**yenater-*, etc., root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.207 f. Ernout-M. 469.

Grk. *ἐνάτηρ*, Hom. pl. *ἐνάτερες* (cf. Il. 6.378 *γάλως ἢ ἐνάτερον* of Andromache's 'husband's sisters or her husband's brothers' wives); Lat. pl. *ianitricēs* (rare) 'wives of brothers'; OLith. *jenė*, Lett. *ietere* (obs.), ChSl. *jětry*, SCR. *jětra*, OBoh. *jatrev*, *jatruše*, OPol. *jařew*, Russ. *jatrow* (obs.); Skt. *yātara-*; all used of one's 'husband's brother's wife', or in plural for 'wives of brothers'.

3. Grk. usually *ἀνδρός* (*γυναικός*) *ἀδελφός*, late *ἀνδράδελφος*.

NG *κουιάδα* 'husband's or wife's sister', fem. of *κουιάδος* 'husband's or wife's brother' (2.65).

Grk. *νύμφη* 'bride', 'daughter-in-law' (2.64), NG *νύμφη* also 'brother's wife'.

Grk. *σύννυμφος* 'husband's brother's wife' (LXX+). Hence NG *συννυφάδα* id., pl. *συννυφάδες* 'wives of brothers'.

4. Lat. usually *virī* (*uzdriis*) *soror*, *frātris uxor*, for the last also *frātria* (only in

## 2.81 RELATIVES

|      |                                    |       |                                |       |                      |
|------|------------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | συγγενείς                          | Goth. | (ga)niþjōs                     | Lith. | giminaičiai          |
| NG   | συγγενείς                          | ON    | nīðjar                         | Lett. | radi                 |
| Lat. | cognātī, propinquī                 | Dan.  | slægtinge                      | ChSl. | rođenije (sg. coll.) |
| It.  | parenti                            | Sw.   | släktingar                     | SCr.  | rodjaci              |
| Fr.  | parents                            | OE    | māgas, cynn, siblin-gas        | Boh.  | přibuzní             |
| Sp.  | parentes                           | ME    | kinnesmen, kin                 | Pol.  | krewni               |
| Rum. | rude                               | NE    | relatives, relations, kin(men) | Russ. | rodnyje              |
| Ir.  | coibnestaib (dat. pl.), coibdelaig | NE    | veruocanten                    | Skt.  | bandhavas, jñālayas  |
| NlR. | gaolta                             | Du.   | veruocanten                    | Av.   | nāfya-               |
| W.   | ceraint, perthynau                 | OHG   | māga, (gi)sibbon               |       |                      |
| Br.  | kerent                             | MHG   | māgen                          |       |                      |
|      |                                    | NHG   | verwandten                     |       |                      |

Words for 'relatives' are from such notions as 'of common birth or blood', 'belonging to the family', 'near', 'related', etc.

1. Grk. συγγενείς, lit. 'of common kin', cpd. of συν- 'together' and γένος 'race, family' (19.23).

2. Lat. cognātī, lit. 'of common birth', cpd. of con- 'together' and (g)nātus 'born'.

Lat. propinquī, lit. 'those near', deriv. of prope 'near'.

Lat. consanguineī, lit. 'of common blood', cpd. of con- and sanguen 'blood'.

Lat. adfinēs, used for 'relatives by marriage', lit. 'bordering on', cpd. of ad 'at' and finis 'boundary'.

It. parenti, Fr. parents, Sp. parientes, fr. Lat. parentēs 'parents' (2.37).

Rum. rude, pl. of ruda 'family, relative', loanword from Slavic, ChSl. rodū 'race, family', etc. (19.23).

3. Olr. coibnestaib 'consanguineis' (Thes. 1.88), deriv. of \*coibnes (MlR. coibnius) 'relationship', this a cpd. of com- 'together' and fine 'clan' (19.23). Pedersen 1.64, 2.20.

MlR. coibdelaig: coibdeiligim 'distribute, divide' (\*com-fo-deiligim, cf. deiligim 'separate, distinguish'), so presumably first used as a legal term for the 'relatives' who divide the inheritance. Laws, Gloss. 147,221.

NlR. gaolta, pl. of gaol 'relationship, kindred, family', MlR. gael 'relationship': Gael. gaol 'love' (Goth. gailjan 'make glad', etc.?). Walde-P. 1.634.

W. ceraint, Br. kerent, pl. of car, kar: Ir. care 'friend'. Pedersen 1.249.

W. perthynau, fr. perthyn 'belong to, be related', this fr. Lat. pertinēre 'belong to, pertain to'. Loth, Mots lat. 195.

4. Goth. (ga)niþjōs, ON nīðjar (OE nīþhas 'men'), prob.: Skt. nitya- 'innate, one's own', deriv. of an IE \*ni- beside \*eni- 'in'. Formerly derived fr. \*neptio- in Av. naptiya- 'descendant', Grk. ἀνεψιός 'cousin' beside Skt. napāt- 'grandson', etc. (2.48). Walde-P. 1.126. Feist 376 f.

Dan. slægtinge, Sw. släktingar, derivs. of slægt, släkt 'race, family' (19.23).

OE māgas, OHG māga: Goth. mēgs 'son-in-law', ON māgr 'father-, son-, or brother-in-law', etc. (2.61-2.66).

OE siblingas (Aelfric gives sibline = Lat. affinis or consanguineus, and mēg = Lat. propinquus), OHG (gi)sibbon (ON sifjungar is restricted to 'relatives by marriage', as sifjar to 'relationship by marriage', 2.61-2.66), fr. OE sib(b), OHG sibba 'kinship' = Goth. sibja id., fr. \*se-bho-, deriv. of reflex. stem \*so- (Lat. sē, sibi, etc.) beside \*suw-. Walde-P. 2.456. Feist 417.

OE cynn, ME, NE kin 'family' in

wide sense (19.23) and coll. 'relatives'. Hence also OE cynnes men, ME kinnesmen, NE kinsmen, also kinsfolk, both now mostly literary.

NE relations, relatives, with specialized application of relation 'connection', adj. relative, these through Fr. fr. Lat. relatiō 'report', relātivus 'pertaining to'. In the specialized sense relations is attested earlier and was formerly in more common use than relatives. NED s.v.

NHG verwandten, Du. verwanten, fr. adj. verwan(d)t 'related', orig. pple. of MHG, MLG verwenden 'turn to'.

5. Lith. giminaičiai, deriv. of giminē 'family' in wide sense (19.23).

Lett. radi, either loanword fr. or cognate with Slavic rodū (see foll.). Mühl-Endz. 3.462 f.

6. ChSl. rođenije, sg. coll. (Lk. 1.58, etc.), SCr. rodjaci, Russ. rodnyje, derivs. of rodū 'birth, race, family' (19.23).

Boh. přibuzní, fr. privuzní (v > b, Gebauer 1.430), lit. 'bound to': ChSl. privazū 'bond', privēzati 'bind to', cpd. of vezati 'bind'.

Pol. krewni, fr. krew 'blood'. Cf. Boh. krewni přibuzní 'blood relations' and Lat. consanguinei.

7. Skt. bandhavas (stem bandhu-), fr. bandh- 'bind'.

Skt. jñālayas (stem jñāti-) : jāta- 'born', Lat. nātus 'son', cognātī 'relatives', etc.

Av. nāfya-, adj. (rare, Barth. 1062), deriv. of nāfa- 'relationship, family' (2.82).

## 2.82 FAMILY

|      |                |       |              |       |                   |
|------|----------------|-------|--------------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk. | οἶκος, οἰκία   | Goth. | gards        | Lith. | šeima, šeimyna    |
| NG   | οἰκονομία      | ON    | hjá, hjān    | Lett. | saime, šeimija    |
| Lat. | domus, familia | Dan.  | familie      | ChSl. | domū              |
| It.  | famiglia       | Sw.   | familj       | SCr.  | obitelj, porodica |
| Fr.  | famille        | OE    | hiwan, htrēd | Boh.  | rodina            |
| Sp.  | familia        | ME    | familie      | Pol.  | rodzina           |
| Rum. | familie        | NE    | family       | Russ. | sem'ja            |
| Ir.  | teglach        | Du.   | familie      | Skt.  | kula-             |
| NlR. | teglach        | OHG   | hiwiski      | Av.   | nāfa-             |
| W.   | teulu          | MHG   | hiwische     |       |                   |
| Br.  | tiegez, tiad   | NHG   | familie      |       |                   |

'Family' is intended here in the narrower sense, the immediate family (even so, not precisely defined), though many of the words listed here are also used,

like NE family, to cover remoter kinship, 'family' in the wide sense. But in general for the latter, see 19.23.

Many of the words are those for 'house' or derivatives of them. Lat. familia, orig. 'body of servants, household', furnished the most widespread European word.

1. Grk. οἶκος, οἰκία 'house' (7.12), also 'family', in the earliest quotations in

wider sense ('royal house', 'house of Atreus', etc.) later also of the immediate 'family'.

Late Grk. οἰκονομία (in pap.), status of an οἰκονομῆς born in the house, hence NG 'family'.

2. Lat. domus 'house' (7.12), also the immediate 'family'.

Lat. familia, orig. the 'body of servants, household', then also 'family', deriv. of famulus 'servant' (19.43). Hence the Romance words, those of the modern Gmc. languages, also Lett. šeimija and similar forms more or less

CHAPTER 3  
ANIMALS

|      |                         |       |                        |
|------|-------------------------|-------|------------------------|
| 3.11 | ANIMAL                  | 3.45  | FOAL, COLT             |
| 3.12 | MALE (adj.)             | 3.46  | ASS, DONKEY            |
| 3.13 | FEMALE                  | 3.47  | MULE                   |
| 3.14 | CASTRATE                | 3.51  | HEN, CHICKEN (Generic) |
| 3.15 | LIVESTOCK               | 3.52  | COCK                   |
| 3.16 | PASTURE (vb.)           | 3.53  | CAPON                  |
| 3.17 | PASTURE (sb.)           | 3.54  | HEN                    |
| 3.18 | HERDSMAN                | 3.55  | CHICKEN                |
| 3.19 | STABLE, STALL           | 3.56  | GOOSE                  |
| 3.20 | CATTLE (Bovine Species) | 3.57  | DUCK                   |
| 3.21 | BULL                    | 3.61  | DOG                    |
| 3.22 | OX                      | 3.612 | PUPPY                  |
| 3.23 | COW                     | 3.62  | CAT                    |
| 3.24 | CALF                    | 3.63  | MOUSE                  |
| 3.25 | SHEEP                   | 3.64  | BIRD                   |
| 3.26 | RAM                     | 3.65  | FISH                   |
| 3.27 | WETHER                  | 3.66  | FISHERMAN              |
| 3.28 | EWE                     | 3.71  | WOLF                   |
| 3.29 | LAMB                    | 3.72  | LION                   |
| 3.31 | SWINE                   | 3.73  | BEAR                   |
| 3.32 | BOAR                    | 3.74  | FOX                    |
| 3.33 | BARROW                  | 3.75  | DEER                   |
| 3.34 | SOW                     | 3.76  | MONKEY                 |
| 3.35 | PIG                     | 3.77  | ELEPHANT               |
| 3.36 | GOAT                    | 3.78  | CAMEL                  |
| 3.37 | HE-GOAT                 | 3.79  | HUNT (vb.)             |
| 3.38 | KID                     | 3.81  | INSECT                 |
| 3.41 | HORSE (Generic)         | 3.82  | BEE                    |
| 3.42 | STALLION                | 3.83  | FLY                    |
| 3.43 | GELDING                 | 3.84  | WORM                   |
| 3.44 | MARE                    | 3.85  | SNAKE                  |

In the inherited names of animals there is little to be said about their semantic source. For in most of them the root connection is wholly obscure. The interest in this chapter lies rather in the losses, substitutions, and shifts of application.

The loss of certain inherited animal names, like that of the 'bear' in Slavic and Germanic and those for 'wolf', 'ser-

pent', 'hare', and 'mouse' here and there, is attributed to taboo (cf. esp. Meillet, Ling. hist. 281 ff.). This has doubtless played a part in individual cases. But one hesitates to make too much of this factor when one observes that virtually every inherited animal name (and for that matter nearly every inherited word in other classes, as in the words of relationship, etc.) has been dis-

placed in one or another of the IE languages. The IE word for 'horse' attested in most IE languages in the early period (Grk. ἵππος, Lat. equus, etc., 3.41), has been displaced in every modern European language (only the fem. Sp. yegua, Rum. iapă 'mare' surviving), and no one will ascribe this to taboo.

On the sources of animal names the following general observations may be made here.

Some are of imitative origin. Besides those derived from the animal's cry, as several words for 'cock', 'hen' (3.51 ff.), etc., there are others derived from cries used in calling the animal, the call-words, as NE puss for 'cat' (3.62). For the latter type, cf. Rohlf's, Z. frz. Spr. 49.109 ff. But in several cases it is doubtful which type is involved.

Color words underlie some, as 'brown' in the Gmc. words for 'bear' (3.73) and an IE word for 'beaver' (NE beaver, etc.); 'gray' in Lith. pelė 'mouse' (3.63) and prob. a widespread word for 'hare' (OE hara, OHG haso, etc.; OE hasu 'gray'), possibly ON griss 'pig' (3.35); 'red' in several words for 'fox' (3.74), etc.

The notion of swift motion underlies several animal names, as clearly Lith. tekis 'ram', Ir. reithe 'ram' (3.26), prob. Lat. ariēs 'ram' (3.26), Grk. ἄρις 'bird' (3.64), ON hross, OE hors 'horse' (3.41), ON hestr 'horse' (3.41).

A proper name applied to an animal, as so often in fables, may become the usual word, as Fr. renard 'fox' (3.74), SCr. mačka 'cat' (3.62).

A few were first applied to the meat of an animal as food and then to the living animal (the opposite of the usual relation, cf. 5.62), as NG ψάρι 'fish' (3.65), ON sauðr 'sheep' (3.25).

Specialization is frequent. Words for 'animal' may be specialized to denote such diverse creatures as 'ox', 'swine',

'small beast of prey' (cf. REW 476 on the derivs. of Lat. animal), 'horse' (NG ἄλογο fr. 'unreasoning' through 'animal', 3.41), 'deer' (NE deer, 3.75), 'louse' (NlR. miol, 3.11). 'Cattle' in the wide sense ('livestock') may be partly or wholly specialized to 'cattle' in the narrow sense, the bovine species (many examples in 3.15, 3.20), or to 'sheep' (Att. πρόβατον, It. pecora, 3.15, 3.25).

A 'horned animal' may be an 'ox' or 'cow' (NHG rind, Lith. karvė, 3.20 ff.), a 'ram' (Grk. κρῖος, ON hrútr, 3.26), a 'stag' (Lat. cervus, NE hart, etc., 3.75). A 'tamed animal' may be an 'ox' (Ir. dam, 3.22) or a 'sheep' (W. dafad, 3.25).

The young of an animal may be a 'calf' (NE calf, etc., 3.24), 'chicken' (Lat. pullus, 3.55), or 'foal' (Grk. πῶλος, Lat. pullus, NE foal, etc., 3.45). Similarly, a 'yearling' may be a 'calf' (Lat. vitulus, 3.24), a 'lamb', 'wether', 'ram' (Goth. wiþrus, etc., 3.27, 3.29), 'sow' (Br. gwiz, 3.34), 'goat' (Grk. χίμαρος, 3.36), or 'kid' (SCr. jare, 3.38).

Of the names of wild animals, only a small selection is considered here. The chief attention is given to domestic animals. For those of most concern in the farmer's daily life, there is a wealth of distinctions within the species (or genus); but with reference to domestic animals 'species' is generally the correct term; for our purposes the technical distinction is of no consequence, of which it is important to note, beside the generic terms, those for the breeding male, the castrated male, the female, and the young, as for the bovine species the 'bull', 'ox', 'cow', 'calf' (still other specific terms like NE steer for 'young ox', heifer for 'young cow' being ignored). There are many shifts of application and local differences even in the same language. Within the same cognate group there may be interchange, as between 'bull', 'ox', and

'young ox' (NHG stier, NE steer; Skt. ukṣan-, NE ox; 3.20 ff.); or between 'lamb', 'ram', 'wether', 'ewe' (Goth. wiþrus, NHG widder, NE wether, etc.; Lat. vervec, Rum. berbec, Fr. brebis; 3.25 ff.).

The old generic terms for bovine animals, sheep, and swine have become specialized in Germanic to denote the female, as NE cow, ewe, sow.

Conversely, words for a special class, especially the young or the female, may be used generically, as Lat. porcus, NE pig for swine, NE hen or chicken for domestic fowl (3.31, 3.51).

Besides such interchange within the

3.11 ANIMAL  
(Also Wild Beast)

|      |                          |       |                     |       |                        |
|------|--------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | ζῷον; θῆρ, θηρίον        | Goth. | dīus                | Lith. | gyvolis; žvėris        |
| NG   | ζῷον; ἀγρίον             | ON    | dýr                 | Lett. | dzīvnieks; zvėrs       |
| Lat. | animal, bestia; ferus    | Dan.  | dýr                 | ChSl. | životū; zvėrt          |
| It.  | animale, bestia, bruto   | Sw.   | djur                | SCr.  | životinja; zvijer      |
| Fr.  | animal, bête             | OE    | dēor                | Boh.  | zvěř                   |
| Sp.  | animal, bestia           | ME    | dere, beste, animal | Pol.  | zwierzę                |
| Rum. | animal, bestie           | NE    | animal, beast       | Russ. | zivoťnoe; zver'        |
| Ir.  | anmanda, rop, mīl        | Du.   | dier                | Skt.  | paçu-; mrga-           |
| NlR. | ainmhidhe, beathaidheach | OHG   | tior                | Av.   | —; daitika-, zrafstra- |
| W.   | anifail, mil             | MHG   | tier                |       |                        |
| Br.  | aneval, loen, mil        | NHG   | tier                |       |                        |

Several of the words listed, like Lat. animal, mean properly any 'living creature', man included, but in common usage are applied mostly to animals other than man. Others are used only in the latter sense. But the difference is not always absolute and is indicated in the list only by the order, e.g. Lat. animal, bestia. Some others are added (separated by a semicolon) that are used only of a 'wild beast'. Old words for 'animal' are often specialized to 'domestic animal' (3.14) or further to particular species of the latter, especially the bovine (3.20), as well as to other animals (above, p. 136). The source of

most of the words for 'animal' is the notion of 'breathing, living'.

1. Grk. θῆρ, θηρίον, Lat. ferus, fera (also adj. ferus 'wild'), Lith. žvėris, Lett. zvėrs, OPruss. svirins (acc. pl.), ChSl. zvěř, SCr. zvijer, Russ. zver', etc., all meaning 'wild animal', but Boh. zvěř, Pol. zwierzę now 'animal' in general, IE \*ǵhwer-, without known root connection. Walde-P. 1.642 ff. Ernout-M. 353.

2. Grk. ζῷον: ζωός 'living', ζῶ 'live', etc. (4.74). Walde-P. 1.668 ff. From the same IE root come also NlR. beathaidheach (4) and the Balto-Slavic words (6).

## 3.12 MALE

|       |                                  |                                   |
|-------|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk.  | ἀρσεν, ἀρσεν                     | θηλυς                             |
| NG    | ἀρσενικός                        | θηλυός                            |
| Lat.  | mās (māsculus, etc.)             | fēmīna                            |
| It.   | maschio                          | femmina                           |
| Fr.   | māle                             | femelle                           |
| Sp.   | macho                            | hembra                            |
| Rum.  | dărbătesc                        | femeieasc                         |
| Ir.   | fer-, firend                     | ban-                              |
| NlR.  | gurryu, gurper, taro-            | baíneann                          |
| Goth. | ...                              | benju                             |
| ON    | karl-                            | parcz                             |
| Dan.  | han-                             | kvenn-                            |
| Sw.   | han-; sb. hane                   | hun-                              |
| OE    | hē                               | han-; sb. hona                    |
| ME    | he-, male                        | hēo                               |
| NE    | male, he-                        | female                            |
| Du.   | manvelijk; sb. mannetje          | female                            |
| OHG   | ?                                | wrouwte; wifj; sb. wrouwte        |
| MHG   | ?                                | ?                                 |
| NHG   | männlich; sb. männchen           | ?                                 |
| Lith. | vyriškas (patinas sb., of birds) | weiblich; sb. weibchen            |
| Lett. | vīrišks (vēnīn sb., of birds)    | moteriškas (patēle sb., of birds) |
| ChSl. | ?                                | māl, mālīe                        |
| SCr.  | muški                            | ?                                 |
| Boh.  | samiec                           | ženski; sb. samica                |
| Pol.  | samiec                           | samice                            |
| Russ. | samiec                           | samka                             |
| Skt.  | urṣan-, puris-, nara-            | -dhenu-, strī-                    |
| Av.   | arṣan-, nairya-                  | daēnu-, strī-, hāirīšt-, zāōtrī-  |

3.12, 3.13. 1. 'Male' and 'female' as applied to animals are in part expressed by the same words as those applied to human beings (2.23, 2.24). Some of those, like Grk. ἀρσεν, Skt. urṣan- from the notion of emitting semen, or Grk. θῆλυς, Lat. femina from the notion of giving suck, were from the beginning equally applicable to animals. Of those derived from 'man' and 'woman', many were extended to apply to animals, but others were not. Thus NHG männlich, weiblich are used of animals (OHG, MHG words so used?), while Dan. mandlig, kvindelig, Sw. manlig, kvinnlig are still restricted to human beings. Here, and in Breton, different words are applied to animals. So also generically in Slavic. But SCr. muški, ženski are applied to animals; Russ. mužeski, ženskij some-

times to unfamiliar animals, but not ordinarily.

As in 2.23, 2.24, adjective forms are given, if such are in use; otherwise noun forms which may be used in apposition to another noun (cf. Lat. femina bās, etc.). In some cases even where adjective forms are in use, some distinctive noun forms are added, as NHG männlich; männchen.

2. The sex of many domestic animals is shown by the use of different words, as NE ox—cow, horse—mare, etc. More generally it is shown by distinct gender forms either of the article or adjective (Grk. ὁ ἵππος—ἡ ἵππος), or of the word itself (Lat. equus—equa), the latter in some languages so consistently (even for 'cat', 'dog', 'elephant', etc.) that there is only rarely occasion to use special words

for 'male' or 'female'. Cf. also the use of prefixed nicknames, as in NE *tomcat*, *jackass*, *bully-goat*, *nanny-goat*, etc.

3. Sex expressed by the pronoun, either alone, as OE *hē*, *hēo* (Aelfric, Gram. 18, 17), or prefixed, as in NE *he-goat*, *she-goat*. So, as the regular method, Dan., Sw. *han-* for 'male', Dan. *hun-*, Sw. *hon-* for 'female' animals, with sbs. Sw. *hane*, *hona*.

4. Sex expressed by the addition of 'father' or 'mother', as NE *father-bird*, *mother-bird*. So especially Sp. *padre*, *madre* of animals.

5. Words denoting the male or female of a particular animal may be prefixed to names of other animals, as NE *bull-elephant*, *bull-whale*, *cow-elephant*, and *hen* applied to the female of birds in general and sometimes even to the female fish (NED s.v.), Br. *taro-* 'bull' in *maout-taro* 'ram', *targaz* (fr. *taro-kaz*) 'tomcat', etc.

6. Br. *par* 'the male', whence *parez* 'the female', same word as *par* 'equal', fr. Lat. *pār*, but in this sense influenced by the vb. *MBR. paraff* 'couple, make pair'. Henry 218. Ernault, Glossaire 459.

7. Lith. *patinas*, *patinėlis* 'the male',

*patelė* 'the female' (both used mostly of birds), fr. *pats* 'husband', *pati* 'wife'.

Lett. *tēvīns* 'the male', *māte*, *mātile* 'the female' (both used mostly of birds), fr. *tēvs* 'father', *māte* 'mother'.

Boh., Russ. *samiec*, Pol. *samiec* 'the male', Boh. *samič*, Pol. *samić*, Russ. *samka* 'the female' (SCR. *samica* of birds), with adjs. (archaic or uncommon) Boh. *samči*, Pol. *samczy*, *samczowy* 'male', Boh. *samiči*, Pol. *samičky* 'female', all fr. *sam*, ChSl. *samŭ* 'self, alone'. Presumably the first application was to the breeding male, the 'one' who serves many, as the bull, cock, etc., then 'male' in general with new feminine forms for 'female'.

8. Skt. *dhenu-* 'cow', in cpds. 'female', as *khadga-dhenu-* 'female rhinoceros' (in Indic linguistic feeling prob. like NE *cow-elephant*, etc., above, 5, but here the general meaning is the more original), Av. *daēnu-* used in apposition with names of 'mule', 'elephant', etc.: Skt. *dhayati* 'sucks', Grk. *θηλύς*, Lat. *femina*, etc. (2.24). Walde-P. 1.829 ff. Barth. 662.

Other Skt. and Av. words same as in 2.23, 2.24.

## 3.14 CASTRATE

|      |                       |       |                            |       |                           |
|------|-----------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| Grk. | ἐκτέμνω               | Goth. | .....                      | Lith. | romyti                    |
| NG   | μουνουχίζω            | ON    | gelda                      | Lett. | rāniti, rāmiti            |
| Lat. | castrare              | Dan.  | kastrere, shære, gilde     | ChSl. | skopiti                   |
| It.  | castrare              | Sw.   | kastrera, snöpa, gälla     | SCR.  | skopiti, štrojiti         |
| Fr.  | châtrer               | OE    | belistrian, (d)lfrjan      | Boh.  | vyklestiti, vyřezati      |
| Sp.  | castrar, capar        | ME    | gelde                      | Pol.  | mniszyć, walczyć, trzebić |
| Rum. | castra, scopi, jugăni | NE    | castrate, geld, cut, alter | Russ. | skopiti, cholestiti       |
| Ir.  | .....                 | Du.   | lubben, ontmannen          | Skt.  | vadhri, bhid-             |
| Nr.  | collim                | OHG   | arfüran                    | Av.   | .....                     |
| W.   | disbaddu              | MHG   | versniden                  |       |                           |
| Br.  | spaza                 | NHG   | verschneiden               |       |                           |

The castration of domestic animals is a practice that goes back to the earliest times among cattle-raising peoples and so presumably to IE times (otherwise Specht, KZ 66.6 f.), although the only

evidence of any common term is the limited group Skt. *vadhri-* and the rare Grk. *ῥῥῥῥ* 'castrated'. It was effected by cutting or crushing the testicles, also by burning, cauterizing. Aristot. HA

510\*3 refers to the crushing (in case of young animals) and cutting, and elsewhere to cauterizing (see below, 4 under OE *diffran*). For crushing see also below, 7 under Skt. *bhid-* Schrader, Reallex. s.v. *Verschneidung*.

Most of the words reflect the action involved, esp. 'cut', 'cut off', also (for the crushing process) 'strike, break, split', and rarely 'burn'. Others reflect the result, as 'make gentle', 'make imperfect', 'unman', 'make celibate', 'make a monk', 'deprive of desire'. A few are denominatives of words for a castrated man, eunuch, or a specific castrated animal.

Cf. also the words for particular castrated animals, as 'wether' (3.27), 'barrow' (3.33), 'gelding' (3.43), 'capon' (3.53).

The sterilization of the female may be expressed by the same words (so *castrantur feminae*, Pliny, NH 8.208), or by different words, not discussed here, as NE *spay*.

The uncastrated male, apart from the special terms like *bull*, *boar*, etc., may be expressed by terms meaning 'whole', as Fr. *entier*, NE *entire*.

1. Grk. *ἐκτέμνω* lit. 'cut out', cpd. of *τέμνω* 'cut' (9.22). Hence *ἐκτομή* 'castration', *ἐκτομίας* or *τομίας* 'castrated man or animal', the latter the regular term in Aristot. HA for the castrated ox, swine, sheep.

NG (lit. *ἐκτέμνω* or *ἐκτεμνίζω*) pop. *μουνουχίζω*, fr. *μουνούχος* 'castrated', this fr. *εὐνούχος* 'eunuch' (> *μνούχος* > *μουνούχος*, Hatzidakis, Μεσ. 1.294), orig. the (castrated) 'chamberlain', cpd. of *εὐνή* 'bed' and root of *ἐχω* 'hold'.

2. Lat. *castrare*, deriv. of a \**kastron*: Skt. *castra-m* 'knife, sword, weapon', *cas-* 'cut to pieces, slaughter', Grk. *καῶω* 'split'. Ernout-M. 160. Walde-H. 1.179. Hence the Romance words, also

loanwords in the modern Gmc. and Slavic languages beside the native terms, as Dan. *kastrere*, Sw. *kastrera*, NE *castrate*, Du. *castreren*, NHG *kastrieren*, Pol. *kastrować*, Russ. *kastrirovat'*.

Lat. *urere* 'burn' and *excidere*, *exsecrare* 'cut out' are sometimes used for the usual *castrare*.

Lat. *sanare* 'heal', in MLat. also 'castrate', reflected in many Romance dial. words (REW 7566) and imitated (or paralleled) in OE *hælan* (Bosworth-Toller, Suppl. 496), MHG *heilen* (also MHG locally), MLG *böten* (: OE *bētan* 'make better, improve'). Development prob. through 'make tame, docile', appropriate with reference to the larger animals. M. Leumann, KZ 67.215 ff.

Fr. *couper* 'cut' (9.41) also used for *châtrer*; likewise rarely *hongrer* (cf. Dict. gén. s.v.) fr. *hongre* 'castrated horse', lit. 'Hungarian' (3.43).

Sp. *capar*, deriv. of Lat. *capō* 'capon' (3.53). REW 1641.

Rum. *scopi*, loanword fr. Slavic, ChSl. *skopiti*, etc. (below, 6).

Rum. *jugăni*, also *jugan* 'gelding', fr. *jug* 'yoke', here with reference to the wooden clamps used to crush the testicles. Tiktin s.v.

3. Nr. *collim*, lit. 'ruin, destroy', as Mir. *collim*, deriv. of coll 'damage, loss': Goth. *halts*, OE *healt* 'lame', etc. (4.94). Pedersen 1.114.

W. *disbaddu*, cpd. of older *ysbaddu*, *yspaddu*, this and Br. *spaza* fr. MLat. *spadare*, deriv. of Lat. *spadō* 'impotent person or animal, eunuch', a word which is also involved in the history of NE *spade* now used mostly of females (but see NED s.v.).

4. ON *gelda*, Dan. *gilde*, Sw. *gälla*, ME *gelde* (from ON), NE *geld* (formerly sometimes also used of females), lit. 'make imperfect': ON *geldr*, Sw. *gall*, OHG *gall* 'barren, giving no milk', out-

3.15 LIVESTOCK  
(Cattle in Wide Sense)

|      |                            |       |                    |       |                 |
|------|----------------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | κτήνη, βοσκήματα (πρόβατα) | Goth. | .....              | Lith. | gyvuliai, banda |
| NG   | κτήνη, σφαχτά              | ON    | fē, kvikfē, bjūfē  | Lett. | luopi           |
| Lat. | pecus                      | Dan.  | kreaturer          | ChSl. | skoti           |
| It.  | bestie, bestiame           | Sw.   | kreatur            | SCR.  | stoka, marva    |
| Fr.  | bétail                     | OE    | feoh               | Boh.  | dobytek         |
| Sp.  | ganado                     | ME    | fe, cattell        | Pol.  | bydło           |
| Rum. | vile (dobitoc)             | NE    | livestock (cattle) | Russ. | skot            |
| Ir.  | indile, crod, cethra       | Du.   | vee                | Skt.  | paçu-           |
| Nr.  | airnēis, eallach           | OHG   | fihu               | Av.   | pasu-; staora-  |
| W.   | anifellaid, da (byw)       | MHG   | vieh               |       |                 |
| Br.  | chatal, loened             | NHG   | vieh               |       |                 |

Here are grouped the most important terms for 'livestock, cattle' (in the old wide sense of NE *cattle*, NED s.v. 4; throughout this section 'cattle' will have this sense) or for certain classes of livestock, wider than a particular species.

There is a wide variation in the range of application, as between some of the words listed, and even for the same word according to period and locality. They may cover all domestic animals kept for service or useful products, but mostly domestic quadrupeds, while some are used distinctively either for 'large cattle' or for 'small cattle'. Such differences in range are ignored in the list and can be only roughly indicated in the notes below.

For the classification of 'large' and 'small cattle', cf. that of Grk. *πρόβατα* (below, 2; in the Arc. inscription 'swine' are mentioned separately as if not falling clearly in either division), Lat. (Varro, RR 2.1.10, 12) *pecus maius* (boves, asini, equi), *pecus minus* (ovēs, caprae, suēs), It. *bestie grosse*, *minute*, Fr. *gros*, *petit* *bétail*, Sp. *ganado mayor*, *minor*, Rum. *vite mari*, *mici*, NHG *gross-*, *kleinvieh*, etc.; also Av. *pasu-* mostly 'small cattle' (sheep and goats), *staora-* 'large cattle' (ox, horse, camel).

The identity of 'cattle' and 'property' in early times is reflected in the history

of many of the words. 'Cattle' may become 'property', or conversely, and both meanings may be found in the same word or in the same group of cognates.

In general, the words for 'cattle' show specialization from either 'animals' or 'property'.

1. IE \**pekū-*, fr. the same root as Grk. *πέκος* 'comb, shear', *πόκος* 'fleece', Lat. *pectere* 'comb', and so orig. 'sheep'(?). Walde-P. 2.16 f. Ernout-M. 746 ff.

Lat. (early) *pecu*, pl. *pecua*, Umb. *pequo*, Lat. *pecus*, gen. *pecoris*, coll. 'cattle' in wide sense, also esp. 'sheep' (hence It. *pecora* 'sheep'), *pecus*, gen. *pecudis* 'a head of cattle', pl. *pecudēs* 'cattle'; (Goth. *faihu* only 'property', ON *fē* 'cattle' esp. 'sheep', and 'property', for 'cattle' also *kvikfē* (with *kvikr* 'living') and *būfē* (with *bū* 'household'), Dan. *fe*, Sw. *få* 'beast, brute', OE *feoh*, ME *fee*, *fee* 'cattle' and 'property' (but for NE *fee*, see NED *fee*, sb.?), Du. *vee*, OHG *fihu*, *fehu*, MHG *vieh*, NHG *vieh* 'cattle'; OPruss. *peku* 'cattle', Olith. *pekus* 'cattle' in wide sense, but also 'small cattle', esp. 'sheep' (Hermann, Arch. sl. Ph. 40.161); Skt. *paçu-* 'domestic creature' (in AV 11.2.9 covers cows, horses, men, sheep, and goats; sometimes also asses, mules, camels, dogs; sometimes 'animal'), Av. *pasu-* mostly 'small cattle'.

2. Grk. *κτήνη* fr. the root of *ἐκτέμνω* 'own, possess' (11.12), *κτάμαι* 'get' (11.16), hence lit. 'possessions', but used only for property in cattle.

Grk. *βοσκήματα*, fr. *βόσκω* 'graze' (3.15). Grk. *πρόβατα*, 'cattle' in general (Hom., Hdt., etc.), classified as large or small (cf. *τὰ λεπτά τῶν προβάτων* Hdt.; *τὸ πρόβατον ἔκαστον τὸ μέσον, τῶν δὲ μένων προβάτων*, Arc. inscription), also 'small cattle' (Cret. *τὰ πρόβατα καὶ καρπαιόδα* 'the small and large cattle'; *καρπαιόδα* lit. 'strong-footed', cf. *καρπαιούς* 'bull' in Pindar), in Att. 'small cattle' (Thuc.), usually 'sheep' (so in NG); fr. *προβαίνω* 'step forward', which is applicable to all grazing cattle. But Lommel, KZ 46.50 ff., assumes that 'small cattle' is the earlier meaning and comes from the notion of 'go in front'.

Grk. *μῆλα* (Hom., only poet.) 'small cattle, sheep and goats': Ir. *míl* 'animal' (3.11), Du. *maal* 'heifer', further connection with Goth. *smals* 'small', etc. dub. Walde-P. 1.296.

NG *σφαχτά*, lit. 'for slaughter' (: *σφαζω* 'slaughter'), used mainly for sheep and goats.

3. It. *bestie*, pl. of *bestia* 'beast' (3.11). Also *bestiame*, coll. mostly 'large cattle'.

Fr. *bétail*, coll. fr. OFr. adj. *bestial*, late Lat. *bestialis*, deriv. of *bestia* 'beast' (3.11).

Sp. *ganado*, coll. fr. *ganar* 'gain, earn, acquire' (Fr. *gagner*, etc. REW 9483), through 'acquired property', hence 'cattle' as often. Cf. Boh. *dobytek* fr. *dobyti* 'acquire' (below, 7).

Rum. *vite*, pl. of *vita* 'domestic animal', ORum. 'animal', fr. Lat. *vita* 'life'. Semantic borrowing fr. Slavic, cf. ChSl. *života* 'life' and 'animal'. Tiktin 1759. Sandfeld, Ling. balk. 86.

Rum. *dobitoc* 'domestic animal', fr. Slavic, Bulg. *dobitak*, etc. (below, 7).

4. Ir. *indile* (also 'goods, property'):

OBr. *endlim* 'property', W. *ennil*, *ynnill* 'gain, profit', cpd. of *ind-* 'in', second part obscure, orig. meaning 'income'. Pedersen 1.148.

Ir. *crod* (also 'wealth'), perh.: W. *cordd* 'group, tribe', Goth. *hairda* 'herd', etc., or else to W. *cordded*, OBr. *credam* 'walk'. Walde-P. 1.424. Pedersen 1.173; 2.381. By either connection the meaning 'cattle' is earlier than 'wealth'.

Ir. *celthra* 'cattle' in both wide and narrow sense, pl. of *celthir* 'quadruped', deriv. of *celthir* 'four' (cpd. like Lat. *quadrupes*? So Pedersen 1.94).

Mlr., Nr. *airnēis* (also 'goods, possessions, furniture'), prob. fr. ME *harneis* 'equipment'. K. Meyer, Contrib. 64.

Nr. *eallach* (also 'poultry', and 'household goods'; same word as *eallach*, Mlr. *eallach* 'union, communion'): Mlr. *inloing* 'claims', fr., 'puts in (a claim)', OIr. *ellachtas* gl. (*terra*) *conferat* (*pecoribus*), etc., cpd. of *in-* 'in' and *-long-*, IE \**leh-* 'lie, lay'. Pedersen 2.570. Walde-P. 2.424. Development fr. 'what lies in, belongs with' to 'union' and to 'belongings, equipment, goods', whence also 'cattle' as a further specialization.

Nr. *beathaidhigh* 'animals' (3.11) also used commonly for 'domestic animals'. W. *anifellaid* 'animals' (3.11) also used commonly for 'domestic animals'.

W. *da* 'goods' (sb. form of *da* 'good'), also 'cattle', or *da byw* lit. 'live goods'.

Br. *chatal*, fr. OFr. *chattel* 'property, chattels'.

Br. *loened*, pl. of *loen* 'animal' (3.11), used commonly for domestic animals.

5. ON *fē*, OE *feoh*, etc., above, 1.

ON *smali* 'small cattle', esp. 'sheep': Goth. *smals* 'small', etc. Falk-Torp 1077.

Dan. *kreaturer* pl., Sw. *kreatur* coll. through 'animal' fr. Lat. *creatura* 'creature'. Cf. the once very common use

in New England of *creature*, *critter* for cattle (NED s.v. 2b). Falk-Torp 578. Hellquist 507 f.

ME *ca(t)le*(l), NE *cattle*, fr. OFr. *catel* (northern dial., beside *chattel*), Lat. *capitale* neut. of *capitalis* deriv. of *caput* 'head'. Used in MLat. for 'principal sum of money, capital', hence 'movable property' in OFr. and sometimes in ME (in this sense now replaced by *chattels* fr. OFr. *chattel*); but soon specialized to 'livestock' and in present use still further specialized to the bovine animals. Cf. NED s.v.

NE *stock* 'fund, property' also used for 'farm animals' since 16th cent., hence *livestock* since end of 18th cent. NED *stock*, sb. 54, and *livestock*.

6. Lith. *gyvuliai*, pl. of *gyvulis* 'animal' (3.11), commonly used for 'domestic animals'.

Lith. *banda*, coll., properly a 'herd of cattle': Goth. *bindan* 'bind', NE *bind*, *band*, etc., IE \**bhend-*. Walde-P. 2.152.

Lett. *luopi* (pl. of *luops* 'domestic animal'), also *mājas luopi* with gen. sg. of *māja* 'house', without clear connection, perh.: Alb. *lopë* 'cow'. Walde-P. 2.383.

Mühl-Endz. 2.527 ff.

7. ChSl. *skoti*, Russ. *skot* (SCR, Pol. *skot* no longer the usual word, Boh. *skot*

now of bovine species), loanword fr. Gmc., Goth. *skatts* 'money', OHG *skaz* 'money, riches' (NHG *schatz* 'treasure'), OFris. *sket* 'money' and 'cattle'. Root connection dub., but 'property' prob. the earlier meaning. Brückner 495. Stender-Petersen 311 ff. Feist 429.

SCR. *stoka*: *steči* 'acquire', ChSl. *sŭ-teči* 'flow together'. Cf. Bulg. *stoka* 'goods, wares', *živa stoka* 'livestock'. Miklosich 347. Brückner 516.

SCR. *marva*, earlier *marha*, in this sense through Hung. *marha* 'cattle', this fr. OHG *mer(e)ha* 'mare'. Bernerker 2.19.

Boh. *dobytek*, fr. *dobyti* 'acquire', cpd. of *byti* 'be'. So also Pol. *dobytek* (now mostly replaced by *bydło*), Bulg. *doby-tak*.

Pol. *bydło*: Boh. *bydlo* 'dwelling' fr. the root of ChSl. *byti* 'be, exist', whence various derivations meaning 'dwell' (7.11). Development in Polish fr. 'dwelling' to 'property', then 'cattle' in wide and narrow sense. Bernerker 112. Brückner 52.

8. Skt. *paçu-*, Av. *pasu-*, above, 1.

Av. *staora-* 'large cattle' (ox, horse, camel): Skt. *sthavira-* 'thick, sturdy', Goth. *staur* 'male calf', OE *stear* 'young ox', etc. (3.20-3.24). Walde-P. 2.609.

side root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.629. Falk-Torp 310, 337. Hellquist 319.

Dan. *skære* 'cut' (9.41), also the commonest word for 'castrate'.

Sw. *snöpa*: ON *sneypa* 'violate', *snubba* 'chide' (> NE *snub*), Dan. *snubbe* 'cut off', Sw. *snoppa* 'snuff' (a light), etc., all orig. 'cut off'. Falk-Torp 1099. Hellquist 1022.

OE *belistian*, cpd. of *be-* priv. (as in *behead*, etc.) and *lystan* 'be pleasing to', hence lit. 'deprive of desire'.

OE (*diffran*, OHG *arfüran* (and *urfür* 'castrated'), derivs. of OE *fyr*, OHG *fuir* 'fire'. The castration (of fowl) by cauterizing with a hot iron is attested by Aristot., HA 631\*25, Varro, RR 3.9.3, etc. Hence there is no need to reject the more obvious etymology in favor of derivation from the root seen in Lat. *putare* 'cut', etc., otherwise unknown in Gmc., as Holthausen, IF 32.336, followed by Walde-P. 1.12.

NE *cut* and *alter* are both common terms for 'castrate' among farmers, at least in U.S. (this use of *alter* not mentioned in NED).

Du. *lubben*, NE (obs. or dial.) *lib*, fr. the root of Goth. *laufs* 'leaf', etc., Skt. *lup-* 'break, injure', Lith. *lupti*, Russ. *lupit'* 'peel'. Franck-v. W. 400.

Du. *ontmannen* lit. 'unman', but regularly 'castrate', as in part NHG *entman-nen*.

MHG *versniden*, NHG *verschneiden*, cpds. of *sniden* 'cut' (9.41), now 'cut off, cut up', and the usual native word for 'castrate'.

MHG *heilen* and MLG *böten*, see under VLat. *sanare*, above, 2.

5. Lith. *romyti*, Lett. *rāmīt*, lit. 'make gentle, tame': Lith. *romus*, Lett. *rāms* 'gentle, tame', Lith. *rimti* 'be quiet', Goth. *rimis* 'quiet', etc. (Walde-P. 1.371 ff.).

Lett. *rāniti*, fr. or cognate with MLG *rüne* 'gelding' (Du. *ruin*, NHG dial. *raun* 'gelding'), prob. from the root of Skt. *ru-* 'break in pieces', Lith. *rauti* 'tear out', etc. Walde-P. 1.352.

6. ChSl. *skopiti* (also *skopiti* 'eunuch'), SCR. *skopiti* (Boh. *skopiti*, Pol. *skopić* esp. of



| 3.17 PASTURE (sb.)              |                                   |                               |  |
|---------------------------------|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| Grk. <i>νομός</i>               | Goth. <i>winja</i>                | Lith. <i>ganykla</i>          |  |
| NG <i>νομή, βοσκή</i>           | ON <i>hagi</i>                    | Let. <i>ganība, ganikla</i>   |  |
| Lat. <i>pāscuum</i>             | Dan. <i>græsningssland, græs-</i> | ChSl. <i>pažiti</i>           |  |
| It. <i>pascolo</i>              |                                   | SCr. <i>paša</i>              |  |
| Fr. <i>prairie</i>              | Sw. <i>bete, betemark</i>         | Boh. <i>pastviště</i>         |  |
| Sp. <i>aparcadero</i>           | OE <i>læwe</i>                    | Pol. <i>pastwisko</i>         |  |
| Rum. <i>pașune</i>              | ME <i>pasture, lesue</i>          | Russ. <i>pastbiše</i>         |  |
| Ir. <i>gelboth</i>              | NE <i>pasture</i>                 | Skt. <i>ganyūti</i> , etc.    |  |
| Nl. <i>ingheilt, inghealtas</i> | Du. <i>weide</i>                  | Av. <i>vāstra-, gaoyaoti-</i> |  |
| W. <i>porfel, porfa</i>         | OHG <i>weida, winne</i>           |                               |  |
| Br. <i>peur</i>                 | MHG <i>weide</i>                  |                               |  |
|                                 | NHG <i>weide</i>                  |                               |  |

Nearly all the nouns for 'pasture' are derived from, or in a few cases are the source of, the verbs for 'pasture', discussed in 3.16. Many of these cover both 'pasture' as the place and 'pasturage' (as formerly both NE words).

The few others are:

1. Goth. *winja* : ON *vin* 'meadow', OE *wynn* 'delight', rarely 'pasture', OHG *winne* 'pasture', *wunnia* 'meadow, pasture' and 'delight' (NHG *wonne* 'bliss'), Lat. *Venus, venus* 'love', Skt. *van-* 'wish, love, win', etc. Development fr. 'delight' through 'place of comfort' or the like to 'meadow' or 'pasture'. Walde-P. 1.258 ff. Feist 565.

2. ON *hagi* : OE *haga* 'hedge, inclosure, yard' (NE *haw*), OHG *hag* 'hedge, inclosed land', Du. *haag* 'hedge', Sw. *hage* 'inclosure, inclosed pasture', Dan. *have* 'garden', Skt. *kakṣā-* 'girdle, surrounding wall', etc. Walde-P. 1.337. Falk-Torp 386.

3. ChSl. *pažiti* (= *νομή* in Gospels, etc., Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 377; *λεμών* in Supr.), fr. *žit* 'live'. Miklosich 411.

4. Skt. *ganyūti*, Av. *gaoyaoti*, cpd. of *gav-*, *gao-* 'ox, cow', second part related to Skt. *yoni-*, Av. *yaona-* 'place, home', hence 'place for cattle'. Barth. 484.

| 3.18 HERDSMAN<br>(Or Cowherd, Shepherd, Etc.) |                                |  |  |
|---|--------------------------------|--|--|
| Grk. <i>ποιμήν, βοσκός</i>                    | Goth. <i>hairdeis</i>          | Lith. <i>kerdžius, ganytojas</i>           |  |
| NG <i>ποιμήν</i>                              | ON <i>hirðr</i>                | Let. <i>piemuo</i>                         |  |
| Lat. <i>pāstor</i>                            | Dan. <i>kyrde, kvægogter</i>   | Let. <i>gans</i>                           |  |
| It. <i>pastore</i>                            | Sw. <i>herde, boskapsherde</i> | ChSl. <i>pastyrī, pastuchū</i>             |  |
| Fr. <i>pâtre, berger, etc.</i>                | OE <i>hirde</i>                | SCr. <i>pastir, čoban, kravar, etc.</i>    |  |
| Sp. <i>pastor, vaquero, madero</i>            | ME <i>herde</i>                | Boh. <i>pastýř, pastucha, krawak, etc.</i> |  |
| Rum. <i>cioban (păstor)</i>                   | Du. <i>herder, veehoeder</i>   | Pol. <i>pastuch, pasterz</i>               |  |
| Ir. <i>buachaill, úgair</i>                   | OHG <i>hirti</i>               | Russ. <i>pastuch</i>                       |  |
| Nl. <i>buachaill, aodhaire</i>                | MHG <i>hirt(e), herter</i>     | Skt. <i>gopa-, paçupā-, etc.</i>           |  |
| W. <i>bugail, bugel</i>                       | NHG <i>hirt</i>                | Av. <i>vāstar-</i>                         |  |
| Br. <i>bugel</i>                              |                                |  |  |

Several words originally covering 'herdsman' in general have become specialized to 'shepherd', and conversely others that were originally specific, as for 'cowherd' or 'shepherd', have become generalized in use.

In general the specific terms are more common, sometimes the only ones in popular use.

1. Grk. *ποιμήν*, in Hom. 'herdsman' (of sheep or oxen), later only 'shepherd': Lith. *piemuo* 'shepherd', Grk. *πῶν* 'flock' (of sheep), Skt. *pā-* 'protect', *go-pa-* 'cowherd', etc., IE \**pō(i)-*. Walde-P. 2.72.

Grk. *βουκόλος* 'cowherd', sometimes 'herdsman' (cf. *βουκόλος ἱππῶν*), beside *αιπόλος* 'goat-herd', *οιοπόλος* 'shepherd' (rare in this sense, replaced by *ποιμήν*), cpds. of *βοῦς* 'ox, cow', *αἶξ* 'goat', *οἶς* 'sheep', second part : Grk. *πῶν* 'be in motion', Lat. *colere* 'cultivate', Skt. *car-* 'move about, graze' (3.16), etc., IE \**k<sup>o</sup>el-*. Walde-P. 1.514 ff.

NG *τσιπάνης* 'shepherd' (*ποιμήν* lit. and mostly fig.), like Rum. *cioban*, SCr. *čoban*, loanword fr. Turk. *čoban* 'shepherd' (orig. Pers., Lokotsch 1921).

2. Lat. *pāstor*, fr. *pāscere* 'pasture' (3.15). Hence It. *pastore* 'herdsman', Fr. *pâtre, pasteur* (both lit.), Sp. *pastor* 'shepherd', Rum. *păstor* 'shepherd'.

In French usually only specific terms as *berger* 'shepherd', *bouvier* 'oxherd', *vacher* 'cowherd', *chevrier* 'goatherd', derivs. of the words for 'sheep' (Lat. *vervex* 'wether', later 'sheep', 3.27), 'ox', 'cow', 'goat'.

Sp. *vaquero* fr. *vaca* 'cow'.

Sp. *manadero* fr. *manada* 'flock, herd', deriv. of VLat. *mināre* 'drive cattle'.

3. Ir. *buachaill*, W. *bugail*, Br. *bugel*, all orig. 'cowherd', but not so restricted (cf. Nl. *buachaill* *bō* 'cowherd'), cpds. of words for 'ox, cow', and prob. the same root as in Grk. *βουκόλος*, etc. (above, 1). Pedersen 1.127.

Ir. *úgair* 'shepherd', Nl. *aodhaire* 'shepherd' and 'herdsman' (cf. *aodhaire* *bō* 'cowherd'), cpd. of *uī* 'sheep' (3.25), and the root of *gairim* 'call' (18.41).

4. Goth. *hairdeis*, ON *hirðr*, OE *hirde*, NE *-herd* in *shepherd, cowherd*, etc., dial. *herd* 'shepherd', OHG *hirti*, NHG *hirt*, etc., general Gmc. word, now partly specialized to 'shepherd' (so mostly in Dan., Sw., Du., NHG), deriv. of noun Goth. *hairda*, OE *heord* 'herd', etc. : Skt. *gardha-*, *gardhas-* 'troop, multitude', Av. *sarōda-* 'kind, species', etc. Walde-P. 1.424. Feist 234.

Where the word is specialized to 'shepherd', it may be replaced in other senses, as Dan. *kvægogter*, cpd. of *kvæg*

'cattle' (3.20) and *vogte* 'watch, tend', Sw. *boskapsherde*, cpd. of *boskap* 'cattle' (3.20), Sw. *vallare* fr. *valla* 'tend' (cattle), Du. *veehoeder*, cpd. of *vee* 'cattle' (3.15) and *hoe* 'guard', like NHG *vieh Hüter*.

ME *herdman*, NE *herdsman*, replacing *herd* in general sense except in the cpds. *shepherd, cowherd*, etc., but less used than the specific terms.

5. Lith. *kerdžius* : Goth. *hairdeis*, etc., above, 4. Walde-P. 1.424.

Lith. *ganytojas*, deriv. of *ganyti* 'pasture' (3.16), fr. the same root also Lett. *gans* (Lith. *ganas* '(Pferde)hirt', in NSB).

Lith. *piemuo* 'shepherd' : Grk. *ποιμήν*, above, 1.

| 3.19 STABLE, STALL          |                                  |   |  |
|-----------------------------|----------------------------------|---|--|
| Grk. <i>στάβλος</i>         | Goth. <i>(awistr)</i>            | Lith. <i>tvaras, kūtė</i>                 |  |
| NG <i>στάβλος</i>           | ON <i>fjōs, stallr, stallhūs</i> | Let. <i>kūls, stallis</i>                 |  |
| Lat. <i>stabulum</i>        | Dan. <i>stald</i>                | ChSl. <i>chleu</i>                        |  |
| It. <i>stalla, scuderia</i> | Sw. <i>stall</i>                 | SCr. <i>staja, štala</i>                  |  |
| Fr. <i>étable, écurie</i>   | OE <i>steall</i>                 | Boh. <i>stáj, chlév</i>                   |  |
| Sp. <i>establo</i>          | ME <i>stal, stable</i>           | Pol. <i>stajnia (chlew)</i>               |  |
| Rum. <i>stall, grajd</i>    | NE <i>stal, stable</i>           | Russ. <i>stojlo, chlév</i>                |  |
| Ir. <i>lías</i>             | Du. <i>stal</i>                  | Skt. <i>gotra-, gosṭha-</i>               |  |
| Nl. <i>stábla</i>           | OHG <i>stal</i>                  | Av. <i>gavō-stāna-, aspō-stāna-, etc.</i> |  |
| W. <i>ystabl</i>            | MHG <i>stal</i>                  |   |  |
| Br. <i>krou, stael</i>      | NHG <i>stal</i>                  |   |  |

The heading is intended to cover words denoting the place where the domestic animals are kept, without regard to the present distinction between NE *stall* and *stable* and the usual restriction of the latter to a place for horses. Several of the words entered are used only or mostly for 'stable' in this restricted sense, as It. *scuderia*, Fr. *écurie*.

But specific terms derived from the names of the animals, like Lat. *bovile, ovile*, W. *marchdy, beudy* (lit. 'horse-house', 'cow-house'), Russ. *konjušnja* (fr. *kon'* 'horse'), etc., are not included, except where generic terms are lacking (as in Avestan).

Also not included are the numerous words denoting an outer inclosure for domestic animals, like OE, ME *fald* (fr. vb. *fealdan* 'bend, fold'), NE *fold* (esp. *sheepfold*), Grk. *μάνδρα*, Skt. *vraja-*, etc.

The majority of the words are from the notion of 'standing place', a few from 'hut', 'pen', or the like.

For occasional confusion between the notions of 'stable' and 'barn' (as in U.S. usage of barn), see 8.14.

1. Derivs. of IE \**stā-* 'stand'. Walde-P. 2.604 ff. Ernout-M. 984.

Grk. *σταβλός*; Lat. *stabulum*, whence OFr. *estable* (> ME, NE *stable* > Nl. *stábla*, W. *ystabl*), Fr. *étable*, Sp. *establo*,

Rum. *staul*, Byz. NG *στάβλος*, Br. *staul*; (Goth. *awistr*, OE *ēwestre*, etc. 'sheep-fold'); SCr. *staja*, Boh. *stáj*, Pol. *stajnia*, Russ. *stojlo*; Skt. *go-ṣṭha-* ('cow-stall', but also more general, hence even *go-gosṭha-*), *go-sthāna-*, *uṣtra-sthāna-*, Av. *gavō-stāna-*, *aspō-stāna-*, *uṣtrō-stāna-* (cpds. with words for 'ox', 'horse', 'camel').

Here also (fr. IE \**sto-dhlo-*, as Lat. *stabulum*, or more prob. a parallel IE \**stel-*) the Gmc. group, ON *stallr* (also *stallhūs*), OE *steall*, NE *stall*, OHG *stal*, etc., whence also It. *stalla*, Lett. *stallis* (fr. MLG *stal*) and SCr. *štala*. Walde-P. 2.644. Falk-Torp 1147.

ME *stall* and *stable* were both used for the building in which domestic animals were kept, but *stall* came to be used mostly of the standing place for a single animal, and *stable* of the building for horses.

2. It. *scuderia*, Fr. *écurie* 'stable' for horses, derivs. of *scudiero, écuyer* orig. 'shield-bearer' fr. Lat. *scudārius*, then also 'page, groom', hence 'place where the grooms stayed, stable'. But in French prob. blended with a loanword fr. OHG *scūr* 'covered place, shed', *scūra* 'barn' (so *scuria* in Lex. Sal.). REW 7759. Gamillscheg 343.

Rum. *grajd*, loanword fr. Slavic (below, 6).

3. Ir. *lías*, etym.?

Br. *kraou* : W. (obs.) *crau* 'pigsty',

*craw* 'sty, hovel', Ir. *crō* 'inclosure, pen', etc. (these : OE *hrōf* 'roof', etc. Pedersen 1.92; rejected by Walde-P. 1.477).

4. ON *fjōs*, contraction of \**fē-hūs* 'cattle-house', cpd. of *fē* 'cattle' (3.15).

5. Lith. *kūtė*, Lett. *kūts*, fr. MLG *kot*, *kote* 'hut, shed' (cf. OE *cot* 'hut', etc. 7.13). Mühl-Endz. 2.338.

Lith. *tuartas*, fr. *tuerti* 'comprise, inclose', like *tuora* 'fence', etc., hence orig. 'inclosure'. Walde-P. 1.750.

6. ChSl. *chleu* (also 'hut'), Boh. *chlév*, Pol. *chlew* (now esp. 'pigsty'), Russ. *chlew*, loanword fr. Gmc. \**xlaiwa-* 'hut' (Goth. *hlaiw* 'grave' beside *hleipra, hlīja* 'tent', etc. fr. IE \**klei-* 'incline'; Walde-P. 1.490 ff.). Berneker 389. Stender-Petersen 239 ff.

ChSl. *graždī* (late), Bulg. *gražd* (> Rum. *grajd*), deriv. of ChSl. *gradū* 'city' and 'garden', orig. 'inclosed place'. Berneker 330.

7. Skt. (beside *go-ṣṭha-*, above, 1) *go-tra-* fr. *go-* 'ox, cow' and suffix *-tra-* denoting place, but not restricted to bovine species.

Av. *gavō-stāna-*, *aspō-stāna-*, etc. (above, 1) for the large animals, also (*nmānəm*) *gāvaγam*, lit. '(house) for oxen'. For small animals, as sheep, *pasuṣ-hasta-*, cpd. of *pasu-* 'small cattle' (3.15) and \**hastā-* fr. *had-* 'sit' = Skt. *sad-*. Cf. Vd. 15.23 ff., where the whole series occurs.

| 3.20 CATTLE<br>(Collective or plural forms) |                               | 3.21 BULL                 | 3.22 OX             | 3.23 COW                | 3.24 CALF |
|---|-------------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|-------------------------|-----------|
| Grk. <i>βοῦς</i>                            | <i>ταῦρος</i>                 | <i>βοῦς ὁ</i>             | <i>βοῦς ἡ</i>       | <i>μῶσχος</i>           |           |
| NG <i>βόδια</i>                             | <i>ταῦρος, ταυρί</i>          | <i>βόδι</i>               | <i>ἀγέλαδα</i>      | <i>μωσχάρι</i>          |           |
| Lat. <i>boves</i>                           | <i>taurus, tauroi</i>         | <i>bōs</i>                | <i>bōs, vacca</i>   | <i>vitulus</i>          |           |
| It. <i>(buoi)</i>                           | <i>loro</i>                   | <i>bove, bue</i>          | <i>vacca</i>        | <i>vitello</i>          |           |
| Fr. <i>(bétail, etc.)</i>                   | <i>taureau</i>                | <i>taureau</i>            | <i>vache</i>        | <i>veau</i>             |           |
| Sp. <i>ganado</i>                           | <i>toro</i>                   | <i>buey</i>               | <i>vaca</i>         | <i>ternero, becerro</i> |           |
| Rum. <i>vile</i>                            | <i>taur</i>                   | <i>bou</i>                | <i>vacă</i>         | <i>vițel</i>            |           |
| Ir. <i>buar</i>                             | <i>tarb</i>                   | <i>dam</i>                | <i>bō, ag, ferb</i> | <i>lāeg</i>             |           |
| Nl. <i>guarthege</i>                        | <i>tarbh</i>                  | <i>damh</i>               | <i>bō, fearb</i>    | <i>laogh</i>            |           |
| W. <i>saout, biou</i>                       | <i>tarv</i>                   | <i>yeh, eidion</i>        | <i>buvach</i>       | <i>leue</i>             |           |
| Goth. <i>nauf, nauwē</i>                    | <i>taro</i>                   | <i>ejen, oc'hen (pl.)</i> | <i>buoc'h</i>       | <i>stiuur, kalbō</i>    |           |
| Dan. <i>kvæg</i>                            | <i>bjørr, graðungur, boli</i> | <i>ozi (uzi)</i>          | <i>kjör (kü)</i>    | <i>kälfr</i>            |           |
| Sw. <i>boskap</i>                           | <i>tyr</i>                    | <i>okse</i>               | <i>ko</i>           | <i>kalv</i>             |           |
| OE <i>hrīðeru, nēal</i>                     | <i>fearr</i>                  | <i>oxa (stior)</i>        | <i>cū</i>           | <i>cealf</i>            |           |
| ME <i>nete, rotheren</i>                    | <i>bule (bole)</i>            | <i>oze (steere)</i>       | <i>cow</i>          | <i>calf</i>             |           |
| NE <i>cattle</i>                            | <i>bull</i>                   | <i>oz (steer)</i>         | <i>cow</i>          | <i>calf</i>             |           |
| Du. <i>runderen, rundvee</i>                | <i>stier, bul</i>             | <i>o</i>                  | <i>kuo</i>          | <i>kalb</i>             |           |
| OHG <i>(h)rindir</i>                        | <i>far, ohaso</i>             | <i>o</i>                  | <i>kuo (chuo)</i>   | <i>kalp</i>             |           |
| MHG <i>rinder</i>                           | <i>stier, bulle</i>           | <i>o</i>                  | <i>kuh</i>          | <i>kalb</i>             |           |
| NHG <i>rinder, rindvieh</i>                 | <i>stier, bulle</i>           | <i>o</i>                  | <i>karvī</i>        | <i>veršis, telias</i>   |           |
| Lith. <i>galvijai</i>                       | <i>bullis</i>                 | <i>o</i>                  | <i>guos</i>         | <i>tel's</i>            |           |
| Let. <i>guos(s)luopi, lielluopi</i>         | <i>bykū</i>                   | <i>o</i>                  | <i>krava</i>        | <i>tele</i>             |           |
| ChSl. <i>*goveđo, nula</i>                  | <i>bik</i>                    | <i>vol, vo</i>            | <i>krava</i>        | <i>tele</i>             |           |
| SCR. <i>goveđa</i>                          | <i>byk</i>                    | <i>vāl</i>                | <i>krava</i>        | <i>tele</i>             |           |
| Boh. <i>skot</i>                            | <i>byk</i>                    | <i>völ</i>                | <i>korova</i>       | <i>cielo</i>            |           |
| Pol. <i>bydło</i>                           | <i>byk</i>                    | <i>völ</i>                | <i>korona</i>       | <i>telenok</i>          |           |
| Russ. <i>skot</i>                           | <i>ukšan-, ṛṣabha-,</i>       | <i>go-</i>                | <i>go-, vaçā-</i>   | <i>vatsa-</i>           |           |
| Skt. <i>gāvas</i>                           | <i>uṣāṇ-</i>                  | <i>gao-</i>               | <i>gao-</i>         | <i>...</i>              |           |
| Av. <i>gāō</i>                              |                               |                           |                     |                         |           |

3.20-3.24. Groups of cognates which appear under several of these headings.

1. IE \**g<sup>o</sup>ou-*, nom. sg. \**g<sup>o</sup>ōus*, the old generic word for the bovine species, 'ox' or 'cow'. Restricted to 'ox' in the Romance languages, to 'cow' in Celtic, Gmc., Lett., Arm. Walde-P. 1.696 f. Ernout-M. 115. Pedersen 2.26, 51, 93.

Grk. *βοῦς* 'ox, cow', pl. *βόες* 'cattle', dim. *βοῖδιον*, whence NG *βόδι* 'ox', pl. *βόδια* 'cattle'; Lat. *bōs* 'ox, cow' (loanword fr. a rural dial., cf. Umbr. *bum, bue*, etc.), whence It. *bue*, *bove*, Fr. *boeuf*, Sp. *buey*, Rum. *bou*, all 'ox' (but also 'bull' in dialects, REW 1225); Ir. *bo*, W. *buwch*, Br. *buoc'h*, all 'cow', Br. pl. *biou* 'cattle', Ir. *buar* coll. 'cattle'; ON *kjör*,

OE *cū*, etc., all the Gmc. words for 'cow' (NE *kine* old pl., now coll. and sometimes used generically = *cattle*); Lett. *guos* 'cow', ChSl. \**goveđo*, SCr. *goveđa* 'head of cattle', SCr. pl. *goveđa* 'cattle' (Boh. *hovado* 'beast', Russ. *govjadina* 'beef'); Skt. *go-*, Av. *gao-* 'ox, cow'; Arm. *kuo* 'cow'.

2. Goth. *stiuur* 'male calf' (renders *τὸν μωσχόν*), ON *stjórr* (rare), OE *stēor*, OHG *stior*, all mostly 'young ox', MHG, NHG *stier* 'bull' (but dial. 'ox'), NE *steer* ('young') ox' (in U.S., where oxen are used for hauling, *steer* is still 'young ox', but otherwise and regularly in the packing industry *steer* is the grown castrated animal raised for beef, and *oz* is

3.21. 'Bull'. 1. Grk. *ταῦρος*; Lat. *taurus* (> It., Sp. *toro*, Rum. *taur*, OFr. *tor*, Fr. *taureau*), Osc. *taurom*, Umbr. *toru*; Gall. *tarvos*, Ir. *tarb*, Nl. *tarbh*, W. *tarv*, Br. *taro* (Celtic forms with cons. transposition); ON *bjōrr*, Dan. *tyr*, Sw. *tyr* (these influenced by the group ON *stjórr*, etc.) : OPruss. *tauris*, Lith. *tauras* 'wild ox', ChSl. *turū* 'wild ox'(?). Perh. IE \**tau-ro-* fr. \**teu-* 'swell, be strong' in Skt. *tāuti*, *taviti* 'is strong', etc. (so Walde-P. 1.711, Brugmann, Grd. 2.1353), but more prob. to be combined with OE *stēor*, etc. Ernout-M. 1018. Falk-Torp 1309. Feist 454.

2. ON *boli*, ME *bule*, *bole*, NE *bull*, MLG *bulle* (> NHG *bulle*, much used in the north in place of *stier*; also the source of Lith. *bulius*, Lett. *bullis*), Du. *bul*, prob. : ON *boltr* 'ball, testicle', OHG *ballo* 'ball', OE *beallucas* 'testicles' (so NE *balls* in vulgar use), Grk. *φαλλός* 'penis', Lat. *foliis* 'leather bag', etc. Walde-P. 2.178.

ON *grað-ungur*, also *grað-uzi*, cpds. of *graðr* 'entire', as in *grað-hestr* 'stallion', *grað-hafr* 'he-goat'.

ON *tarfr* (rare), loanword fr. Celtic, Ir. *tarb*, etc. (above, 1).

ON *farri* (rare), OE *fearr*, OHG *far*, *farro*, MHG *varre*, NHG *farre* (now dial.; Du. *var* 'young bull'; also Du. *vaars*, NHG *farse* 'heifer') : Grk. *πόρις* (Hom.





Grk. *δελφας* : *δελφός*, Skt. *garbha-* 'womb', etc., with shift from 'womb' through 'fetus' to 'young of an animal', as often (cf. NE *calv*, etc., 3.24), then specialization to 'pig'.

Ir. *banb*, Nlr. *banbh*, W. *banw* (obs.). 'pig', OCorn. *banew* 'sus', Br. *bano* 'sow with litter', etym.? Pedersen 1.47. Loewenthal, Wört. u. Sach. 9.188.

ON *griss* (> Scotch *grize*), Dan., Sw. *gris*, etym. dub., perh.: OHG *gris* 'gray', etc. Walde-P. 1.602 f. Falk-

Torp 348, 1473. Hellquist 300 (imitative orig.).  
ME *pigge* (prob. OE *\*pigga*, like *docga*, *frocga*), NE *pig*, MLG *bigge*, Du. *big*, prob.: Dan. *pig*, Sw. *pigg* 'spike', etc. beside OE *pic* 'pick, pike', etc. (cf. Falk-Torp. 823), and orig. an epithet referring to the shape. Björkman, IF 30.266 f. NED s.v. *pig*. Franck-v. W. 64.

Boh. *sele*, orig. 'suckling', deriv. of *ssdti* 'suck'.

### 3.36 GOAT (Generic or feminine)

|       |                                  |                              |                                   |
|-------|----------------------------------|------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk.  | <i>αἴς</i> ( <i>χίμαιρα</i> )    | <i>τράγος</i>                | <i>ἐριφος</i>                     |
| NG    | <i>γίδια</i> , fem. <i>γίδια</i> | <i>τράγος</i> , <i>τραγί</i> | <i>καρσίον</i>                    |
| Lat.  | <i>capra</i>                     | <i>hircus</i> , <i>caper</i> | <i>haedus</i>                     |
| It.   | <i>capra</i>                     | <i>becco</i> , <i>capro</i>  | <i>capretto</i>                   |
| Fr.   | <i>chèvre</i> , <i>bique</i>     | <i>bouc</i>                  | <i>chevreau</i> , <i>biquet</i>   |
| Sp.   | <i>cabra</i> , <i>chiva</i>      | <i>cabrón</i>                | <i>cabrillo</i>                   |
| Rum.  | <i>capră</i>                     | <i>caprioară</i>             | <i>caprioară</i>                  |
| Ir.   | <i>gabor</i>                     | <i>boc</i>                   | <i>menn(án)</i>                   |
| Nlr.  | <i>gabbhar</i>                   | <i>boc</i>                   | <i>mionnán</i>                    |
| W.    | <i>gafr</i>                      | <i>boc</i>                   | <i>myn</i>                        |
| Br.   | <i>gaor</i>                      | <i>bouc'h</i>                | <i>gaorig</i>                     |
| Goth. | <i>gaits</i>                     | <i>hafr</i> ( <i>bukkr</i> ) | <i>kið</i>                        |
| ON    | <i>geit</i>                      | <i>buc</i>                   | <i>buk</i>                        |
| Dan.  | <i>ged</i>                       | <i>buck</i>                  | <i>kid</i>                        |
| Sw.   | <i>get</i>                       | <i>bucka</i> , <i>hafor</i>  | <i>ticken</i> , <i>hécen</i>      |
| OE    | <i>gote</i>                      | <i>bucke</i>                 | <i>kid</i>                        |
| ME    | <i>goat</i>                      | <i>he-goat</i>               | <i>kid</i>                        |
| NE    | <i>goat</i>                      | <i>he-goat</i>               | <i>kid</i>                        |
| Du.   | <i>geit</i>                      | <i>boc</i>                   | <i>geitje</i>                     |
| OHG   | <i>geiz</i> , <i>ziga</i>        | <i>boc</i>                   | <i>zicki(n)</i> , <i>kizzi(n)</i> |
| MHG   | <i>geiz</i> , <i>zige</i>        | <i>boc</i>                   | <i>zickeln</i>                    |
| NHG   | <i>ziege</i> , <i>geiss</i>      | <i>boc</i>                   | <i>zickeln</i>                    |
| Lith. | <i>oška</i>                      | <i>oškis</i>                 | <i>oškutis</i>                    |
| Lett. | <i>kaza</i>                      | <i>āzis</i>                  | <i>kazlens</i>                    |
| ChSl. | <i>koza</i>                      | <i>kozilā</i>                | <i>kozilē</i>                     |
| SCr.  | <i>koza</i>                      | <i>jarec</i>                 | <i>jare</i> , <i>kozlic</i>       |
| Boh.  | <i>koza</i>                      | <i>kozal</i>                 | <i>kozilē</i>                     |
| Pol.  | <i>koza</i>                      | <i>kozol</i>                 | <i>kozilē</i>                     |
| Russ. | <i>koza</i>                      | <i>kozol</i>                 | <i>kozlenok</i>                   |
| Skt.  | <i>ajā-</i> , fem. <i>ajā-</i>   | <i>ajā-</i> , <i>chāga-</i>  | <i>...</i>                        |
| Av.   | <i>...</i>                       | <i>būza-</i>                 | <i>...</i>                        |

3.36. 'Goat'. The generic and feminine words are taken together, since the latter are generally those used in generic sense.

Meillet, Rev. ét. sl. 5.8 f., brings together under a series of alternating forms groups that are here given separately, namely *aiž* etc. (1), OHG *ziga* etc. (4), Lith. *ožys*, Skt. *ajā-* (7), and ChSl. *koza* (6).

1. Grk. *aiž* (mostly *h*, rarely also *δ*): Arm. *aic* 'goat', Av. *izaēna-* 'of (goat's) skin', perh.: Skt. *ejati* 'stirs, moves', etc. Walde-P. 1.8 f. 11.

Hence dim. *aižion* 'kid', whence NG *γίδια* generic for 'goat' (τὰ *γίδια*), with new fem. *γίδια* 'she-goat'.

Grk. *χίμαρος* (*δ*, also *h*), *χίμαιρα*, orig. 'yearling': Skt. *hinā-* 'winter', Lat. *bimūs* (*\*bi-himos*) 'two years old', etc. Walde-P. 1.547.

2. Lat. *capra* (> It., Sp. *capra*, Fr. *chèvre*, Rum. *capră*), fem. to *caper* 'he-goat' (3.37).

Fr. *bique*, prob. fr. a calling cry

REW 1099. Wartburg 1.358 ff.

Sp. *chiva*, masc. *chivo*, source? 3. Ir. *gabor*, Nlr. *gabbhar*, W. *gafr*, Br. *gaor*, *gavr*, perh. with unexplained init. variation: Lat. *caper*, etc. So Thurneysen, Gram. 139, Z. celt. Ph. 13.103 ff. Otherwise Walde-P. 1.533, 547.

4. Goth. *gaits*, ON *geit*, OE *gāt*, etc., the general Gmc. word: Lat. *hacchus* 'kid', perh. Lith. *žaidžiu*, *žaisiti* 'play' as orig. 'jump, gambol'. Walde-P. 1.527. Feist 186.

OHG *ziga*, MHG *zige*, NHG *zirge* with dim. OE *ticken*, OHG *zickeln*, MHG *zickeln*, NHG *zickeln*, perh.: Grk. *βίγα* *aiž*. *Δάκωνες* (Hesych.), Arm. *tik* 'leather bag', root connection? Walde-P. 1.814.

5. Lith. *oška*, new fem. fr. *oškis* 'he-goat': Skt. *ajā-*, etc. (below, 7).

6. ChSl. *koza*, etc., the general Slavic

word, with Lett. *kaza* fr. Russ., perh.: OE *hēcen*, MLG *hōken* 'kid', root connection? Walde-P. 1.336. Berneker 595.

7. Skt. *ajā-*, fem. *ajā-*: Lith. *ožys*, Lett. *āzis*, perh., through notion of rapid motion, fr. root of Skt. *aj-*, Grk. *άγω*, etc. 'drive'. Walde-P. 1.38.

3.37. 'He-goat'. 1. Grk. *τράγος* (hence fr. dim. form, NG *τραγί*) : *τράγος*, aor. *τραγον* 'nibble'. Walde-P. 1.732. Boissacq 978.

2. Lat. *caper*: ON *hafr*, OE *hafor* 'he-goat', Grk. *κάπρος* 'boar', root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.347. Ernout-M. 146 f. Walde-H. 1.157. It. *capro*, Sp. *cabrón*, formed anew fr. fem. *capra*, *cabra*.

Lat. *hircus* (so, not *caper*, in Varro, RR, as 2.3.10 *ad denas capras singulas parent hircos*, and in general much more common than *caper*) perh.: Lat. *hirtus*, *hirsutus* 'shaggy', etc. Walde-P. 1.610. Ernout-M. 454. Walde-H. 1.649 f.

Lat. *bucca* occurs as 'he-goat' in the description of the game "back, buck", Petron. 64. Cf. Ullman, Cl. Ph. 38.94 ff. But it seems more likely to be a loanword adopted in this game than an inherited cognate of OE, Ir. *bucc*, OE *bucca*, etc. (below, 3.4).

It. *becco*, prob. of imitative orig. REW 1020a.

Fr. *bouc*, loanword fr. Gmc. or Celtic (below, 3, 4). REW 1378. Wartburg 1.590.

Rum. *țap*: Alb. *ejap* and a widespread group of pop. or dial. terms for 'he-goat', based on a calling cry. Cf. esp. CGL 5.503.27 *hyrcus caper zappu dieitur*. REW 9599. Rohlf, Z. rom. Ph. 45.664 f. Walde-H. 1.157.

3. Ir. *bucc*, W. *buch*, Br. *bouc'h*, loanword fr. (or cognate with) the Gmc. group (below, 4). Walde-P. 2.189.

4. ON *bukkr*, OE *bucca*, OHG *boc*,

|       | 3.41<br>HORSE<br>(Generic)                               | 3.42<br>STALLION   | 3.43<br>GELDING                 | 3.44<br>MARE                  | 3.45<br>FOAL,<br>COLT             |
|-------|--|--|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk.  | <i>ἵππος</i>   | <i>ἵππος δ, ὄχιον</i>                                      | <i>ἵππος ἐκτενω-<br/>μενος</i>  | <i>ἵππος ἡ</i>                | <i>πῶλος</i>                      |
| NG    | <i>ἄλογο</i>   | <i>βαρβάνο ἄλογο, ἄρι</i>                                  | <i>ἄλογο μονουχι-<br/>μένο</i>  | <i>φορᾶδα</i>                 | <i>πυλᾶρι</i>                     |
| Lat.  | <i>equus</i>   | ( <i>equus</i> ) <i>admissa-<br/>rius</i>                  | <i>cavallo castrato</i>         | <i>equa</i>                   | <i>pullus (eculus)</i>            |
| It.   | <i>cavallo</i>   | <i>stallone</i>  | <i>cavallo castrato</i>         | <i>cavalla</i>                | <i>puledro</i>                    |
| Fr.   | <i>cheval</i>  | <i>étalon</i>  | <i>hongre</i>                   | <i>jument</i>                 | <i>poulain</i>                    |
| Sp.   | <i>caballo</i>   | <i>caballo padre</i>                                       | <i>caballo castrado</i>         | <i>yegua</i>                  | <i>potro</i>                      |
| Rum.  | <i>cal</i>   | <i>armăsar</i>   | <i>jugan</i>                    | <i>iapă</i>                   | <i>minz</i>                       |
| Ir.   | <i>ech</i> , <i>marc</i> ( <i>capall</i> )               | <i>stail</i>   | <i>gillín</i> , <i>gearrán</i>  | <i>lár</i>                    | <i>serrach</i>                    |
| Nlr.  | <i>capall</i> , <i>marc</i>                              | <i>stail</i>   | <i>adfarch</i>                  | <i>casag</i>                  | <i>serrach</i>                    |
| W.    | <i>march</i> , <i>ceffyl</i>                             | <i>march</i> , <i>ystalwyn</i>                             | <i>marc'h</i> ( <i>marc'h</i> ) | <i>casag</i>                  | <i>eboul</i>                      |
| Br.   | <i>marc'h</i>  | <i>marc'h</i> ( <i>marc'h</i> )                            | <i>spaz</i>                     | <i>casag</i>                  | <i>eboul</i>                      |
| Goth. | <i>...</i>   | <i>...</i>   | <i>...</i>                      | <i>...</i>                    | <i>fula</i>                       |
| ON    | <i>hross</i> , <i>hestr</i> ( <i>marr</i> , <i>jör</i> ) | ( <i>stōð</i> )- <i>hestr</i> , <i>stōð</i> - <i>hross</i> | <i>geldhestr</i>                | <i>merr</i> ( <i>hross</i> )  | <i>jola</i> , <i>fyl</i>          |
| Dan.  | <i>hest</i>  | <i>hingst</i>  | <i>vallak</i>                   | <i>hoppe</i>                  | <i>føl</i>                        |
| Sw.   | <i>hast</i>  | <i>hingst</i>  | <i>vallack</i>                  | <i>märr</i> , <i>sto</i>      | <i>föl</i> , <i>fåle</i>          |
| OE    | <i>hors</i> , <i>meah</i> , <i>e:h</i>                   | <i>stēda</i>   | <i>hengest</i>                  | <i>mere</i> ( <i>myre</i> )   | <i>jola</i> , <i>colt</i>         |
| ME    | <i>hors</i>  | <i>stalon</i>  | <i>gelding</i>                  | <i>mere</i>                   | <i>jole</i> , <i>colte</i>        |
| NE    | <i>horse</i>   | <i>stallion</i> , <i>studhorse</i>                         | <i>gelding</i>                  | <i>mare</i>                   | <i>foal</i> , <i>colt</i>         |
| Du.   | <i>paard</i>   | <i>hengst</i>  | <i>gelding</i>                  | <i>merrie</i>                 | <i>veulen</i>                     |
| OHG   | ( <i>h</i> ) <i>ros</i> , <i>marah</i>                   | <i>reivuno</i> , <i>scelo</i>                              | <i>hengist</i>                  | <i>mer(h)a</i>                | <i>jolo</i> , <i>fulin</i> , etc. |
| MHG   | <i>pfert</i> , <i>ros</i>                                | <i>schela</i> , <i>reine</i>                               | <i>heng(e)st</i>                | <i>merhe</i>                  | <i>vole</i> , <i>uillin</i>       |
| NHG   | <i>pfert</i> ( <i>ross</i> , <i>gaul</i> )               | <i>hengst</i>  | <i>wallach</i>                  | <i>stute</i> , <i>mähre</i>   | <i>füllen</i>                     |
| Lith. | <i>erklis</i> , <i>žirgas</i>                            | <i>eržilas</i> , <i>drigantas</i>                          | <i>volokas</i>                  | <i>stute</i> , <i>mähre</i>   | <i>füllen</i>                     |
| Lett. | <i>zīrgs</i>   | <i>eržēlis</i> , <i>drigants</i>                           | <i>izlūnits</i> <i>zīrgs</i>    | <i>k'ine</i>                  | <i>kumelē</i>                     |
| ChSl. | <i>konjī</i>   | <i>...</i>   | <i>kobyla</i>                   | <i>žirbe</i>                  | <i>kumelē</i>                     |
| SCr.  | <i>konj</i>  | <i>ždrijebac</i> , <i>pastuh</i> , <i>ajgir</i>            | <i>uštroyen konj</i>            | <i>kobila</i>                 | <i>ždrijebe</i>                   |
| Boh.  | <i>kůň</i>   | <i>hřebec</i>  | <i>valach</i>                   | <i>klisna</i> , <i>kobyla</i> | <i>hřibě</i>                      |
| Pol.  | <i>koń</i>   | <i>ogier</i> , <i>drygant</i> , <i>stadnik</i>             | <i>valach</i>                   | <i>klisna</i> , <i>kobyla</i> | <i>hřibě</i>                      |
| Russ. | <i>lošadī</i> ('kon')                                    | <i>žerebec</i>   | <i>merin</i>                    | <i>kobyla</i>                 | <i>žerebenok</i>                  |
| Skt.  | <i>ayā-</i> , <i>haya-</i>                               | <i>ayā-</i> , <i>marya-</i>                                | <i>...</i>                      | <i>ayā-</i> , <i>vālabā-</i>  | <i>kiçora-</i>                    |
| Av.   | <i>aspa-</i>   | <i>...</i>   | <i>...</i>                      | <i>aspa-</i>                  | <i>...</i>                        |

3.41. While the agreement in most of the IE languages pointing to an IE word for 'horse' and its great frequency in personal names do not prove the IE domestication of the horse (cf. the similar situation for 'wolf'), there is strong probability on other grounds that the horse was at least partially domesticated in the IE period, and further that the use of the horse for drawing war chariots and for riding came to western Asia and Egypt through the medium of IE-speaking peoples of Asia Minor. Schrader, Reallex, 2.170 ff. For Celtic cf. also

Loth, Mém. de l'institut de France 43.113 ff.

1. IE *\*eḥ₂wo-*, root connection wholly obscure. Walde-P. 1.113. Ernout-M. 307.

Grk. *ἵππος*, dial. also *ἵκκος* (but with some unexplained phonetic features and taken as an Illyr. loanword by Kretschmer, Glotta 22.120); Lat. *equus* (with fem. *equa* 'mare'); Ir. *ech*, Gall. *\*epo-* in names *Eporedia*, etc. (W. *ebol*, Br. *eboul* 'colt'); ON *jör* (poet.), OE *eoh* 'war-horse' (Goth. *aithwa-tundi* 'bramble bush', lit. 'horse-tooth'); Lith. (obs.) *esūa*, *ašva* 'mare'; Skt. *ayā-*, Av. *Opers*.

*aspa-* (OPers. also *asa-*); Toch. A *yuk*, B *yakwe*.

Thus the word is attested in all the main branches of the IE family except Slavic, and it is still that in use in most of the modern Iranian languages (NPers. *asp*, etc.). But in all the European languages it has sooner or later been displaced by other terms (but cf. Sp. *yegua*, Rum. *iapă* 'mare'). Likewise in the Indic vernaculars, mostly by forms answering to the late and obscure *ghola-*, *gholaka-*, on which cf. Sommer, IF 31.363 ff.

2. NG *ἄλογο*, fr. neuter of Grk. *ἄλογος* 'unreasoning', not with primary application to the horse, to which it would be relatively inappropriate, but through the medium of 'animal' (so τὰ *ἄλογα* 'animals' in Plato, etc.) with specialization starting in military parlance, in which one commonly coupled *άνθρωποι* and *ἄλογα* 'men and beasts', that is, 'men and horses'. Hatzidakis, Mss. 1.142.

Byz. *φάρας*, *φάριον*, MHG *vāris*, etc., rather widespread medieval word for 'horse, steed', fr. Arab. *fāris* 'rider'. Lokotsch 591. Berneker 279.

3. Lat. *caballus*, in part attested as 'gelding', mostly 'work horse' (cf. *καβάλλος*: *ἐργάτης ἵππος* Hesych.), sometimes pejorative 'old nag', but eventually simply 'horse', in VLat. displacing *equus*, and so the source of the Romance words, also Ir. *capall*, W. *ceffyl* (Pedersen 1.226, Vendryes, De hib. voc. 121). Cf. also late Lat. *cabō*, *ōmis* in glosses (*caballus*, *caballus magnus*, *equus castratus*), Grk. *κάβηλος* 'castrated' (Hesych.), ChSl. *kobila* 'mare', etc. Certainly a loanword, but precise source dub. Prob. orig. 'gelding' and of ethnic orig. (Anatolian or Balkan) like Fr. *hongre*, NHG *wallach*, etc. (3.43). Walde-H. 1.125. Ernout-M. 124. Maas, Rh. M. 74.469. Kretschmer, Glotta 16.191, 20.248. Gr-

goire, Etud. Horat. 81 f., Byzantion 11.615 (: Grk. *κόβαλος* 'rogue', orig. 'porter'; rejected by Kretschmer, Glotta 27.232).

4. Ir. *marc*, W. *march*, Br. *marc'h*, ON *marr*, OE *meah*, OHG *marah*, with Gmc. fem. forms for 'mare' (3.44), orig.? Walde-P. 2.235. Walde-H. 1.179.

5. ON *hross*, OE, ME *hors*, NE *horse*, OHG (*h*)*ros*, MHG *ros*, *ors* (esp. 'war horse', beside *pfert* for common 'horse'), NHG *ross* (mostly lit., but in some dialects still the common word for 'horse') : Lat. *currere* 'run' (rr fr. *\*rs*) or Skt. *kūrđ-* 'jump'. Walde-P. 1.428. Falk-Torp 421.

ON *hestr* (also 'stallion'), Dan. *hest*, Sw. *häst*, with OE *hengest*, OHG *hengist* 'gelding', NHG *hengst* 'stallion' (> Dan., Sw. *hingst* 'stallion'), orig. a superl. form, perh.: Lith. *šankus* 'swift', *šokti* 'jump', etc. Walde-P. 1.334. Falk-Torp 402.

OHG *parafrid*, MHG *pfert*, NHG *pfert*, Du. *paard*, fr. late Lat. (Cod. Just.) *paraverēdus* 'extra post horse' (whence also with dissim. OFr. *palfrey*, ME, NE *palfrey*), cpd. of Grk. *παρά* 'beside' and *verēdus* (Martialis, Cod. Just.), the latter a Celtic word like Lat. *rēda* 'carriage'. Weigand-H. 2.408. NED s.v. *palfrey*.

NHG *gaul* 'nag', in some dialects the common word for 'horse', MLG *gāl* 'war horse', etc. (cf. Weigand-H. s.v.), etym.? Sommer, IF 31.362.

For the local distribution of NHG *pfert*, *ross*, *gaul*, cf. Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 61, 600.

6. Lith. *arklys*, deriv. of *arklas* 'plow', this fr. the root of *arti* 'plow' : Grk. *ἀρᾶ*, Lat. *arāre* 'plow', etc., hence orig. 'plow horse'. Walde-P. 1.78.

Lith. *žirgas* (esp. 'riding-horse, steed'), M. 124. Maas, Rh. M. 74.469. Kretschmer, Glotta 16.191, 20.248. Gr-

Turk. *aygir* 'stallion'. Berneker 26. Lokotsch 40.

Pol. *drygant*, orig.? Brückner 99.

Pol. *stadnik*, deriv. of *stado* 'herd, stud' : OE *stōd*, etc. (above, 4).

7. Skt. for 'stallion' mostly simply *ayā-* (3.41) or rarely *ayā-vṛṣa-* (*vṛṣan-* 'male').

Skt. *maryā-* 'young man' (: Grk. *μαῖρα* 'girl' or 'boy') in RV also 'stallion'.

3.43. 'Gelding' is in part expressed only by phrases 'castrated horse', with words for 'castrate' (3.14), hence requiring no further comment here.

1. Xen. Cyrop. 7.5.62 refers to *ἵπποι ἐκτενωμένοι*. But Aristot., who uses *τομῆς* (3.14) for the castrated ox, sheep, or swine (3.14), does not use it of a horse or make any reference to the castration of horses (cf. HA 6.22), which Strabo 7.4.8 says was peculiar to the Scythians and Sarmatians. Apparently it was not a common practice in ancient Greece.

2. Lat. *canterius*, loanword fr. Grk. *καυθῆλος* 'pack-ass', with change of meaning fr. 'beast of burden, old hack' to 'gelding'. Ernout-M. 145. Walde-H. 1.155.

Fr. *hongre*, orig. 'Hungarian'. Cf. NHG *wallach*, etc. (below, 4).

Rum. *jugan* : *jugāni* 'castrate' (3.14).

3. Ir. *gerrán* (glosses Lat. *caballus*, here as 'gelding'), Nlr. *gearrán*, deriv. of Ir. *gerrain* 'cut', *gerr* 'short'. Walde-P. 1.605.

Nlr. *gillín* (also 'eunuch'), prob. early loanword fr. ME *gelding*, NE *gelding*, which were formerly also used for 'eunuch'.

W. *adfarch*, cpd. of *march* 'horse, stallion' and *ad-*, like *adful* 'castrated bull', with the depreciatory use of *ad-* as in *adfyw* 'half alive', *adfyd* 'adversity', etc.

4. ON *geldhestr*, ME *gelding*, NE

*gelding* (ON *geldingr* 'wether') : ON *gel-da*, ME *gelde* 'castrate' (3.14).

OE *hengest*, OHG *hengist* : ON *hestr* 'horse', etc. (3.41).

Du. *ruin*, MLG *rüne*, NHG dial. *raun* (cf. also Lett. *rū*

## 3.46 ASS, DONKEY

|      |                    |       |             |       |                     |
|------|--------------------|-------|-------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | ὄνος               | Goth. | asilus      | Lith. | asilas              |
| NG   | γαῖδαρος, γαῖδοῦρι | ON    | asni        | Lett. | ezelis              |
|      | γομάρι             | Dan.  | asni        | ChSl. | osilū               |
| Lat. | asinus             | Sw.   | asna        | Scr.  | osao, magarac       |
| It.  | asino, somaro      | OE    | assa, esol  | Boh.  | osel                |
| Fr.  | âne                | ME    | asse        | Pol.  | osiol               |
| Sp.  | asno, burro        | NE    | donkey, ass | Russ. | osel                |
| Rum. | asin, măgar        | Du.   | ezel        | Skt.  | gardabha-, rāsabha- |
| Ir.  | asin               | OHG   | esil        | Av.   | zara-, kaḥud-       |
| Nir. | asal               | MHG   | esel        |       |                     |
| W.   | asyn               | NHG   | esel        |       |                     |
| Br.  | azen               |       |             |       |                     |

The majority of the European words for 'ass, donkey' are derived, mostly through Latin, from some Asiatic name for this animal, the appearance of which in Europe was relatively late. Other words reflect the function of the ass as 'beast of burden', or sometimes other characteristics such as 'lascivious' or 'harsh braying'. Schrader, Reallex. 1.271.

1. Grk. ὄνος (prob., see below), Lat. asinus, loanwords fr. some Asiatic source, ultimately prob. the same word as Sumerian anšū 'ass'. Schrader l.c. Ernout-M. 79. Walde-H. 1.72 ff.

Lat. asinus, or in part dim. asellus, is the source of the common European words, the Romance, Celtic, Gmc. (ON asni, Sw. asna fr. OFr. asne; Dan. esel fr. LG or HG; OE asna perh. fr. Ir. asan) and, through Gmc., the Balto-Slavic.

2. Grk. ὄνος is prob. fr. the same source as Lat. asinus, though the precise phonetic relation is obscure. The old view that it belongs with Lat. onus 'load, burden' (cf. NG γομάρι, It. somaro, below) has recently been revived by Grégoire, Byzantion 13.288 ff.

NG γαῖδαρος, γαῖδοῦρι, γαῖδοῦρι, fr. γαῖδοῦρι occurring in pap. of the 6th to 8th cent. A.D., parallel to a gaydor in a 4th cent. Talmudic text, with somewhat

similar forms in other Semitic writings, doubtless a word of Asiatic origin, precise source uncertain. Hatzidakis Mev. 2.560 with references.

NG γομάρι, fr. neut. of adj. γομάρις, deriv. (suffix fr. Lat. -arius) of class. Grk. γόμος 'load'. Cf. It. samaro (below, 3), NG dial. βασταγός(ς), βασταγοῦρι, and φορτίκι 'donkey', fr. adj. βασταγός (: βασταγός 'carry') and φορτικός (: φορτίον 'load'). G. Meyer, Alb. Etym. Wtb. 127. D. Georgacas, 'Αθηνά 51.71 ff.

3. It. somaro (usual word for 'donkey' in parts of Italy; cf. R. A. Hall, Jr., Language 19.136), like Fr. sommier, OE sēmare, OHG saumari 'pack horse' or 'mule'), fr. late Lat. sagmarius (> Byz. σαγμάριος), deriv. of sagma, late sauma (> OE sēam 'pack-horse load', etc.) fr. Grk. σάγμα 'packsaddle' (: σάττω 'pack'). REW 7512.

Sp. burro, back-formation fr. borrico = It. brico 'ass, mule, old horse', fr. bourrique 'she-ass', fr. late Lat. burricus 'small horse', this fr. burrus 'red(?)'. REW 1413.

Rum. magar, Alb. magar (beside gomar), SCR. magarac, with transposition fr. NG γομάρι(?), or loanword fr. unknown source. G. Meyer, Alb. Etym. Wtb. 253. Berneker 2.2. Tikin 939.

4. NE donkey, replacing ass in common use (ass for the animal still used in

Ireland, otherwise lit.; now commonly applied to a person), orig. dialect or slang term, but precise orig. uncertain. NED s.v.

5. Skt. gardabha-, deriv. of gardha- 'desire', grāh- 'be eager', hence the 'lascivious' beast. Walde-P. 1.614.

Skt. rāsabha-, deriv. of rāsa- 'noise', rā- 'howl', hence the 'brayer'. Av. zara- (NPers. zar) : Skt. khara- 'harsh', also 'ass', 'mule', 'crow', etc. fr. their harsh cries. Barth. 531. Av. kaḥudā- 'she-ass', etym.? Barth. 435.

## 3.47 MULE

|      |         |       |                    |       |                  |
|------|---------|-------|--------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | μίλονος | Goth. | ....               | Lith. | mulas, asilénas  |
| NG   | μουλάρι | ON    | müll               | Lett. | mūlis            |
| Lat. | mūlus   | Dan.  | muldýr, mulasel    | ChSl. | mīskū            |
| It.  | mulo    | Sw.   | muldna             | Scr.  | mazga            |
| Fr.  | mulet   | OE    | mūl                | Boh.  | mazek            |
| Sp.  | mulo    | ME    | mule               | Pol.  | mūl              |
| Rum. | catr    | NE    | mule               | Russ. | mūl, lošak, išak |
| Ir.  | mūl     | Du.   | mulezel            | Skt.  | aṣṭatara-        |
| Nir. | mūl     | OHG   | mūl                | Av.   | ....             |
| W.   | mūl     | MHG   | mūl                |       |                  |
| Br.  | mūl     | NHG   | maultier, maulesel |       |                  |

Most of the words for 'mule' go back ultimately, most of them through Lat. mūlus, to non-IE sources. A few are derived from words for 'ass' or 'horse'.

1. Grk. μίλονος, cpd. of ἡμι- 'half' and ὄνος 'ass'.

2. Lat. mūlus (\*mughlo-?) : Grk. dial. μυλός 'stallion-ass' (Hesych.), Alb. mushk, late ChSl. mīskū, SCR. mazga, Boh. mezek (Russ. mezk obs.) 'mule', all prob. fr. some Anatolian source. Walde-P. 2.311 f. Ernout-M. 640.

Hence most of the European words, some of the Gmc. now with the addition of words for 'ass' or 'animal', as NHG maultier, maulesel.

3. Rum. catr, like Bulg. katur, fr.

Turk. katur 'mule'. Berneker 495. Loksch 1131.

4. Lith. asilénas (neolog.), deriv. of asilas 'ass'.

5. ChSl. mīskū etc., above, 2.

Russ. lošak : lošad 'horse', Pol. loszak 'Tartar horse', of Turk. orig. (3.41). Russ. išak, fr. Tartar isek 'ass', this fr. Arm. ēš 'ass' (: Lat. asinus, etc.). Berneker 438. Loksch 565.

6. Skt. aṣṭatara- (with Iran. forms of similar orig., Pahl., NPers. astar, etc.; Horn 86), fr. aṣṭa- 'horse' with suffix -tara- as in vatsatara- 'calf that has been weaned' fr. vatsa- 'calf', in both cases giving the force of 'something different, not quite', hence 'kind of, sort of (horse, calf)'. Cf. Lat. mātertera 'aunt' as orig. 'a kind of mother'.

## 3.51 HEN, CHICKEN 3.52 COCK 3.53 CAPON 3.54 HEN 3.55 CHICKEN

|       |                  |                                   |                |                  |                     |
|-------|------------------|-----------------------------------|----------------|------------------|---------------------|
| Grk.  | ἀλεκτορίς, ὄρνις | ἀλεκτροῦς, ὄρνις                  | ....           | ἀλεκτορίς, ὄρνις | ὄρνιθον, νεοσσόν    |
| NG    | πουλί            | κόκορας, πετεινός                 | καπών          | δρυθα, κόττα     | πουλί, κοττό-πουλο  |
| Lat.  | gallina          | gallus                            | capō           | gallina          | pullus              |
| It.   | pollo            | caprone                           | gallina        | pollo            | pulcino             |
| Fr.   | poule            | capon                             | poule          | poulet, poussin  |                     |
| Sp.   | galina           | capon                             | gallina        | pollo, polluelo  |                     |
| Rum.  | găină            | cocos                             | găină          | puia de găina    |                     |
| Ir.   | ceare            | coileach                          | ceare          |                  |                     |
| Nir.  | ceare            | coileach                          | ceare          |                  |                     |
| W.    | tar              | ceilog                            | ceare          |                  |                     |
| Br.   | yar              | kilhog, kog                       | kabon          | yar              | pošain              |
| Goth. | ....             | hana                              | ....           | ....             | ....                |
| ON    | h ns             | haní                              | ....           | ....             | ....                |
| Dan.  | høns             | hane                              | karun          | høne             | kylling             |
| Sw.   | høns             | tupp, hane                        | karun          | høna             | kyckling            |
| OE    | ....             | hana, coc(c)                      | capūn          | henn             | cicēn               |
| ME    | ....             | cocke                             | capon          | hennē            | chicken             |
| NE    | hen, chicken     | cock (U.S. rooster)               | capon          | hen              | chicken             |
| Du.   | haan             | haan                              | kapoen         | hen              | kuiken              |
| OHG   | huon             | hano                              | capro          | henna, hanīn     | huonichlīn          |
| MHG   | huon             | han, hane                         | karpe, kappūn  | henne            | huonēl, hūenel      |
| NHG   | huhn             | hahn                              | karpen         | henne            | kuichlīn            |
| Lith. | višta            | gaidys                            | romylas gaidys | višta            | vištytis, viščiūkas |
| Lett. | vīsta            | gailis                            | ramitis gailis | višta            | cālis, cālitis      |
| ChSl. | ....             | kurā, kokotā, pētelā              | ....           | ....             | ....                |
| Scr.  | kokoš            | pijetao, kōkō                     | kopun          | kokoš            | pile                |
| Boh.  | slepice, kuře    | kohout                            | kapoun         | slepice          | kuře                |
| Pol.  | kura, kokosz     | kogut, pietuch                    | kaplon         | kura, kokosz     | kurcze              |
| Russ. | kura             | petuch                            | kaplun         | kurica           | cyplenok            |
| Skt.  | ....             | kukkula-, kṛkaviku-               | ....           | ....             | ....                |
| Av.   | ....             | parōdārš, kahrkatās, karatōdāqsūš | ....           | ....             | ....                |

3.51-3.55. These are most conveniently discussed together. The words entered as generic are mostly those for the much more numerous female, the 'hen', in a few cases those for the young, the 'chicken'. Thus NE hen and chicken are both used generically, with varying local usage (in New England one used to keep hens, but now generally in U.S., chickens, chicken farm). Only occasionally is there a distinctive generic word, as NHG huon, in common use. Some of the words listed under 'chicken' are used mainly of the very young 'chick'.

The majority of the terms are connected with words meaning 'sing, cry out', etc., or are of imitative origin, reflecting the characteristic cries. Some are in origin words for 'bird' or 'young of an animal'.

1. Grk. ἀλεκτροῦς, orig. a personal name (Hom. 'Ἀλεκτροῦν δ' ἀλέξω 'ward off'), then applied (cf. Fr. renard 'fox', etc.) to (at first the fighting) 'cock', secondarily, also 'hen'. Walde-P. 1.89. Also ἀλέκτωρ 'cock', and reg. fem. ἀλεκτορίς 'hen', freq. in Aristot. (where also generic τὸν ἀλεκτορίδων γένος).

Grk. ὄρνις 'bird' (3.64), in Att. also the usual word for the 'cock' (δ) or 'hen' (ῃ). Hence NG δρυθα 'hen', still the common word in some regions.

Grk. ὄρνιθον, dim. of ὄρνις, 'small bird', later also 'chicken'.

Grk. dial. καλαῖς 'hen' and 'cock' (IG 4.914), prob. fr. \*καλαῖς : καλέω 'call' (cf. Ir. cailech 'cock', below, 3). Bechtel, Gr. Dial. 2.510.

Grk. νεοσσός 'young bird' (deriv. of νίος 'young'), dim. νεοσσόν, νεοσσόν, may be used of the domestic 'chick, chicken' as NT, Mt. 23, 37; νεοτρίς Aristot. is 'young hen'.

NG πουλί 'chicken' and generic, also, but in this case secondarily, 'bird' (3.64), fr. late Grk. πολλίον (ὀρνιθοπούλιον 'chicken' in pap. of 6th or 7th cent. A.D.; Byz. πολλίον common), loanword fr. Lat. pullus 'chicken' (below, 2). Hence also new dim. πουλάκι 'chicken', but mostly as endearing term 'darling'.

NG κόκορας 'cock', a blend of Grk. κόκορας ὄρνις (Hesych.) belonging with Ir. cerc, etc. (below, 3) and a \*κόκος belonging with MLat. coccus, etc. (below, 2).

NG πετεινός 'cock', sb. use of old πετεινός 'winged', like πετεινόν 'bird' (3.64).

NG κόττα 'hen', fem. of κοττός ὄρνις (Hesych.) this with reference to the cock's comb : κοττός 'head', προκοττός 'mane'. Cf. Hesych. (s.v. πρόκοττα) αἱ ἀλεκτρονίδες κοττοὶ διὰ τὸν ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ λόφον. Kukules, quoted in Glotta 5.285. Here also NG κοττόπουλο, κοττοπούλι 'chicken'.

2. Lat. gallus 'cock' (> It., Sp. gallo), etym. disputed. Perh. orig. 'Gallic' (cf. Grk. Πελαγικός and Μῆδος for 'cock'), on the assumption that the Romans became acquainted with the cock from Gaul, where it was brought by the Phoenicians; or, as a native word,

'erier' (like the Gmc. words, etc.) fr. \*galso- : ChSl. glasō 'voice', OE callian 'call', etc. Walde-P. 1.538, Ernout-M. 409 f. Walde-H. 1.580 f. (but for Grk. καλαῖς, see above).

Hence fem. gallina 'hen' (> It., Sp. gallina, OFr. geline, Rum. găină, etc. REW 3661).

Lat. pullus 'young of an animal', esp. 'chicken', fr. the same root as Grk. πῶλος, Goth. fula 'foal' (3.45), Grk. παῖος, Lat. paucus 'little, few', Grk. παῖς, Lat. puer 'child', etc. Walde-P. 1.75 ff. Ernout-M. 822 f.

Hence It. pollo 'fowl', Sp. pollo 'chicken'; fr. new fem. forms Sp. polla 'chicken', fr. new fem. forms Sp. polla 'pullet', Fr. poule 'hen'; and the various derivs., It. pulcino, Fr. poulet, poussin, etc., only partially listed under 'chicken'. REW 6828, 6818a, 6820, 6826.

MLat. coccus, Fr. coq, ON kokkr (rare), OE coc(c), ME cocke, NE cock, ChSl. kokotū, etc. (below, 6), Skt. kukkuṭa- 'cock', a group of imitative orig. reflecting cries like Grk. κόκκυ, Lat. coco. Walde-P. 1.435 ff.

Rum. cocoz 'cock', loanword fr. Slavic, SCR. kokoš 'hen', etc. (below, 6).

Lat. capus (Varro), usually cāpō, -ōnis 'capon' : ChSl. skopiti 'castrate', etc. (3.14). Ernout-M. 151. Walde-H. 1.161.

Hence all the words listed under 'capon', except the Baltic (where it is expressed as 'castrated cock'; Lith. kaplūnas fr. Pol. kaplon is quoted in an old Lith. dictionary; Lett. kaplūns in Drawneek, but not in Mühl-Endz.). It was as an article of the Roman table that the capon spread over Europe.

3. Ir. cerc, Nir. ceare 'hen' : Grk. κερκίς, κέρκαξ, κόρκαρα, etc. (Hesych., as names of birds), Skt. kṛkara- 'a kind of partridge', Lith. karkti, kirkti, 'croak, cackle', etc., all of imitative orig. Walde-P. 1.413 ff. Pedersen 1.126.

W. iar, Br. OCorn. yar 'hen', Ir. eirín 'pullet', outside connections? Walde-P. 1.199. Pedersen 1.65. Stokes 223.

Ir. cailech, Nir. coileach, W. ceilog, Br. kilhog 'cock' : Grk. καλέω 'call', Lat. clāmāre 'call', Skt. uṣa-kala- 'cock' (lit. 'crying at dawn'), etc. Walde-P. 1.443 ff. Stokes 73. Br. also kog fr. Fr. coq.

Nir. sicīn, fr. NE chicken.

W. cyw 'chicken' (also 'young bird', and in North Wales 'the young of animals'), prob. : Grk. κίος 'fetus', Skt. gāva- 'young of an animal', etc. (Walde-P. 1.365 ff., but without W. cyw). G. S. Lane, Language 7.280.

Br. poſsin 'chicken', fr. Fr. poussin. Henry 226.

4. Goth. OE hana, ON hani, OHG hano, etc. 'cock', with fem. ON hana, OE henn, OHG henna, hanīn, etc., and generic (orig. coll.) ON hans, Dan. hēns, Sw. hōns, Du. hoen, OHG huon, NHG huhn, all : Lat. canere, Ir. canim 'sing', etc. Here also Grk. ἡ-kanos δακτυλίων (Hesych.). Walde-P. 1.351. Falk-Torp 453. Feist 243 f.

Sw. tupp 'cock', named from its 'crest, comb', by-form of topp 'top' : NE top, etc. Hellquist 1245 f.

OE coc(c), etc. : MLat. coccus, etc. (above, 2). In U.S. cock is commonly replaced by rooster, for which roost-cock (cf. NED s.v.) is quotable earlier.

ON kjúklingr (rare; mostly ungi : ungr 'young'), Dan. kylling, Sw. kyckling, OE cicēn, NE chicken, Du. kuiken, NHG küchlein, the most widespread Gmc. words for 'chicken', derivs. of words belonging with MLat. coccus, etc. (above, 2).

OHG huonichlīn, MHG huonlīn, hūenel, NHG hühnchen 'chicken', dims. of OHG huon, NHG huhn.

ME pultrie, NE poultry (fr. OFr. pouletrie : poule 'hen', etc.) is used as coll. for domestic fowls, but not limited to the genus Gallus. NED s.v. poultry.

NE fowl, orig. 'bird' (3.65), now mostly for domestic birds, esp. 'cock' or 'hen', but in U.S., at least, includes ducks, geese, etc.

NE hen and chicken both used also generically, see above.

5. Lith. višta, Lett. višta 'hen', with dim. Lith. vištytis, viščiukas 'chicken', perh. as orig. 'house bird' : Skt. viṣ-, Grk. oīkos 'house', Lith. vieš-pats 'lord' ('housemaster'), etc. Mühl-Endz. 4.626. Lith. gaidys, Lett. gajāis : Lith. giedoti 'sing', ORuss. gajati 'crow', etc. Walde-P. 1.527. Mühl-Endz. 1.585.

Lett. cālis, cālitis 'chicken', etym.?

6. ChSl. kurū 'cock' (Cod. Zogr., etc.; for the distribution of ChSl. kurū, kokotū, pētelū, cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 355), Boh., Pol., Russ. kur 'cock' (but less common than the following), Boh., Pol., Russ. kura, ChSl., Russ. kurica 'hen', ChSl. kure, Boh. kuře, Pol. kurcze 'chicken', prob. of imitative orig. like Skt. kṛuti 'cries', etc. Walde-P. 1.331 f. Berneker 650.

ChSl. kokotū (Cod. Mar.) Scr. kokot, Boh. kohout, Pol. kogut 'cock', with fem. ChSl. kokoš, SCR. kokoš, Pol. kokosz 'hen' : MLat. coccus, OE coc(c), etc. (above, 2). Berneker 540 f.

ChSl. pētelū, SCR. pijetao, Russ. petuch (> Pol. pietuch) 'cock' : ChSl. pēti 'sing'. Brückner 404.

ChSl. pūtenič 'young bird', dim. of pūta 'bird' (3.64), also 'chicken' like voosiov which it renders (Mt. 23.37).

Boh. slepice 'hen' (similar forms in Polabian), deriv. of slepý 'blind' (4.97), based on the hen's blinking eyes? Miklosich 307.

SCR., Bulg. pile 'chicken' : Upper

Sorb. pilo 'duckling', Lower Sorb. pile 'gosling', Lett. pile 'duck', Lith. pypti, Lat. pipāre 'peep', etc., all of imitative orig. Oljinskij, KZ 43.178. Walde-P. 2.70.

Russ. cyplenok 'chicken', of imitative orig.

7. Skt. kukkuṭa- 'cock', kukkuṭi- 'hen', of imitative orig., like MLat. coccus, etc. (above, 2).

Skt. kṛka-vāku- 'cock' (second part : Av. karatōdāqsūš 'cock', cpd. of karata- 'knife' and adj. \*dāsu- : Skt. daṇḍ- 'bite', hence lit. 'biting with knives' with reference to the spurs. Barth. 454.

## 3.56 GOOSE

|      |               |       |       |       |             |
|------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------------|
| Grk. | χῆν           | Goth. | ....  | Lith. | žagis       |
| NG   | χῆνα          | ON    | gās   | Lett. | zass        |
| Lat. | anser         | Dan.  | gås   | ChSl. | *gasi, gusi |
| It.  | oca           | Sw.   | gås   | Scr.  | gaska       |
| Fr.  | oie           | ON    | gōs   | Boh.  | husa        |
| Sp.  | gansa, oca    | ME    | goos  | Pol.  | ges         |
| Rum. | gîscă         | NE    | goose | Russ. | gus         |
| Ir.  | gēd, giugrann | Du.   | gans  | Skt.  | haṇsa-      |
| Nir. | gē            | OHG   | gans  | Av.   | ....        |
| W.   | gwydd         | MHG   | gans  |       |             |
| Br.  | gwaz          | NHG   | gans  |       |             |

1. IE \*gḥans-, prob. fr. the root seen in Grk. χῆσκα, χῆσκα 'yawn, gape', with reference to the goose's characteristic squawk with wide open bill. Walde-P. 1.536. Ernout-M. 56. Walde-H. 1.52.

Sp. gansa (with ganso 'gander'), fr. Goth. \*gans = OHG gans, etc.

Rum. gîscă, fr. Slavic (late ChSl. gāsika, SCR. gaska, dim. of gasi, above, 1).

3. Ir. gēd, Nir. gē, W. gwydd, Br. gwaz, fr. \*gegdā- or the like : Lith. žagis, ChSl. \*gasi, (gusi), etc., general Balto-Slavic (Slavic g fr. Gmc.?) : Skt. haṇsa- (also 'swan', etc.).

2. It., Sp. oca, Fr. oie, fr. late Lat. auca, a back-formation fr. avicula, aucula, dim. of avis 'bird', with specializa-

tion to 'goose', parallel with that of Grk. ὄρνις 'bird' to 'hen' (3.51). Walde-H. 1.79. REW 826.

Sp. gansa (with ganso 'gander'), fr. Goth. \*gans = OHG gans, etc.

Rum. gîscă, fr. Slavic (late ChSl. gāsika, SCR. gaska, dim. of gasi, above, 1).

3. Ir. gēd, Nir. gē, W. gwydd, Br. gwaz, fr. \*gegdā- or the like : Lith. žagis, ChSl. \*gasi, (gusi), etc., general Balto-Slavic (Slavic g fr. Gmc.?) : Skt. haṇsa- (also 'swan', etc.).

2. It., Sp. oca, Fr. oie, fr. late Lat. auca, a back-formation fr. avicula, aucula, dim. of avis 'bird', with specializa-

## 3.57 DUCK

|      |                    |       |                       |       |                          |
|------|--------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>νῆσσα</i>       | Goth. | ...                   | Lith. | <i>antis</i>             |
| NG   | <i>πάππια</i>      | ON    | <i>gnd</i>            | Lett. | <i>pile</i>              |
| Lat. | <i>anas</i>        | Dan.  | <i>and</i>            | ChSl. | <i>qty</i>               |
| It.  | <i>anatra</i>      | Sw.   | <i>and</i>            | SCR.  | <i>patka, raca, utra</i> |
| Fr.  | <i>canard</i>      | OE    | <i>ened (duce)</i>    | Boh.  | <i>kachna</i>            |
| Sp.  | <i>anade, pato</i> | ME    | <i>ducke, (h)ende</i> | Pol.  | <i>koczka</i>            |
| Rum. | <i>rață</i>        | NE    | <i>duck</i>           | Russ. | <i>utka</i>              |
| Ir.  | <i>lacha</i>       | Du.   | <i>eend</i>           | Skt.  | ...                      |
| Nl.  | <i>lacha</i>       | OBG   | <i>anut</i>           | Av.   | ...                      |
| W.   | <i>huyad</i>       | MHG   | <i>ant</i>            |       |                          |
| Br.  | <i>houad</i>       | NHG   | <i>ente</i>           |       |                          |

| 3.612 PUPPY |                    |       |               |
|-------------|--------------------|-------|---------------|
| Grk.        | σκύλαξ             | Goth. | ...           |
| NG          | σκυλάκι, κουτάβι   | Lett. | hvelpr        |
| Lat.        | catulus, catellus  | Dan.  | hvalp         |
| It.         | cagnuolo           | Sw.   | valp          |
| Fr.         | petit chien        | OE    | hwelp         |
| Sp.         | cachorro, perrillo | ME    | whelp         |
| Rum.        | cafel              | NE    | puppy (whelp) |
| Ir.         | cuilén             | Du.   | jonge hond    |
| Nlr.        | coileén            | OHG   | welf          |
| W.          | cenau (colwyn)     | MHG   | welf          |
| Br.         | kolen-ki           | NHG   | junger hund   |

Many of the words listed are applied not only to the 'puppy' but also to the young of other animals, and in this connection it will be convenient to notice some of the other terms used for the young of various wild animals (those for the young of domestic animals already have been noted under 'calf', 'lamb', etc.). These can always be denoted by words for 'young' or 'little', adj. or sb., and this is the usual method in some languages where the old special terms have been lost, e.g. Fr. *petit*, *le petit*, NHG *jung*, *das junge*. Or dim. forms of the animal names may be preferred.

1. Grk. σκύλαξ, NG σκυλάκι, Ir. *cuilén*, Nlr. *coileán*, W. (obs.) *colwyn*, OCorn. *colóin* (gl. *catulus*), Br. *kolen* (only in cpds. like *kolen-ki* 'puppy', etc.), beside Lith. *kalé* 'bitch', Alb. *kulish* 'puppy' (*keliš* in G. Meyer, Alb. Etym. Wtb.), all prob. belonging together, but root connection? Walde-P. 1.445 f. Pederesen 1.104. Osthoff, Parerga 274 ff. Words of this group, though mostly 'puppy', are also used for the young of other animals, e.g. Grk. σκύλαξ for the young of the fox, weasel, dolphin, bear.

Grk. σκύμνος (etym.?), esp. the 'lion's cub' (Hom. +), is also used for the young of the fox, wolf, bear, and elephant (cf. Aristot. HA 511<sup>30</sup>, 578<sup>22</sup>, for the last two).

NG κουτάβι, fr. κουτός 'stupid, silly' (17.22).

2. Lat. *catulus* (used for the young of the dog and many other animals, as lion, tiger, wolf, etc., even serpent), dim. *catellus* (> Rum. *cafel*, OIt. *catello*, OFr. *chael*, Fr. *cheau* now obs.), perh. : ON *haðna* 'young goat, kid', Russ. *koti'sja*, Pol. *kocié sie*, etc. 'give birth to young' (of various 'animals'; cf. Berneker 589 f.). Walde-P. 1.338 f. Walde-H. 1.183. Osthoff, Parerga 250. REW 1763. Wartburg 2.496 ff.

Lat. *fetus* (used for the young of various animals), fr. the same root as in *femina* 'woman', *féläre* 'suck', etc., IE \**dhē(i)-* 'suck' (5.16). Ernout-M. 354 f. Walde-H. 1.490.

It. *cagnuolo*, fr. *cagna* 'bitch'.

Fr. *petit chien*, and so in general *petit* 'little' adj. and sb. for the young of other animals.

Sp. *cachorro*, of Basque orig. REW 5959a. Diez 435.

Sp. *perrillo*, dim. of *perro* 'dog'.

3. Ir. *cuilén*, etc., above, 1.

W. *cenau*, *ceneu* 'puppy' and 'lion's, wolf's cub', etc. with Ir. *cano* 'wolf's cub' : Skt. *kanīna* 'young', Grk. *καυός* 'new' (14.13, 14.14), also prob. ChSl. *štenē*, etc. (below, 6). Walde-P. 1.398. Pederesen 1.121.

4. ON *hvelpr*, Dan. *hvalp*, Sw. *valp*, OE *hwelp*, ME *whelp*, NE *whelp* (now arch.), Du. *welp* (now esp. 'lion's cub'), OHG-NHG *welf* (now obs. or arch. revival) : OE *hwelan* 'roar, bellow', ON

*hveltr* 'making a shrill sound'. Falk-Torp 437. These words, like Lat. *catulus*, were used for the young of the dog and many other animals. Cf. NED s.v. *whelp*, sb.

NE *whelp* is now replaced in common use by *puppy* (orig. 'toy dog', fr. Fr. *poupée*, Lat. *pūpa* 'doll'; NED s.v.) in the case of dogs, and by *cub* (: Dan. *kubbe* 'block, stump'; Falk-Torp 430) in the case of foxes, lions, tigers, wolves, while *calf* (3.24) is applied not only to the young of any bovine animal (bison, etc.), but also to that of various large animals, as the moose, elephant, whale.

Du. *jonge hond*, NHG *junger hund*, now the usual term for 'puppy' (in place of the old *welp*, *welf*), and so in general

## 3.62 CAT

|      |                      |       |             |
|------|----------------------|-------|-------------|
| Grk. | αἰλουργος, αἰλουργος | Goth. | ...         |
| NG   | γάτα                 | ON    | kgitr       |
| Lat. | fēlis                | Dan.  | kat         |
| It.  | gatto                | Sw.   | katt        |
| Fr.  | chat                 | OE    | catte, catt |
| Sp.  | gato                 | ME    | cat         |
| Rum. | pisciō               | NE    | cat         |
| Ir.  | catt                 | Du.   | kat         |
| Nlr. | cat                  | OHG   | kazza       |
| W.   | cath                 | MHG   | katze       |
| Br.  | kaz                  | NHG   | katze       |

In marked contrast to the prehistoric and general domestication of the dog, the domestic cat was relatively late and for a long time only local. It appears in Egypt from about 2000 B.C., and hence became known to the Greeks and Romans. But it was not a familiar household animal in the classical period, and only after the beginning of our era did it become common and spread over Europe, together with its general European name.

1. Grk. αἰλουργος, αἰλουργος, prob., as lit. 'wavy-tail', cpd. of αἰόλος 'quick moving' and οἰρά 'tail'. So Et. Mag.,

Buttmann, and J. Schmidt, KZ 32.324. Otherwise Walde-P. 1.287, Boisacq 22. The word is used in Hdt. 2.66 with reference to the Egyptian cat, but elsewhere it refers to some native small animal, weasel, ferret, or marten, similar to the γαλῆ or ἱκτίς, as clearly in Aristoph. Ach. 879. As domestic cat evidently in Aristot. HA 540<sup>10</sup>, Plut. Mor. 2.144c, and later, until the word was replaced by κάττα, quotable from 6th cent. A.D.

2. Lat. *fēlis*, possibly : W. *beleu* 'marten'. Walde-P. 2.177. Walde-H. 1.474. In Plaut. Rud. 3.4.43 'mouser', prob.

## 3.64 BIRD

|      |                         |       |            |
|------|-------------------------|-------|------------|
| Grk. | ὄρνις, πτηνόν, πετεινόν | Goth. | fugls      |
| NG   | πουλί                   | ON    | putns      |
| Lat. | avis                    | Dan.  | fugl       |
| It.  | uccello                 | Sw.   | fågel      |
| Fr.  | oiseau                  | OE    | fugol      |
| Sp.  | ave, pájaro             | ME    | foel, brid |
| Rum. | pasăre                  | NE    | bird       |
| Ir.  | én                      | Du.   | vogel      |
| Nlr. | ēan                     | OHG   | fogal      |
| W.   | aderyn, edn             | MHG   | vogel      |
| Br.  | labous, evn             | NHG   | vogel      |

1. Grk. ὄρνις (in Att. mostly the domestic 'cock' or 'hen', 3.51) : Goth. *ara*, Lith. *erelis* 'eagle', etc., prob. as 'quickly moving' fr. the root \**er-* in Grk. ὀρνύμι 'set in motion', Lat. *oriri* 'rise', Skt. *r-* 'move, rise', etc. Walde-P. 1.135.

Grk. πτηνόν, πετεινόν (in NT reg. *τὰ πετεινά* 'birds', not ὀρνίθες) sb. use of πτηνός, πετεινός 'winged', fr. root of πέτομαι 'fly'.

NG πουλί 'chicken' (3.51) is also the common word for 'bird' (τὰ πουλιά).

2. Lat. *avis* : Skt., Av. *vi-* 'bird'. Hence Sp. *ave*, and fr. dim. \**aucellus* (cf. fem. *avicella*, *auella*) It. *uccello*, Fr. *oiseau*, Walde-P. 1.21. Ernout-M. 90 f. REW 828.

Sp. *pájaro*, Rum. *pasăre*, fr. Lat. *pas-ser* 'sparrow'. REW 6268.

3. Ir. *én*, Nlr. *ēan*, W. *edn*, Br. *evn*, also W. *aderyn*, OW *eterin*, all fr. \**pet-* 'fly' in Grk. πέτομαι, etc. Walde-P. 2.21. Pederesen 1.90.

Br. *labous*, fr. MBr. *lapous* 'bird' but also 'injurious insect' and so prob. fr. VLat. \**lacusta* = *locusta* ('lobster') and 'locust', with unexplained *p* for *c* as in

OE *lopystre* 'lobster'. Ernault, Glossaire 353. Henry 177. (Not in Loth, Mots lat.)

4. Goth. *fugls*, OE *fugol*, etc., general Gmc., etym. disputed. Perh. : Lith. *paukštis* 'bird' (below, 5); or with dissim. fr. Gmc. \**flug-la-* : OHG *flugan*, OE *flēogan* 'fly'. Walde-P. 2.76. Feist 170. Falk-Torp 280, 1464. Wiegand-H. 2.1178.

ME *brid*, NE *bird*, now the usual generic term in place of the specialized *fowl* (3.51), fr. OE *brid* 'young bird', etym.? NED s.v.

5. Lith. *paukštis*, Lett. *putns*, ChSl. *pūta*, *pūtica*, etc., all the Slavic words, fr. the same root as Lat. *pullus* 'young of an animal, chicken' and other words for 'small, young', with the same extension to 'bird' as in NG πουλί. Walde-P. 2.76.

6. Skt., Av. *vi-* : Lat. *avis* (above, 2). Skt. *pakṣin-*, deriv. of *pakṣa-* 'wing' (4.392).

Av. *marəga-* used of large birds (Barth. 1172), NPers. *murgh* 'bird' : Skt. *mrga-* 'wild animal' (3.11).

## 3.65 FISH

|      |          |       |       |
|------|----------|-------|-------|
| Grk. | ἰχθύς    | Goth. | fisks |
| NG   | ψάρι     | ON    | fiskr |
| Lat. | piscis   | Dan.  | fisk  |
| It.  | pesce    | Sw.   | fisk  |
| Fr.  | poisson  | OE    | fisc  |
| Sp.  | pez      | ME    | fisch |
| Rum. | pește    | NE    | fish  |
| Nlr. | īsc      | Du.   | visch |
| W.   | iasg     | OHG   | fisc  |
| Br.  | pysgodyn | MHG   | visch |
|      | pesk     | NHG   | fisch |

1. Grk. ἰχθύς, Lith. *žuvis*, Lett. *zivs*, OPruss. *suckis*, Arm. *jukn*, root connection? Walde-P. 1.664.

2. Lat. *piscis*, Ir. *īasc*, Nlr. *iasg*, Goth. *fisk*, etc., all the Gmc. words, root connection? Walde-P. 2.11. Pokorny, KZ 54.307. Cuny, Mélanges Glotz 268 f.

From Lat. *piscis* all the Romance words, also W. *pysg* (old coll., whence pl. *pysgodn* with new sg. *pysgodyn*), Corn. *pisc*, Br. *pesk*.

3. NG ψάρι, fr. Grk. ὀψάριον dim. of

## 3.66 FISHERMAN

|      |           |       |                      |
|------|-----------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | ἀλιεύς    | Goth. | fiskja               |
| NG   | ψαράς     | ON    | fiskimaðr, fiskikarl |
| Lat. | pescator  | Dan.  | fisker               |
| It.  | pesceur   | Sw.   | fiskare              |
| Fr.  | pescador  | OE    | fiscere              |
| Sp.  | pescador  | ME    | fischer              |
| Rum. | pesceur   | NE    | fisherman            |
| Ir.  | iascach   | Du.   | vischer              |
| Nlr. | iascaire  | OHG   | fiscāri              |
| W.   | pyspotter | MHG   | vischere             |
| Br.  | piskelarr | NHG   | fischer              |

Nearly all the words for 'fisherman' are derivatives of the words for 'fish', (2.65) through the corresponding verbs, or in some cases compounds, like NE *fisherman* which has displaced *fisher* in current use, Russ. *rybolov* 'fish-catcher'.

Thus Lat. *piscātor* (> Romance words, except Rum. *pesceur*, fr. Lat. *piscārius* 'fishmonger', favored by the suffix of the Slavic word, ChSl. *rybari*, etc.), Ir. *iascach*, Nlr. *iascaire*, Goth. *fiskja*, OE *fiscere*, OHG *fiscāri*, Lith.

*žvejys*, ChSl. *rybari*, etc.

Exceptions are:

Grk. ἀλιεύς, fr. ἀλῆς 'sea' and in Homer also 'sailor'. But NG pop. ψαράς 'fisherman' and 'fishmonger', fr. ψάρι 'fish'.

Skt., beside occasional *matsya-jivat*-lit. 'one who makes a living from fish', *matsya-bandha-* (bandh- 'bind, catch'), and *mātsyika-* (Pān.), more commonly *kāivarta-*, prob. orig. a term of opprobrium (cf. kev- 'serve' Dhātup.), and *dhitvara-*, prob. : *dhitvan-* 'skilful'.

the general Gmc. word : Lith. *bėras* 'brown', OE *brūn* 'brown', etc. Walde-P. 1.166. Falk-Torp 77.

4. Lith. *lokys*, Lett. *lācis*, OPruss. *clokis*, all fr. \**tlākis*, this perh. as 'hairy, shaggy' : SCR. *dlaka* 'hair'. Brückner, KZ 46, 207. Mühl-Endz. 2.434. Otherwise Meillet, Ling. hist. 284.

Lith. *meška* fr. a Slavic (ORuss. *mešika*, Pol. *Mieszka*) pop. abbr. of the following. Berneker 2.30. Brückner 335.

5. ChSl. *medvěď*, etc., all the Slavic words, lit. 'honey-eater', cpd. of *medū* 'honey' and *ēd-* 'eat'. Berneker 2.30.

## 3.74 FOX

|      |                      |       |                     |
|------|----------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | ἀλώπηξ               | Goth. | fauhō               |
| NG   | ἀλεπούς              | ON    | refr (m.), fōa (f.) |
| Lat. | vulpēs               | Dan.  | rau                 |
| It.  | volpe                | Sw.   | räv                 |
| Fr.  | renard               | OE    | fox                 |
| Sp.  | zorra, raposa        | NE    | fox                 |
| Rum. | vulpă                | ME    | fox                 |
| Ir.  | sinnach              | Du.   | vos                 |
| Nlr. | sionnach, mada ruadh | OHG   | fuchs               |
| W.   | cadgo, llwynog       | MHG   | vuchs               |
| Br.  | lounn                | NHG   | fuchs               |

1. Grk. ἀλώπηξ, NG ἀλεπούς, Lat. *vulpēs* (> It. *volpe*, Rum. *vulpă*), Br.

Ofr. *goupil*, fr. a blend of Lat. dim. *vulpēcula*, VLat. *vulpicula* with Gmc. *hwelp* 'whelp'. REW 4248, 9463.

Sp. *zorra* (masc. *zorro*), fr. Basque *azaria* 'fox'.

Sp. *raposa*, fr. (\**rapo* >) *rabo* 'tail', this fr. Lat. *rāpum* 'turnip'. REW 7065.

poem Reinke de Vos), orig. 'strong in council, wily'. REW 7172.

Ofr. *goupil*, fr. a blend of Lat. dim. *vulpēcula*, VLat. *vulpicula* with Gmc. *hwelp* 'whelp'. REW 4248, 9463.

Sp. *zorra* (masc. *zorro*), fr. Basque *azaria* 'fox'.

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## 3.73 BEAR

|      |                 |       |       |
|------|-----------------|-------|-------|
| Grk. | ἄρκτος          | Goth. | ...   |
| NG   | ἀρκτοῖα         | ON    | björn |
| Lat. | ursus           | Dan.  | björn |
| It.  | orso            | Sw.   | björn |
| Fr.  | ours            | OE    | bera  |
| Sp.  | oso             | ME    | bere  |
| Rum. | urs             | NE    | bear  |
| Ir.  | art, mathgamain | Du.   | beer  |
| Nlr. | mathghamhain    | OHG   | bero  |
| W.   | arth            | MHG   | ber   |
| Br.  | ourz            | NHG   | bär   |

1. IE \**ṛk̑o-*, possibly as the 'destroyer' (of beehives) : Skt. *rakṣas-* 'harm, injury'. Walde-P. 1.322. Benveniste, BSL 38.141.

Grk. ἄρκτος, NG pop. ἀρκτοῖα; Lat. *ursus*, whence the Romance forms, also Corn. ors, MBr. *urs* (Br. *ourz* = Fr.); Ir. *art*, W. *arth* (Pederesen 1.89); Skt. *r̥kṣa-*, Av. *arša-*.

2. Ir. *mathgamain*, Nlr. *mathghamhain*, cpd. of *gamain* 'calf', first part fr. old *math* 'bear' (RIA Contrib. s.v.), perh. : *maith* 'good' as a euphemistic term. Stokes 199.

3. ON *björn*, OE *bera*, OHG *bero*, etc.,

the general Gmc. word : Lith. *bėras* 'brown', OE *brūn* 'brown', etc. Walde-P. 1.166. Falk-Torp 77.

4. Lith. *lokys*, Lett. *lācis*, OPruss. *clokis*, all fr. \**tlākis*, this perh. as 'hairy, shaggy' : SCR. *dlaka* 'hair'. Brückner, KZ 46, 207. Mühl-Endz. 2.434. Otherwise Meillet, Ling. hist. 284.

Lith. *meška* fr. a Slavic (ORuss. *mešika*, Pol. *Mieszka*) pop. abbr. of the following. Berneker 2.30. Brückner 335.

5. ChSl. *medvěď*, etc., all the Slavic words, lit. 'honey-eater', cpd. of *medū* 'honey' and *ēd-* 'eat'. Berneker 2.30.

## 3.74 FOX

|      |                      |       |                     |
|------|----------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | ἀλώπηξ               | Goth. | fauhō               |
| NG   | ἀλεπούς              | ON    | refr (m.), fōa (f.) |
| Lat. | vulpēs               | Dan.  | rau                 |
| It.  | volpe                | Sw.   | räv                 |
| Fr.  | renard               | OE    | fox                 |
| Sp.  | zorra, raposa        | NE    | fox                 |
| Rum. | vulpă                | ME    | fox                 |
| Ir.  | sinnach              | Du.   | vos                 |
| Nlr. | sionnach, mada ruadh | OHG   | fuchs               |
| W.   | cadgo, llwynog       | MHG   | vuchs               |
| Br.  | lounn                | NHG   | fuchs               |

1. Grk. ἀλώπηξ, NG ἀλεπούς, Lat. *vulpēs* (> It. *volpe*, Rum. *vulpă*), Br.

Ofr. *goupil*, fr. a blend of Lat. dim. *vulpēcula*, VLat. *vulpicula* with Gmc. *hwelp* 'whelp'. REW 4248, 9463.

Sp. *zorra* (masc. *zorro*), fr. Basque *azaria* 'fox'.

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poem Reinke de Vos), orig. 'strong in council, wily'. REW 7172.

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Sp. *zorra* (masc. *zorro*), fr. Basque *azaria* 'fox'.

Sp. *raposa*, fr. (\**rapo* >) *rabo* 'tail', this fr. Lat. *rāpum* 'turnip'. REW 7065.

## 3.71 WOLF

|      |                                |       |             |
|------|--------------------------------|-------|-------------|
| Grk. | λύκος                          | Goth. | wulfs       |
| NG   | λύκος                          | ON    | ulfr, vargr |
| Lat. | lupus                          | Dan.  | ulv         |
| It.  | lupo                           | Sw.   | varg, ulv   |
| Fr.  | loup                           | OE    | wulf        |
| Sp.  | lobo                           | ME    | wolf        |
| Rum. | lup                            | NE    | wolf        |
| Ir.  | fael, bréach, cú allaid        | Du.   | wolf        |
| Nlr. | cú allaidh, faol(chá), mactire | OHG   | wolf        |
| W.   | blaidd                         | MHG   | wolf        |
| Br.  | bleiz                          | NHG   | wolf        |



## 3.76 MONKEY

|      |                 |       |              |       |               |
|------|-----------------|-------|--------------|-------|---------------|
| Grk. | πίθηκος         | Goth. | ....         | Lith. | bezdionė      |
| NG   | πίθηκος, μαῖμοῦ | ON    | api          | Lett. | pertik'is     |
| Lat. | simia           | Dan.  | abe          | ChSl. | (pitikū)      |
| It.  | scimmia         | Sw.   | ape          | SCr.  | majmun, opica |
| Fr.  | singe           | OE    | apa          | Boh.  | opice         |
| Sp.  | mono            | ME    | ape          | Pol.  | matpa         |
| Rum. | maimuḏ          | NE    | monkey (ape) | Russ. | obez'jana     |
| Ir.  | ....            | Du.   | ....         | Skt.  | kapi-         |
| Nlr. | apa             | OHG   | affo         | Av.   | ....          |
| W.   | epa             | MHG   | affe         |       |               |
| Br.  | marmouz         | NHG   | affe         |       |               |

Here is understood the generic name for the simians, NE *monkey* in current popular usage, but formerly and still sometimes *ape*, though the latter now generally denotes the tailless species. Cf. NED s.v. *ape*.

1. Grk. *πίθηκος*, etym.? Walde-P. 2.186. This is the generic term, while *κῆπος*, *κῆδος* (cf. below, 6) is specific. Cf. Aristot. HA 502\* ὁ μὲν κῆδος πίθηκος ἔχων οὐράν.

Byz. μῖμῶ : μῖμῶμαι 'mimic'. NG *μαῖμοῦ*, fr. Turk., Arab. *maimūn*. Lokotsch 1365.

2. Lat. *simia* (> It. *scimmia*, Fr. *singe*), deriv. of *simus*, loanword fr. Grk. *σίμος* 'snub-nosed'. First used as a nickname and prob. based on the name Σίμας, Simia. Kretschmer, KZ 33, 563.

OIt., OFr. *maimon*, Rum. *maimuḏ*, also OIt. *monna*, Sp. *mono*, -a, fr. Arab. *maimūn*. Lokotsch 1365. REW 5242.

3. Nlr. *apa*, W. *ab* (arch.), fr. ME *ape*, OE *apa* (below, 4), W. *epa* late loanword fr. NE *ape*.

Br. *marmouz*, fr. OFr. *marmot* or *marmouset*, both used for 'monkey' (also

'small child', etc.), history dub. Henry 196. REW 5587. Gamillscheg 593.

4. ON *api*, OE *apa*, OHG *affo*, etc., the general Gmc. word, orig. unknown, perh. Celtic. Walde-P. 1.51 ff.

From Gmc. come the Slavic forms, Boh. *op*, *opice*, SCr., ORuss. *opica*, etc. Stender-Petersen 361.

NE *monkey*, prob. fr. a MLG *moneke* (*Moneke* as name attested), dim. of the word that appears as Sp. *mono*, etc. (above, 2). NED s.v.

5. ChSl. (late) *pitikū* fr. Grk. *πίθηκος*. Boh. *opice*, etc. from Gmc. (above, 4).

Russ. *obez'jana* (> Lith. *bezdionė*), fr. Turk. *ebuzine*. Lokotsch 556.

Lett. *pertik'is*, fr. Esth. *pertik* (or conversely?). Mühl.-Endz. 3.210.

SCr. *majmun* fr. Turk., Arab. *maimūn*.

Pol. *matpa* fr. NHG *maul-affe*. Brückner 320.

6. Skt. *kapi* : *kapila* 'brownish, reddish', fr. 'smoke-colored, Grk. *καπνός*, etc.? Walde-P. 1.379. Prob. source of Egypt. *qephi*, Grk. *κῆπος*, *κῆδος*, etc. Schrader, Reallex. 1.16.

## 3.77 ELEPHANT

|      |                     |       |                    |       |                      |
|------|---------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | ἐλέφας              | Goth. | ....               | Lith. | dramblys             |
| NG   | ἐλέφας              | ON    | jǫll               | Lett. | elefants             |
| Lat. | elephantus, elephās | Dan.  | elefant            | ChSl. | ....                 |
| It.  | elefante            | Sw.   | elefant            | SCr.  | slon                 |
| Fr.  | éléphant            | OE    | elpeud, ylp        | Boh.  | slon                 |
| Sp.  | elefante            | ME    | olifant, elefant   | Pol.  | slon                 |
| Rum. | elefant             | NE    | elephant           | Russ. | slon                 |
| Ir.  | elefant             | Du.   | olifant            | Skt.  | hastin-, gaja-, etc. |
| Nlr. | elephant            | OHG   | elefant, helfant   | Av.   | ....                 |
| W.   | elefant, cawrfil    | MHG   | elefant, (h)elfant |       |                      |
| Br.  | olifant             | NHG   | elefant            |       |                      |

## 3.78 CAMEL

|      |         |       |                             |       |                      |
|------|---------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | κάμηλος | Goth. | ulbandus                    | Lith. | kupranugaris, kupris |
| NG   | κάμηλος | ON    | ulfaldi                     | Lett. | verbliudas           |
| Lat. | camēlus | Dan.  | kamel                       | ChSl. | velibadū             |
| It.  | camello | Sw.   | kamel                       | SCr.  | deva, kamila         |
| Fr.  | chameau | OE    | olfeud (camel)              | Boh.  | velbloud             |
| Sp.  | camello | ME    | camel                       | Pol.  | velblud              |
| Rum. | cămilă  | NE    | camel                       | Russ. | verbljud             |
| Ir.  | camall  | Du.   | kameel                      | Skt.  | uśtra-               |
| Nlr. | camall  | OHG   | olbania                     | Av.   | uśtra-               |
| W.   | camel   | MHG   | olbent(e), kembel, ka(m)mel |       |                      |
| Br.  | kañval  | NHG   | kamel                       |       |                      |

3.77, 3.78. Nearly all the European words for 'elephant' and 'camel' are from Grk. *ἐλέφας* or *κάμηλος*, which again are based upon Egyptian or Semitic words respectively. But the name of the elephant, known in southern Europe since Hannibal, was subject to great distortion and some confusion in application with the camel in northern and north-eastern Europe, where both animals were long known only by hearsay as strange beasts.

1. Grk. *ἐλέφας*, -αντος 'ivory' (Hom. +) and 'elephant' (Hdt. +), to be analyzed as *ἐλ-έφας*, the second part, like Lat. *ebur* 'ivory' fr. Egypt. *ab* 'elephant, ivory', but first part disputed. Schrader, Reallex. 1.242. Ernout-M. 297 f. Walde-H. 1.389.

Hence most of the Eur. words for elephant, except the Balto-Slavic. Hence also (though doubted by some), with shift to 'camel', Goth. *ulbandus*, ON *ulfaldi*, OE *olfeud*, OHG

Semitic, Hebr. *gāmāl*, etc. Hence through Lat. *camēlus* (VLat. also *-ellus*, -ellus, REW 1544) the Eur. words (OE *camel* in Lindisf. vs. *olfeud* in WSax. Gospels), except those fr. 'elephant'

2. Grk. *κάμηλος*, 'camel', loanword fr. Semitic, Hebr. *gāmāl*, etc. Hence through Lat. *camēlus* (VLat. also *-ellus*, -ellus, REW 1544) the Eur. words (OE *camel* in Lindisf. vs. *olfeud* in WSax. Gospels), except those fr. 'elephant'

## ANIMALS

(above, 1) and SCr. *deva* fr. Turk. (Lokotsch 510).

3. W. *cawrfil* 'elephant', cpd. of *cawr* 'giant' and *mil* 'animal' (3.11).

4. ON *jǫll* 'elephant' (still the common word in Icel.; ODan. *fil*), loanword through Slavic fr. some oriental source, Arab. *fil*, NPers. *pil*, etc. Falk-Torp 217. Lokotsch 605. Schrader, Reallex. 1.245.

5. Lith. *dramblys* 'fat-belly' and 'elephant' (NSB, etc., neolog. in this sense) : *dribti* 'roll down, tumble', etc. (Leskien, Ablaut 324 without *dramblys*), hence 'elephant' as the clumsy animal.

Lith. *kupranugaris* and *kupris* 'camel' (NSB, etc., neolog. for *verbliudas*) : *kupra* 'hump'.

6. SCr. *slon*, etc., the general Slavic word for 'elephant' (whence also obs. Lith. *slonis*, Lett. *zilonis*) : ChSl. *sloniti*

'lean', reflecting the popular notion that the elephant cannot bend its legs and sleeps leaning on a tree, a notion that is apparently referred to by Aristot. HA 498\* and persisted in medieval and modern times (cf. Sir Thomas Browne, Pseudodoxia 3.1). Brückner 500.

7. Skt. *hastin* (at first adj. with *mrga*- 'wild animal') 'elephant', deriv. of *hasta*- 'hand', with reference to the elephant's trunk as 'hand'.

Other Skt. words for 'elephant' are *gaja*- (: *gaj*- 'roar'), *karin*- (deriv. of *kara*- 'doer' in its special use as 'elephant's trunk') and *vāraṇa*- (prob. fr. *vr*- in sense of 'ward off').

Skt. *uśtra*-, Av. *uśtra*- 'camel', perh. with Skt. *uśra*- 'ox, bull' as orig. 'male animal' fr. IE \**ues*- 'moisten' as 'impregnate', like Skt. *vṛṣan*- 'male', Lat. *verres* 'boar', etc. : Skt. *varṣa*- 'rain', etc. Walde-P. 1.308. Uhlenbeck 32.

## 3.79 HUNT (vb.)

|      |                                 |       |                |       |             |
|------|---------------------------------|-------|----------------|-------|-------------|
| Grk. | θηρέω, θηράω, κυνηγεῖω, κυνηγέω | Goth. | ....           | Lith. | medžioi     |
| NG   | κυνηγέω                         | ON    | veiða          | Lett. | medti       |
| Lat. | venārī, seclārī                 | Dan.  | jage           | ChSl. | loviti      |
| It.  | cacciare                        | Sw.   | jag            | SCr.  | loviti      |
| Fr.  | chasser                         | OE    | hūntian, wēþan | Boh.  | loviti      |
| Sp.  | cazar, monter                   | ME    | hunte          | Pol.  | polować     |
| Rum. | vina                            | NE    | hunt           | Russ. | ochotit'sja |
| Ir.  | adelaideim                      | Du.   | jagen          | Skt.  | mrgaya-     |
| Nlr. | fiadhachaim                     | OHG   | weidōn, jagōn  | Av.   | ....        |
| W.   | hela                            | MHG   | jagen          |       |             |
| Br.  | hemolēhi, chaseal               | NHG   | jagen          |       |             |

Some of the verbs for 'hunt' (wild animals) are from the more general notion of 'try to seize, chase' or the like. Others, more distinctive from the outset, are derived from words for 'wild animal' or 'woods', or (in Grk.) connected with the use of dogs.

Nouns for the 'hunt' and 'hunter' are obvious cognates of the verbs.

1. Grk. *θηρέω*, *θηράω*, fr. *θήρ* 'wild beast' (3.11).

Grk. *κυνηγέω*, *κυνηγέω*, fr. the earlier *κυνηγέτης* (Hom.), *κυνηγός* 'hunter', cpds. of *κύνω* 'dog' and *ἄγω* 'drive'.

2. Lat. *venārī* (> Rum. *vina*), prob. (with grade *\*uēn*- beside *\*uen*-) : Skt. *van*- 'seek, desire', OE *winnan* 'strive, fight', etc. Walde-P. 1.230. Ernout-M. 1085.

Lat. *seclārī* 'follow, pursue' also used for 'hunt' animals, fr. *sectus*, old pple. of *sequi* 'follow' (10.52).

## 3.81 INSECT

Most of the European words for 'insect' (generic, but of somewhat changing scope; sometimes including worms, etc.) are of learned origin, going back ultimately to Aristotle's naming of insects from the notches in their bodies. But there are some others which either have become the accepted technical terms (so Lith. *vabzdys*, Boh. *hmyz*, Pol. *owad*) or are colloquial expressions used much like *bug* in U.S.

1. Grk. *ἔντομα* (sc. *ζῷα*), the term used by Aristot. (e.g. HA 487\*33 *καλὸν δ'*

*ἔντομα* ὅσα ἔχει κατὰ τὸ σῶμα ἔντομάς), fr. *ἐντέμνω* 'cut in', with reference to the incisions, notches. Translated by the Lat. *insecta* (: *insecāre* 'cut in') in Pliny, with later sg. *insectum*. Hence the widespread Eur. words, mostly borrowed directly, but translated in W. *trychfil* (fr. *trychu* 'cut', *mil* 'animal'), SCr. *zareznik* (fr. cpd. of *rezati* 'cut'), Russ. *nasekomoec* (fr. cpd. of *seč*, *sekat* 'cut').

2. NE *bug* (the pop. word in U.S.; in British use 'bedbug'), prob. the same word as ME *bugge* 'scarecrow, bugbear'

and ultimately connected with Lith. *bužys* 'scarecrow', *būžys* 'insect' (so separated in NSB), etc. Bugs are unpleasant creatures. Walde-P. 2.117. Endzelen, KZ 44.64. NED s.v. *bug*, *bug*?

Lith. *vabzdys*, now the accepted term (whence *vabzdėdžiai* 'insectivora'), neolog. introduced by Javlonskis in 1908 and based on *vabalas* 'beetle', as I am informed by Senn.

Boh. *hmyz* : *hemzati*, SCr. *gmizati* 'crawl', etc. (12.41). Berneker 367.

Pol. *owad* = late ChSl. *obadū*, *ovadū*,

SCr. *obad*, Boh. *ovad* 'gadfly', fr. \**obwado*-, orig. 'something that pesters, annoys' : Boh. *vaditi* 'harm, hinder, trouble', Pol. *wadzić* 'make quarrel, hinder' (= ChSl. *vaditi* 'accuse', 21.31). Brückner 387.

Some words which normally denote a particular insect or a worm are also used generically, as NE *fly* (NED s.v. *fly*, sb.; cf. *butterfly*), W. *pryf*, Pol. *robak*, both 'worm' (3.84).

Of the numerous Skt. insect names (Zimmer, Altind. Leben 97 f.) none seems to be generic.

## 3.82 BEE

|      |              |       |           |       |                 |
|------|--------------|-------|-----------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | μέλισσα      | Goth. | ....      | Lith. | bitė, bitis     |
| NG   | μέλισσα      | ON    | bifluga   | Lett. | bile            |
| Lat. | apis         | Dan.  | bi        | ChSl. | bičela          |
| It.  | ape, pecchia | Sw.   | bi        | SCr.  | pčela           |
| Fr.  | abeille      | OE    | bēo       | Boh.  | včela           |
| Sp.  | abeja        | ME    | be        | Pol.  | pesczola        |
| Rum. | albină       | NES   | bee       | Russ. | pčela           |
| Ir.  | bech         | Du.   | bei       | Skt.  | bhramara-, ali- |
| Nlr. | beach        | OHG   | bīa, bini | Av.   | ....            |
| W.   | guenynnen    | MHG   | bīne      |       |                 |
| Br.  | guenanenn    | NHG   | bīne      |       |                 |

Familiarity with the bee in the IE period, if not proved by the partial European agreement in words for 'bee', is clearly shown by the more complete agreement in the old words for 'honey' and 'mead' (5.84, 5.85).

1. IE(?) \**bhl*-, etc., root connection dub., perh. of imitative orig. Walde-P. 2.184 f.

ON *bifluga* (cpd. with *fluga* 'fly'), OE *bēo*, OHG *bīa*, *bini*, etc., all the Gmc. words; Lith. *bitė*, *bitis*, Lett. *bile*, OPruss. *bitte*; Ir. *bech*, Nlr. *beach*; ChSl. *bičela*, etc., all the Slavic forms.

2. Grk. *μέλισσα*, Att. *μέλιττα*, deriv. of *μέλι* 'honey'.

3. Lat. *apis*, dim. *apicula*, etym.? Hence It. *ape*, OFr. *ef* (Fr. dial. *e*, etc.); fr. dim., It. *pecchia*, Fr. *abeille*, Sp. *abeja*.

(Fr. dial. also *mouche à miel* lit. 'honey fly'). Ernout-M. 61. Walde-H. 1.57. REW 523, 525.

Rum. *albină*, fr. late Lat. *albina* = *alvearium* 'beehive' (Keil, Gram. Lat. 7.107). Development fr. 'beehive' to coll. 'swarm of bees', then 'bee'. REW 393. Puscaru 59.

4. W. *guenynnen*, Br. *guenanenn*, OConn. *guenenen* (new sgs. to coll. W. *guenyn*, Br. *guenan* 'bees'), fr. W. *gwan*, Corn. *gwane* 'thrust, stick, stab', this : Goth. *wunds* 'wound', etc. Walde-P. 1.212 (without mention of the words for 'bee'). Henry 150.

5. Skt. *bhramara*-, of imitative orig. here 'buzzing', but prob. the same as in Lat. *fremere*, OHG *bremar* 'growl, mutter', NHG *bremse* 'gadfly', etc. Walde-P. 2.202.

Skt. *ali*-, etym.? Uhlenbeck 15.

Skt. *bambhara*- (rare), of imitative orig. : Grk. *πεμφρηδών* 'a kind of wasp', etc. Walde-P. 2.161.

## 3.83 FLY (sb.)

|      |                     |       |        |       |        |
|------|---------------------|-------|--------|-------|--------|
| Grk. | μύα                 | Goth. | ....   | Lith. | musė   |
| NG   | μύγα                | ON    | fluga  | Lett. | muša   |
| Lat. | musca               | Dan.  | flue   | ChSl. | mucha  |
| It.  | mosca               | Sw.   | fluga  | SCr.  | mucha  |
| Fr.  | mouche              | OE    | fleoge | Boh.  | moucha |
| Sp.  | mosca               | ME    | fye    | Pol.  | mucha  |
| Rum. | moscă               | NE    | fly    | Russ. | mucha  |
| Ir.  | cuil                | Du.   | clay   | Skt.  | makṣa- |
| Nlr. | cuil                | OHG   | fluga  | Av.   | mazši- |
| W.   | gwybedyn, clylionyn | MHG   | olege  |       |        |
| Br.  | ketienenn           | NHG   | fitege |       |        |

Of words for the 'fly' there is a widespread cognate group, probably of imitative origin. Another group, but only Gmc., is derived from the verb for 'fly', with early specialization.

1. IE \**mu*-, \**mus*-, prob. of imitative orig., with reference to the humming. Walde-P. 2.311. Ernout-M. 646. Falk-Torp 744.

Grk. *μύα* (\**μωγα*), NG pop. *μύγα*; Lat. *musca* (> Romance words); here, but as 'midge' ON *mý*, OE *mycg*, OHG *mucca*, etc. (NHG *mücke* also locally 'fly'); Lith. *musė*, Lett. *muša*, OPruss. *muso*; ChSl. *mucha*, etc., general Slavic.

2. Ir. *cuil*, W. *clylionyn*, Br. *ketienenn* : Lat. *culex* 'midge', prob. Skt. *čūla*- 'spit, pike', etc. Walde-P. 1.33. Pedersen 1.147.

W. *gwybedyn*, coll. pl. *gwybed*, early *gwyðbed* (Morris Jones 180), etym.?

3. ON *fluga*, OE *fleoge*, OHG *fluga*, etc., general Gmc., fr. the Gmc. vb. for 'fly', OE *fleogan*, etc. (10.37), with early and general (though not complete) specialization.

4. Skt. *makṣa*-, Av. *mazši*- prob. of imitative orig., like the group above, 1. Uhlenbeck 209.

## 3.84 WORM

|      |                  |       |               |       |                       |
|------|------------------|-------|---------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | σκώληξ           | Goth. | maþa (waurms) | Lith. | kirmėlė               |
| NG   | σκουλήκι         | ON    | ormr, maðkr   | Lett. | tārps                 |
| Lat. | vermis           | Dan.  | orm           | ChSl. | črūt                  |
| It.  | verme            | Sw.   | mask          | SCr.  | črv                   |
| Fr.  | ver              | OE    | wyrn, wurm    | Boh.  | červ                  |
| Sp.  | verme            | ME    | worm, wurm    | Pol.  | robak                 |
| Rum. | vierme           | NE    | worm          | Russ. | červ                  |
| Ir.  | cruiim           | Du.   | wurm          | Skt.  | kṛmi-                 |
| Nlr. | cruiimh, cruiinh | OHG   | wurm          | Av.   | (kərma-), NPers. kirm |
| W.   | pryf             | MHG   | wurm          |       |                       |
| Br.  | preiiv           | NHG   | wurm          |       |                       |

The majority of the words for 'worm' belong to one or the other of two groups, alike in suffix but from different roots.

One of these groups and a few other words are based on the notion of 'turning around, winding'. A few are connected with verbs for 'bore' or 'rustle, gnaw' and must have applied at first to the woodworm.

Several of the words were also used frequently of, some even specialized to, the 'snake'.

1. IE \**wṛmi*-, fr. \**wer*- in words for 'turn, twist', seen esp. in the extension \**wer*-, in Lat. *vertere*, etc. (10.12). Walde-P. 1.271. Ernout-M. 1090. NED s.v. *worm*, sb.

Lat. *vermis* (> Romance words);

Goth. *waurms*, ON *ormr*

## CHAPTER 4

## PARTS OF THE BODY; BODILY FUNCTIONS AND CONDITIONS

|                 |                                      |
|-----------------|--------------------------------------|
| 4.11 BODY       | 4.40 BREAST (Front of Chest)         |
| 4.12 SKIN; HIDE | 4.41 BREAST (of Woman)               |
| 4.13 FLESH      | 4.42 UDDER (of Animals)              |
| 4.14 HAIR       | 4.43 NAVEL                           |
| 4.142 BEARD     | 4.44 HEART                           |
| 4.15 BLOOD      | 4.45 LIVER                           |
| 4.16 BONE       | 4.46 BELLY; STOMACH                  |
| 4.162 RIB       | 4.47 WOMB                            |
| 4.17 HORN       | 4.48 EGG                             |
| 4.18 TAIL       | 4.49 TESTICLE                        |
| 4.19 BACK       | 4.492 PENIS                          |
| 4.20 HEAD       | 4.51 BREATHE; BREATH                 |
| 4.202 SKULL     | 4.52 YAWN, GAPE                      |
| 4.203 BRAIN     | 4.53 COUGH (vb.)                     |
| 4.204 FACE      | 4.54 SNEEZE (vb.)                    |
| 4.205 FOREHEAD  | 4.55 SWEAT (sb.)                     |
| 4.206 EYEBROW   | 4.56 SPIT (vb.)                      |
| 4.207 JAW       | 4.57 VOMIT (vb.)                     |
| 4.208 CHEEK     | 4.58 BITE (vb.)                      |
| 4.209 CHIN      | 4.59 LICK (vb.)                      |
| 4.21 EYE        | 4.61 SLEEP (vb.; sb.)                |
| 4.22 EAR        | 4.62 DREAM (sb.)                     |
| 4.23 NOSE       | 4.63 WAKE (trans. and intr.)         |
| 4.24 MOUTH      | 4.64 BREAK WIND, FART (vb.)          |
| 4.25 LIP        | 4.65 URINATE; URINE                  |
| 4.26 TONGUE     | 4.66 VOID EXCREMENT; EXCREMENT, DUNG |
| 4.27 TOOTH      | 4.67 HAVE SEXUAL INTERCOURSE         |
| 4.28 NECK       | 4.71 BEGET (of Father)               |
| 4.29 THROAT     | 4.72 BEAR (of Mother)                |
| 4.30 SHOULDER   | 4.73 PREGNANT                        |
| 4.31 ARM        | 4.732 CONCEIVE                       |
| 4.32 ELBOW      | 4.74 LIVE; LIVING; LIFE              |
| 4.33 HAND       | 4.75 DIE; DEAD; DEATH                |
| 4.34 FINGER     | 4.76 KILL                            |
| 4.342 THUMB     | 4.77 CORPSE                          |
| 4.35 LEG        | 4.78 BURY (the Dead)                 |
| 4.36 KNEE       | 4.79 GRAVE                           |
| 4.37 FOOT       | 4.81 STRONG, MIGHTY, POWERFUL        |
| 4.38 TOE        | 4.82 WEAK                            |
| 4.39 NAIL       | 4.83 WELL; HEALTH                    |
| 4.392 WING      | 4.84 SICK; SICKNESS                  |
| 4.393 FEATHER   |                                      |

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4.11-4.49. Words for parts of the body, of which a rather large selection is included here, form a distinctive class, many of them of added importance because of their extensive secondary uses. They have been exhaustively discussed for certain fields, especially the Romance, where it has been noted that, with the inclusion of the dialects, there are some four hundred words answering to about eighty in Latin.

Many of the words belong to inherited groups reflecting definite IE terms for parts of the body both external and internal. A considerable familiarity with the latter, gained through the dissection of animals for food or sacrifice, is common among primitive peoples and is not surprising for the IE period.

In the case of such inherited words the root connection, and so the semantic source, is in large measure obscure. So far as we can judge from the words whose etymology is clear, the underlying notion is more often relating to the position or shape of the part than to its function. The inherited words for 'eye', 'ear', 'nose', 'mouth', 'foot' are not derived from any of the usual verbs for 'see',

<sup>1</sup> Schrader, Reallex. s.v. Körperteile. Zauner, Die romanischen Namen der Körperteile, Rom. Forsch. 14.339-430. <sup>2</sup> Meyer-Lübke, Neubenenennungen von Körperteilen im Romanischen, Wört. u. Sach. 12.1-16. <sup>3</sup> Tappolet, GRM 14.295 ff. <sup>4</sup> F. Thöne, Die Namen der Körperteile bei den Angelsachsen, Diss. Kiel, 1912. <sup>5</sup> W. T. Arnoldson, Parts of the Body in Older Germanic, Diss. Chicago, 1915.

|                  |
|------------------|
| 4.93 BALD        |
| 4.94 LAME        |
| 4.95 DEAF        |
| 4.96 DUMB        |
| 4.97 BLIND       |
| 4.98 DRUNK       |
| 4.99 NAKED, BARE |

'hear', 'smell', 'speak' (or 'eat'), 'walk', and so far as some cognates of the former are applied to function this is probably, and in most cases certainly, secondary. On the other hand, the derivation of the IE word for 'tooth' from the participle of the IE root for 'eat' seems too obvious on the formal side to be discarded, though even this situation may possibly be the result of a secondary association (see 4.27). The application of words for 'tongue' to 'speech, language' is almost universal, but the latter use is always secondary.

However, there are also examples enough of words for parts of the body derived from a function, as 'hand' from 'grasp, gather' (4.33), etc. and, regardless of priority, a relation between organ and function is widely observed.

There is frequent shift of application between words for parts of the body that are adjacent, of similar relative position, associated in function, or through common figurative uses with reference to the emotions. So between 'head'-'horn' (from 'summit'); 'head'-'skull'-'brain'; 'mouth'-'jaw', 'throat', 'cheek', 'chin', 'lip'; 'neck'-'throat'; 'shoulder'-'shoulderblade'-'back'-'arm'; 'hand'-'arm'; 'foot'-'leg'; 'finger'-'toe'; 'belly'-'womb'; 'breast' as front of the chest-'woman's breasts'; 'heart' from 'soul' (Rum. *inimă*, 4.44) or 'bowels' (W. *calon*, 4.44).

With such obvious exceptions as

| 4.12 SKIN; HIDE |                                |       |                            |
|-----------------|--------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| Grk.            | <i>δέρμα, χρώς; σκῆρος</i>     | Goth. | <i>-fill</i>               |
| NG              | <i>δέρμα, περσί</i>            | ON    | <i>ādā, skinn (hōrund)</i> |
| Lat.            | <i>cutis; pellis (corium)</i>  | Dan.  | <i>hūd; skind</i>          |
| It.             | <i>pelle, cute</i>             | Sw.   | <i>hud, skin</i>           |
| Fr.             | <i>peau (cuir)</i>             | OE    | <i>hȳd; fell</i>           |
| Sp.             | <i>cutis (cuero); pellejo</i>  | ME    | <i>hide, skinn; fell</i>   |
| Rum.            | <i>piele</i>                   | NE    | <i>skin; hide (fell)</i>   |
| Ir.             | <i>cness; croccenn, seche</i>  | Du.   | <i>huid, vel</i>           |
| Nlr.            | <i>cnas, croiceann; seithe</i> | OHG   | <i>hūt, fel</i>            |
| W.              | <i>croen (cen)</i>             | MHG   | <i>hūt, fel</i>            |
| Br.             | <i>kroc'hen (kenn)</i>         | NHG   | <i>haut; fell</i>          |

Most of the words listed may be used, like NE *skin*, for the skin of man or beast, a few, like Grk. *χρώς*, only for human skin, and several (placed after a semicolon), like NE *hide*, only or mainly for the skin of animals. Several of the words are used also or mainly for 'leather' (6.29).

The semantic sources are partly 'covering, surface' of the 'body', but oftener 'cut, tear' or the like, orig. referring to the hide detached from the body. But such difference in origin is not reflected in actual difference in usage. A few show generalization from the skin of a particular animal, namely 'goatskin'.

1. Grk. *δέρμα* (in Hom. mostly 'hide', later the regular word for 'skin'; also *δόρα* 'hide'): *δέρμα*, Lith. *dirti*, etc., 'flay, skin' (9.29), OE *teran* 'tear', Skt. *dr-* 'split, tear', etc. Walde-P. 1.797.

Grk. *χρώς* (only of human skin and, mostly poet., also 'complexion, color') beside *χρῶς* (χρῶς, Ion. χρῶς), *χρῶμα* 'skin, complexion, color', all orig. 'surface': *χρῶμα* 'graze, scrape', fr. an extension of IE *\*gher-*, parallel to that in Skt. *ghṛṣ-* 'rub'. Walde-P. 1.648 ff. Boisacq 1071.

Grk. *σκῆρος* 'hide, leather': OE *hȳd*, etc. (below, 4).

NG *περσί*, fr. It. *pezzo* 'piece', *pezza* 'piece of cloth'. G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 4.70.

2. Lat. *cutis* (> It. *cute*, Sp. *cutis*): ON *hūd*, OE *hȳd*, etc. (below, 4).

Lat. *pellis* 'hide' (> It. *pelle*, Fr. *peau*, Rum. *piele* 'skin, hide', Sp. *piel* 'pelt'; fr. dim. also Sp. *pellejo* 'hide'), Goth. *pruts-fill* 'leprosy', ON *berfjall* 'bearskin', OE *fell*, ME, NE *fell*, Du. *vel*, OHG *fel*, MHG *vel*, NHG *fell*: Grk. *ἐρσι-πelas* 'inflammation of the skin', Lith. *plėvė* 'film', etc., prob. fr. a *\*pel-* 'cover', an extension of which may be seen in Goth. *filhan* 'hide, bury' (4.78). Walde-P. 2.58 f. (adversely to this root connection). Ernout-M. 749. Falk-Torp 217. Persson, Beiträge 226, 946.

Lat. *corium* 'hide, leather' (> It. *cuoio*, Fr. *cuir*, Sp. *cuero* all mostly 'leather', but sometimes 'skin, hide'), Pol. *skóra*, Russ. *škura*, Skt. *carman-*, Av. *čarman-*, all fr. IE *\*s(ke)-* 'cut' in Grk. *κείρω* 'shear', etc. Walde-P. 2.573 ff. Ernout-M. 220. Walde-H. 1.274.

3. For the following, and some other, less important, Celtic words (as Ir. *codal*, *bīan* 'hide') cf. esp. Vendryes, Les noms de la 'peau' en celtique, Wört. u. Sach. 12.241 ff.

Ir. *cness*, Nlr. *cnas*, W. *cnas* (rare), perh. fr. *\*knid-lā-*: Ir. *cned* 'wound', Grk. *κνίω* 'scrape, chafe', OE *hnitan* 'strike', etc. (Walde-P. 1.395, with inclusion of Ir. *cness*, etc.). Vendryes, loc. cit.

Ir. *croccenn*, Nlr. *croiceann*, W. *croen*,

Br. *kroc'hen*, fr. *\*krokno-*, perh., like Lat. *corium* (above, 2) fr. IE *\*s(ke)-* 'cut'. Morris Jones 165. Vendryes, loc. cit.

W. *cen*, Br. *kenn* (both now mostly in cpds.), Corn. *cennen* (Ir. *cenni* 'scales'): ON *hinna* 'membrane' and ON *skinn*, etc. (below, 4). Walde-P. 2.563.

Ir. *seche*, Nlr. *seithe*: Lat. *secāre* 'cut', etc. Walde-P. 2.475.

4. ON *hūd*, OE *hȳd*, OHG *hūt*, etc., the general Gmc. word for 'skin' (NE *hide* now properly only of animals): Grk. *σκῆρος* 'hide, leather', Lat. *cutis* 'skin', Lith. *kiautas* 'hull, husk', OPruss. *keuto* 'skin', Ir. *codal* 'hide'; Grk. *κεῖθα*, OE *hȳdan* 'cover, hide', etc., fr. IE *\*s(keu-* with various extensions. Walde-P. 2.546 ff. Ernout-M. 249. Falk-Torp 425.

ON *skinn* (> ME *skinn*, NE *skin*), Dan. *skind*, Sw. *skin*: MHG *schint* 'fruit skin', Du. dial. *schinde* 'hide, bark', OHG *scintan*, NHG *schinden* 'remove the skin or bark', ON *hinna* 'membrane', W. *cen* 'skin', etc. (above, 3), fr. an IE *\*s(ke)-* 'cut off', perh. an extension of *\*sek-* 'cut'. Walde-P. 2.563 f. Falk-Torp 997.

ON *hūd* and *skinn* are both applied to the skin of man or beast. The distinction prevailing in Dan., less markedly in Sw., is secondary (cf. Falk-Torp 997), like the opposite distinction in NE. For ON *hōrund* 'flesh, skin' (of a human being, but even here not the usual word), see 4.13.

5. Lith. *oda*, Lett. *āda*, etym.?

ChSl, Scr. *koža* (> Rum. *coaje* 'bark, rind'), Boh. *kůže*, *pokožka*, Russ. *koža*, orig. 'goatskin', fr. *koza* 'goat'. Cf. Skt. *ajina-*, below, 6. Walde-P. 1.336. Berneker 597 f. Brückner 263.

Pol. *skóra*, Russ. *škura* (WhRuss. *skura* > Lith. *škūra*): Lat. *corium*, etc., above, 2.

6. Skt. *tvac-*, *-tvacas-*: Grk. *σάκος* 'shield', root connection? Walde-P. 1.747.

Skt. *carman-*, Av. *čarman-* 'hide': Lat. *corium*, etc., above, 2.

Skt. *cyavi-*, fr. IE *\*s(keu-* 'cover'? Walde-P. 2.546.

Av. *sur-* (once, Barth. 1586), etym.? Skt. *ajina-* 'hide': ChSl. *jazno* 'leather', derivs. of word for 'goat', Skt. *aja-*, etc. Walde-P. 1.38.

## 4.13 FLESH

|      |                    |       |                     |       |                                   |
|------|--------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>σάξ, κρέας</i>  | Goth. | <i>mīnz, manmō</i>  | Lith. | <i>mėsa</i>                       |
| NG   | <i>σάξ, κρέας</i>  | ON    | <i>huld, hōrund</i> | Lett. | <i>mīsa</i>                       |
| Lat. | <i>carō</i>        | Dan.  | <i>kød</i>          | ChSl. | <i>plāti, mēso</i>                |
| It.  | <i>carne</i>       | Sw.   | <i>kött</i>         | Scr.  | <i>meso</i>                       |
| Fr.  | <i>chair</i>       | OE    | <i>flāsc</i>        | Boh.  | <i>maso</i>                       |
| Sp.  | <i>carne</i>       | ME    | <i>fleshe</i>       | Pol.  | <i>męso</i>                       |
| Rum. | <i>carne</i>       | NE    | <i>flesh</i>        | Russ. | <i>mjaso</i>                      |
| Ir.  | <i>feoil, cūa</i>  | Du.   | <i>vleesch</i>      | Skt.  | <i>māṣa-, māṣ-</i>                |
| Nlr. | <i>feoil</i>       | OHG   | <i>fleisk</i>       | Av.   | <i>gav-</i> (NPers. <i>gušt</i> ) |
| W.   | <i>cig, enauad</i> | MHG   | <i>vleisch</i>      |       |                                   |
| Br.  | <i>kig</i>         | NHG   | <i>fleisch</i>      |       |                                   |

Most of the words for 'flesh', though not all, are also used for flesh as food, 'meat' (5.61). Words for 'flesh' are also used, esp. in eccl. writings, for 'body', and conversely some words for 'body' are also used for 'flesh'. Cf. 4.11. The

semantic sources, where clear, are partly 'covering, surface', referring to 'flesh' vs. 'bone', but oftener 'cut', or 'raw, bloody', or name of an animal, in all these cases referring to the flesh of an animal cut off for food or sacrifice.

'hand' or 'horn, tail, claw', the parts of the body correspond for man and beast and are generally expressed by the same word. But in some cases the etymology indicates that the original application was to one or the other. Words for 'head' that are based on the notion of 'top, summit' were most distinctly applicable to the head of man. Of the words for 'back', those connected with the notion of 'rear, behind' were applicable to man, those connected with 'ridge' or the like to animals. There are also some words which in actual use are applied primarily

to animals and only contemptuously or facetiously to man, as NE *muzzle* or *snout*, Fr. *gueule*, NHG *maul*, etc. But words of this type, and in general vulgar expressions, of which there is a luxuriant growth, especially for certain parts (cf. Goldberger, Glotta 18.16 ff.), may in part become the accepted terms.

There are a few instances (some of the words for 'liver', 4.45) in which the name of the organ was originally one applied to it only as an article of food, parallel to the case of 'fish' as an animal from 'fish food' (NG *ψάρι*, 3.65).

## 4.11 BODY

|      |                         |       |                                |       |                              |
|------|-------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>σῶμα</i>             | Goth. | <i>leik</i>                    | Lith. | <i>kūnas</i>                 |
| NG   | <i>σῶμα</i>             | ON    | <i>lik, likamr (likami)</i>    | Lett. | <i>miesa, kūnis</i>          |
| Lat. | <i>corpus</i>           | Dan.  | <i>legeme, krop</i>            | ChSl. | <i>tělo</i>                  |
| It.  | <i>corpo</i>            | Sw.   | <i>kropp</i>                   | Boh.  | <i>tělo</i>                  |
| Fr.  | <i>corps</i>            | OE    | <i>lichama, lic (bodig)</i>    | Pol.  | <i>ciało</i>                 |
| Sp.  | <i>cuervo</i>           | ME    | <i>body, cor(p)s</i>           | Russ. | <i>telo</i>                  |
| Rum. | <i>corp</i>             |       | <i>licam(e)</i>                | Skt.  | <i>carīra-, deha-, tanū-</i> |
| Ir.  | <i>corp, colinn, cī</i> | NE    | <i>body</i>                    | Av.   | <i>kəhrp-, tanū-</i>         |
| Nlr. | <i>corp</i>             | Du.   | <i>lichaam</i>                 |       |                              |
| W.   | <i>corff</i>            | OHG   | <i>lih, lichamo</i>            |       |                              |
| Br.  | <i>korf</i>             | MHG   | <i>lich, lich(n)am(e), lip</i> |       |                              |
|      |                         | NHG   | <i>leib, körper</i>            |       |                              |

Words for 'body' may also be used, as NE *body*, for the 'dead body, corpse', but those that are used distinctively in this latter sense are considered separately (4.77).

Several of the words must have been applied originally to the main part of the body, the 'trunk' as distinguished from the extremities (as sometimes NE *body*, cf. NED s.v., 5) and reflect notions like 'swelling, curved, bulging shape'. Some go back to 'covering', or 'surface', whence 'form, shape, body'. Some words for 'flesh' were also used for 'body', as Grk. *σάξ*, Lat. *carō*, ME, NE *flesh* in *ills of the flesh*, etc., as conversely words for 'body' may be used for 'flesh', as Lat. *corpus*.

1. Grk. *σῶμα* (in Hom. only of the dead body), fr. *\*tuō-mṛ-*: Grk. *εἶλη* 'swelling, lump', Lat. *tumēre* 'swell', etc. (o-fr. *tu-* as in *ōs*: Skt. *tva-*). Walde-P. 1.706 ff. Boisacq 935.

Grk. *δέρμα*, in Hom. 'stature, living body': *δέρμα* 'build'.

2. Lat. *corpus* (> It. *corpo*, OFr. *cors*, ME *cor(p)s*, NE *corpse*, Fr. *corps*, Sp. *cuervo*, Rum. *corp*, Ir. *corp*, W. *corff*, Br. *korf*, NHG *körper*), Ir. *cī* (? Stokes 97), Av. *kəhrp-* ('body, corpse'; MPers. *karp* 'body'): Skt. *kṛp-* (only instr. sg. *kṛpā* 'shape, beauty', and perh. OE *hrif* 'womb, belly', OHG (*h)ref* 'body, abdomen, womb', root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.486 f. Ernout-M. 222 f. Walde-H. 1.277 f.

3. Ir. *colinn* (renders Lat. *carō*, but in the sense of 'body'), often also 'dead body, corpse'. ON *hold* 'flesh', OE *hold* 'carcass', W. *celain* 'corpse', best taken as, whether orig. 'body' or 'flesh', fr. 'covering': Ir. *celim* 'hide', Grk. *καλύπτω* 'cover', etc. (12.26). Otherwise for root connection Walde-P. 2.592 and Falk-Torp 427.

4. Goth. *leik* ON *lik* (Dan. *lig*, Sw. *lik* 'corpse'), OE *lic* (oftener 'corpse', as mostly ME *lich*), OHG *lih*, MHG *lich* (NHG *leiche* only 'corpse'): Goth. *galeiks*, OE *gelic* 'like', etc., Lith. *lygas* 'equal', etc. The semantic sequence seems to be 'like' (attested also in Alb., cf. Jokl, Wört. u. Sach. 12.83), whence 'likeness, form, body', but 'like' in the Gmc. cpds. secondary fr. 'having same form'. Walde-P. 2.398 f. Feist 327. Falk-Torp 642.

ON *likamr*, *likami*, Dan. *legeme*, OE *lichama*, ME *likam(e)*, Du. *lichaam*, OHG *lichamo*, MHG *lich(n)ame* (NHG *leichnam* 'corpse'), cpd. of preceding and Gmc. *\*haman-* 'covering' (OE *hama* 'covering', ON *hamr* 'skin, husk', Dan., Sw. *ham* 'skin, husk', etc.). Walde-P. 1.336. Falk-Torp 631.

Dan. *kropp*, Sw. *kropp*: ON *kroppr* 'crop' (of birds), later 'trunk, body', OE *cropp* 'head' (of plants, etc.), 'crop' (of birds), OHG *kropp* 'crop (of birds), bunch, swelling', OE *creopan* 'creep', *cryptan* 'curve, bend', Grk. *χρῶσις* 'curved, hook-nosed', all with notion of 'curved shape, bunch'. Walde-P. 1.598. Falk-Torp 582. Hellquist 513.

OE *bodig* 'stature, trunk, body', ME, NE *body*: OHG *botah*, MHG *botech* 'trunk, corpse', prob. (though disputed) the same word as OHG *botahha*, NHG

*botlich* 'tub, vat', fr. MLat. *but(t)a, buttis, butica, butagium*, etc., with application to the bulging 'trunk' of the body, then 'body'. NED s.v. Falk-Torp 89.

NHG *leib*, fr. MHG *lip* 'life' then 'living mass, body', fr. OHG *lip* 'life': OE *lif* 'life', Goth. *liban* 'live', etc. (4.74). Weigand-H. 2.43.

5. Lith. *kūnas*, Lett. *kūnis*, perh. as orig. 'trunk' fr. IE *\*keu-* in words denoting curved shape as Lat. *cumulus* 'heap', Lith. *kaukas* 'boil', etc. (Walde-P. 1.370 ff., without mention of these words for 'body'). Otherwise (as fr. a *\*skeu-* 'cover'). Charpentier, Monde Or. 2.23.

Lett. *miesa* 'flesh' (4.17) is also the usual word for 'body'.

6. ChSl. *tělo*, etc., the general Slavic word, prob. through 'surface, form': ChSl. *tělo*, 'ground', Skt. *tala-* 'surface', etc. Walde-P. 1.740. The assumption, after Lewy, of development through 'carved image' is unnecessary. ChSl. *tělo* in the Gospels renders *σῶμα* regularly, in two passages (Mt. 6.27, Lk. 12.25) *ἡλικία* where this means 'stature' not 'age'. Later often *plātī* 'flesh' used for 'body'. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 407.

7. Skt., Av. *tanū-*: Skt. *tan-*, Grk. *τεῖνω* 'stretch', Skt. *tanu-*, Lat. *tenuis* 'thin', etc. Development of 'body' through notion of 'surface, form'. Walde-P. 1.724.

Skt. *carīra-*, prob. as orig. 'covering': Skt. *garman-*, *garāṇa-* 'protection, shelter, etc.', Grk. *καλύπτω* 'cover', Ir. *celim* 'hide', etc. Charpentier, Monde Or. 2.23.

Skt. *deha-* 'form, shape, body', fr. the root seen in Skt. *dih-*, Lat. *figere* 'fashion', etc. Walde-P. 1.833.

1. IE *\*mēmso-*, *\*mēs-*, root connection? Walde-P. 2.262. Feist 361.

Goth. *mīnz* (once, here 'meat'; also *mammō* prob. related); Lith. *mėsa*, Lett. *miesa*, OPruss. *mensā*; ChSl. *męso*, etc., general Slavic: Skt. *māṣa-*, *mās-*; Arm. *mis*, Alb. *mish*; Toch. B *missa* (pl. tantum); with other meanings, Grk. *μῆρος* 'high', Lat. *membrum* 'part of the body', Ir. *mīr* 'portion, morsel', etc.

2. Grk. *σάξ*: Av. *θwareš-* 'cut', with development as in Lat. *carō* (below, 3). Walde-P. 1.751. Boisacq 854.

Grk. *κ*

'eyelash', etc. Walde-P. 1.262. Pedersen 1.114.

NIr. *gruag* 'hair of head, or of horse's mane', etym.?

For still other Nlr. words for 'hair' in special applications, cf. McKenna s.v. *hair*.

W. *blew*, Br. *bleo* (both coll. with sg. *blewyn*, *blevonn* 'a hair'), perh. fr. \**ml-eu*-beside \**ml-* in Grk. *μαλλός*, etc. (above, 1). G. S. Lane, Language 7.279.

4. Goth. *tagl* ('the single hair of the head' and once 'camel's hair') : ON *tagl* 'hair of horse's tail', OE *tagl* 'tail', etc. (4.18).

Goth. *skuft* (Jn. 11.2, etc. dat. sg. *skufta* coll. = *θρηξί* 'with her hair'), ON *skoþt* (poet.), OHG *scuft*, MHG *schoþf*, all coll. for 'hair' of the head (NHG 'top of the head, tuft of hair', etc.) : ON *skauþ* 'fox's brush', OE *scēaf*, OHG *scoub*, etc. 'sheaf'. Walde-P. 2.555. Feist 435.

ON, OHG *hār*, OE *hær*, etc., general Gmc., etym. much disputed, perh. : Lith. *šerys* 'brush' and other words for 'stiff, bristly'. Walde-P. 1.427. Falk-Torp 369. Weigand-H. 1.783.

OE *feaz*, OS, OHG *fahs* (ON *faz* 'mane') : Grk. *πόκος* 'fleece, wool', etc. Walde-P. 2.17. Falk-Torp 201. NED s.v. *faz*.

5. Lith. *plaukas*, pl. *plaukai* (mostly a) : Lett. *plauki* 'snowflakes, fluff, dust', *plūkti* 'pluck', further relations disputed. Walde-P. 2.97. Persson, Beiträge 238 ff. Lett. *mats*, pl. *mati* (mostly a), etym.?

## 4.142 BEARD

|      |                  |       |       |       |              |
|------|------------------|-------|-------|-------|--------------|
| Grk. | πώγων, γενειάς   | Goth. | ....  | Lith. | barada       |
| NG   | γένεια, γενειάδα | ON    | skegg | Lett. | bārda        |
| Lat. | barba            | Dan.  | skæg  | ChSl. | brada        |
| It.  | barba            | Sw.   | skägg | SCr.  | brada        |
| Fr.  | barbe            | OE    | beard | Boh.  | vous (brada) |
| Sp.  | barba            | ME    | berd  | Pol.  | broda        |
| Rum. | barbă            | NE    | beard | Russ. | boroda       |
| Ir.  | fēsōc            | Du.   | baard | Skt.  | çmaçru-      |
| Nlr. | fīasōg           | OHG   | bart  | Av.   | ....         |
| W.   | barf             | MHG   | bart  |       |              |
| Br.  | baro             | NHG   | bart  |       |              |

For 'beard' there is a group common to Lat., WGmc., and Balto-Slavic, prob. cognate with words for 'bristle', 'point', etc. Several of these are used also for 'chin', as in the Romance languages (REW 944) and Slavic (SCr., Boh. *brada*, Russ. *boroda*), and the interchange between 'beard' and 'chin' is seen in several outside this group (below, 2 and 6).

An interesting secondary development rests on the similarity in shape between the beard and the blade of an ax, hence OHG *barta*, etc. 'ax' (9.25).

1. IE \**bhardhā-*, prob. fr. the same root as ON, OHG *burst*, OE *byrst* 'bristle', Skt. *bhr̥ṣṭi-* 'point, edge', etc. Walde-P. 2.135. Ernout-M. 103. Walde-H. 1.96. Berneker 72 f.

Lat. *barba* (> Romance forms and W. *barf*, Br. *barv*); OE *beard*, OHG *bart*, etc., general WGmc. (ON *barð* only in secondary senses, 'edge, brim, prow', etc.); Lith. *barza*, ChSl. *brada*, etc. general Balto-Slavic.

2. Grk. *πώγων*, perh. cpd., -γων : *γένεος*

'jaw', etc., but first part difficult. Walde-P. 1.587.

Grk. *γένειον* 'chin' (4.209) and sometimes 'beard', and so reg. in NG, esp. pl. *γένεα*. Hence also Grk. *γενειάς*, NG *γενειάδα* 'beard'.

3. Ir. *fēsōc*, Nlr. *fēasōg*, deriv. of *fēs* beside *fīnd* 'hair' (4.14). Pedersen 1.86.

4. ON *skegg*, Dan. *skæg*, Sw. *skägg* : OE *sceaga* (once as gl. to Lat. *coma*), ME, NE *shag* 'rough hair' (whence the more common NE *shaggy*), ON *skagi* 'promontory' (with vb. *skaga* 'project'), *skōgr* 'woods', etc. Walde-P. 2.557. Falk-Torp 1000. Hellquist 970.

5. Boh. *vous* (more common for 'beard' than *brada*, which is mostly 'chin') = Pol. *was*, Russ *us* 'mustache', ChSl. \*(*v*)*asū* (quotable only late *usū*, *vusū*) : Grk. *τωβός* 'young hair', Ir. *fīnd* 'hair', etc. Walde-P. 1.262. Miklosich 223. Brückner 604.

6. Skt. *çmaçru-* (by assim. fr. \**smaçru-*) : Arm. *mauruk* 'beard', Ir. *smech*, Lith. *smakras* 'chin'. Walde-P. 2.689.

## 4.15 BLOOD

|      |                |       |              |       |                  |
|------|----------------|-------|--------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | αἷμα (ταρ)     | Goth. | blōþ         | Lith. | kraujas          |
| NG   | αἷμα           | ON    | blōð         | Lett. | asins            |
| Lat. | sanguis, cruor | Dan.  | blod         | ChSl. | krŭvŭt           |
| It.  | sangue         | Sw.   | blod         | Boh.  | krv              |
| Fr.  | sang           | OE    | blōd         | Pol.  | krw              |
| Sp.  | sangre         | ME    | blode        | Russ. | krov             |
| Rum. | sînge          | NE    | blood (gore) | Skt.  | asan-            |
| Ir.  | fuil, crū      | Du.   | blood        | OHG   | rudhira-, rakta- |
| Nlr. | fuil, crō      | OHG   | bluot        | Av.   | vohuni-          |
| W.   | gwad (crau)    | MHG   | bluot        |       |                  |
| Br.  | gwad           | NHG   | blut         |       |                  |

Of the two principal groups of cognates (1, 2, below) the first reflects an IE word for 'blood', of which nothing can be said as to any remoter semantic source. In the second the prevailing sense is 'raw flesh, raw', or 'blood outside the body, of a wound, gore', whence simply 'blood' in some languages. Other words are from such sources as 'red' (notably in Sanskrit), 'wound', 'vein'(?), and probably 'flow, gush' or the like.

1. IE \**ēsen-*, nom.-acc. -r, a typical r/n stem neuter. Walde-P. 1.162. Ernout-M. 80 f., 893. Walde-H. 1.72.

Grk. poet. *ταρ*, *εταρ* (*ταρ* Hesych.); OLat. *aser*, *assyr* (Paul. Fest., with *asarātum* 'drink of wine and blood mixed') : Lett. *asins*; Skt. *asṛk*, gen. *asnas*; Arm. *ariun*; Hitt. *eshar* (with derivs., Sturtevant, Hitt. Gloss. 37); Toch. *yār* (SSS, 6).

2. IE \**krew-*, \**krū-*, etc. Walde-P. 1.478. Ernout-M. 234 f. Walde-H. 1.294 f.

Lat. *cruor* 'blood from a wound, gore' (as distinguished from generic *sanguis*; cf. also *eruentus* 'bloody'); Ir. *crū*, Nlr. *crō*, W. *crau* (obs.), Corn. *crow*, all used mostly like Lat. *cruor*; Lith. *kraujas*, OPruss. *craujo*, *krauvia*, ChSl. *krŭvŭt*, etc., the general Balto-Slavic (except Lett.) word for 'blood'; Grk. *κρίας* 'meat', Skt. *kravis* 'raw flesh', Ir. *xrū* 'raw flesh', Skt. *krūra* 'raw, bloody', Av. *xrūra* 'bloody, fierce', OE *hrēaw* 'raw', etc.

3. Grk. *αἷμα*, etym.? Possibly connected with certain words meaning

'drip' or 'juice'. Walde-P. 2.464 f. Boisacq 24.

4. Lat. *sanguis* (early neut. *sanguen*) -inis (> the Romance words), etym.? Connection with Skt. *asṛk*, *asnas*, etc. (above, 1) too complicated to be convincing. Cf. refs. in 1, above.

5. Ir. *fuil* (beside *fuili* 'bloody wounds') : W. *gweli*, Corn. *goly*, MBr. *gouli* 'wound' (W. *gweli* formerly also 'blood', as still in *rhed-weli* 'artery', cpd. with *rhed* 'course'), Lat. *vulnus* 'wound', ON *valr*, OE *wel* 'the slain on the battlefield', etc. Walde-P. 1.304 ff. Pedersen 1.139, 162. Loth, RC. 41.208.

W. *gwad*, Corn. *guil*, *goys*, Br. *gwad*, perh. as 'blood' fr. 'vein' : W., Corn. *guyth* 'vein', Ir. *fēith* 'fibre', etc. (Walde-P. 1.224, without inclusion of the words for 'blood'). Henry 146.

6. Goth. *blōþ*, OE *blōd*, etc., general Gmc., prob. as 'that which bursts out' : Goth. *blōma* 'flower', etc. Walde-P. 1.177. Falk-Torp 83 f. Feist 101.

NE *gore*, used much like Lat. *cruor*, fr. OE, ME *gor*(*r*)e 'dung, filth'. NED s.v.

7. Lith. *kraujas*, ChSl. *krŭvŭt*, etc., above, 2.

Lett. *asins*, above, 1.

8. Skt. (Vedic) *asan-*, *asṛk*, above, 1. Skt. *rakta-* neut., sb. use of *rakta-* 'red', pple. of *raj-* 'be colored, be red'. Likewise for 'blood' neuter forms of other words for 'red', as *rudhira-*, *lohita-*, *çonita-*. Cf. ON *roðra* 'sacificial blood' beside *rjóðr* 'red'.

Av. *vohuni-* (NPers. *zūn* 'blood'), etym.? Barth. 1434.

## 4.16 BONE

|      |         |       |                 |       |        |
|------|---------|-------|-----------------|-------|--------|
| Grk. | ὀστέον  | Goth. | ....            | Lith. | kaulas |
| NG   | ὀστέον  | ON    | bein            | Lett. | kauls  |
| Lat. | os      | Dan.  | ben, knogle     | ChSl. | košt   |
| It.  | osso    | Sw.   | ben             | SCr.  | košt   |
| Fr.  | os      | OE    | bān             | Boh.  | košt   |
| Sp.  | hueso   | ME    | bone            | Pol.  | kości  |
| Rum. | os      | NE    | bone            | Russ. | košt   |
| Ir.  | cnáim   | Du.   | bein, knok      | Skt.  | asthi- |
| Nlr. | cnáimh  | OHG   | bein            | Av.   | ast-   |
| W.   | asgurn  | MHG   | bein            |       |        |
| Br.  | askourn | NHG   | knochen (-bein) |       |        |

Apart from the inherited group, words for 'bone' come by generalization from or through terms denoting a particular bone, esp. 'knuckle-bone', or by extension of 'hollow stalk', to the long bone of arm or leg, or by extension of the hard 'kernel' of fruits to the analogous parts of the body.

1. IE \**ost-*, etc. Walde-P. 1.185 f. Ernout-M. 716.

Grk. *ὀστέον*; Lat. *os*, gen. *ossis*, also *ossu*, *ossum* (> It. *osso*, Sp. *hueso*, Fr., Rum. *os*); W. *asgurn*, Br. *askourn*, Corn. *ascorn*; Skt. *asthi-*, gen. *asthnas*, Av. *ast-*, *asthi-*; Arm. *oskr*; Alb. *asht*. Here also ChSl. *košt*, etc.? See below, 6.

2. NG *ὀστέον* neut., fr. Grk. *ὀστέον* 'kernel of the pine cone', deriv. of *ὀστέον* 'kernel, grain, seed'.

3. Ir. *cnáim*, Nlr. *cnáimh* : Grk. *κνήμη* 'leg between knee and ankle', OE *hamm* 'hollow at the back of the knee', etc. Walde-P. 1.460. Pedersen 1.53. Development of 'bone' through 'knuckle'.

4. ON *bein*, OE *bān*, etc., general Gmc. (but NHG *bein* for 'bone' now only in cpds. as *elfenbein* 'ivory'), origin obscure. Falk-Torp 69.

NHG *knochen*, fr. MHG *knoc knoche*, 'knuckle, knot', this with dim. MLG *knokel* 'bone, knuckle' (> Dan. *knokkel*, *knogle* 'bone'), ME *knokel*, NE *knuckle*, NHG *knöchel* 'knuckle' : ON *knjúkr* 'round summit', Lith. *gniauti* 'close the fist', etc. Walde-P. 1.582. Falk-Torp 69. The meaning 'knuckle' is the more general and earlier, whence 'bone' only by later extension (not 'knuckle' from 'bone', as in NED).

5. Lith. *kaulas*, Lett. *kauls*, OPruss. acc. *kaulan* : Grk. *καλός*, Lat. *caulis* 'stalk', Ir. *cuaile* 'post, stake', also Skt. *kulyā* 'canal, channel, ditch' (hence neut. *kulya* 'receptacle for bones', rarely 'bone', no direct connection with the Baltic use), with common notion 'long, hollow shape'. Walde-P. 1.332. Doubtless applied first to the long bone of arm or leg. Cf. Lat. *caulis* used by Pliny of the 'bony part of an ox's tail'; also the use of ON *leggr* (4.35).

6. ChSl. *košt*, etc., general Slavic : Lat. *costa* 'rib'. Further analysis of both as *k-ost-*, with relation to IE \**ost-* (above, 1) is attractive but dub. Walde-P. 1.186. Ernout-M. 225, 716. Berneker 582 f.

## 4.162 RIB

|      |           |       |        |       |                 |
|------|-----------|-------|--------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | πλευρόν   | Goth. | ....   | Lith. | šonkaulis       |
| NG   | πλευρόν   | ON    | rif    | Lett. | riba            |
| Lat. | costa     | Dan.  | ribben | ChSl. | rebro           |
| It.  | costa     | Sw.   | reuben | SCr.  | reubo           |
| Fr.  | côte      | OE    | rib    | Boh.  | žebro           |
| Sp.  | costilla  | ME    | rib    | Pol.  | żebro           |
| Rum. | costă     | NE    | rib    | Russ. | rebro           |
| Ir.  | asna      | Du.   | rib    | Skt.  | parçu-, pr̥ṣti- |
| Nlr. | easna     | OHG   | rippa  | Av.   | parasu-         |
| W.   | asen      | MHG   | rippe  |       |                 |
| Br.  | kostezzen | NHG   | rippe  |       |                 |

The largest group of words for 'rib' is connected with words for 'cover with a roof', 'a roof' and were evidently applied to the plural 'ribs' as forming a sort of roof over the interior of the thorax. Some are connected with words for 'bone'. The secondary use as 'side', etc. is widespread.

1. Grk. *πλευρόν*, etym.? Boisacq 794.

2. Lat. *costa* (> It. *costa*, Fr. *côte*, Rum. *coastă*; Sp. *cuesta* as 'rib' replaced by deriv. *costilla*) : ChSl. *košt* 'bone' (4.16). Walde-P. 1.464. Ernout-M. 225. Walde-H. 1.281.

3. Ir. *asna*, Nlr. *easna*, W., Corn. *asen* : Grk. *ὀστέον* 'bone' etc. (4.16). Pedersen 1.85.

Br. *kostezzen*, fr. VLat. \**costātum*

(source of Fr. *côté* 'side'), deriv. of Lat. *costa* (above, 2). Henry 77.

4. ON *rif*, OE *rib*, OHG *rippa*, etc. general Gmc. (but Dan., Sw., *rev* as 'rib' replaced by Dan. *ribben*, Sw. *reuben*, cpds. with *ben* 'bone') : ChSl. *rebro* 'rib', etc. general Slavic, fr. the root seen in Grk. *ἰπέρω* 'roof over', *ὀροφος* 'roof', etc. Walde-P. 2.371. Falk-Torp 896.

5. Lith. *šonkaulis*, cpd. of *šonas* 'side' and *kaulas* 'bone'.

Lett. *riba*, fr. MLG *ribbe*. Mühl.-Endz. 3.521.

6. ChSl. *rebro*, etc., general Slavic : OE *rib*, etc., above, 4.

7. Skt. *parçu-*, *pr̥ṣti-*, Av. *parasu-* : ChSl. *pr̥ṣti* (pl. 'breast' (as region of the ribs), root connection? Walde-P. 2.44.

## 4.17 HORN

|      |               |       |       |       |             |
|------|---------------|-------|-------|-------|-------------|
| Grk. | κίρας         | Goth. | haurn | Lith. | ragas       |
| NG   | κίρας         | ON    | horn  | Lett. | ragas       |
| Lat. | cornū         | Dan.  | horn  | ChSl. | rogū        |
| It.  | cornio        | Sw.   | horn  | SCr.  | rog         |
| Fr.  | corne         | OE    | horn  | Boh.  | roh         |
| Sp.  | cuerno (asta) | ME    | horn  | Pol.  | róg         |
| Rum. | corn          | NE    | horn  | Russ. | rog         |
| Ir.  | adarc, benn   | Du.   | hoorn | Skt.  | çr̥ṣṭa-     |
| Nlr. | adharc        | OHG   | horn  | Av.   | srū-, srūd- |
| W.   | corn          | MHG   | horn  |       |             |
| Br.  | korn          | NHG   | horn  |       |             |

Most of the words for 'horn' belong to a single group of cognates which includes words for 'horn, head, summit', etc. with the common notion of 'top'. Originally denoting an animal's horn

and so considered here, most of them are also applied, like NE *horn*, to 'horn' as material and to objects of similar shape, esp. 'drinking-horn' or 'horn' for blowing. But such uses may also be distin-

guished by different forms, as Fr. *corne*, but *cor*.

1. IE \**ker-* in a variety of formations meaning 'top, summit, head, horn'. Walde-P. 1.403 ff. Ernout-M. 221 f. Walde-H. 1.276.

Here as 'horn' : Grk. *κίρας* (cf. Skt. *κίρας*, Av. *sarah* 'head'), Att. gen. *κίραρος*, dat. *κίρατι*, etc., whence NG *κίρατος*; Lat. *cornū* (> It. *cornio*, etc. general Romance; also Ir. *corn* 'drinking-horn', W. *corn*, Br. *korn*); Goth. *haurn*, OE *horn*, etc., general Gmc.; Skt. *çr̥ṣṭa-*, Av. *srū-*, *srūd-* (NPers. *surū* 'horn'); in other senses, Grk. *κάρπ*, Skt. *çiras-*, etc. (4.21), Lat. *cerebrum* 'brain', Grk. *κορυφή* 'summit', etc.

Ir. *benn* (also 'point, peak', as Nlr. *beann*), perh. : OE *pin* 'pin, peg', MLG *pint* 'penis', etc. Walde-P. 2.109.

4. Lith. *ragas*, Lett. *ragis* (OPruss. *ragis* 'hunting-horn'), ChSl. *rogū*, etc., general Balto-Slavic, without outside connections. Walde-P. 2.367.

## 4.18 TAIL

|      |             |       |                         |       |                      |
|------|-------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | οἰπά        | Goth. | ....                    | Lith. | uodega               |
| NG   | οἰπά        | ON    | hali (tagl, rōfa, etc.) | Lett. | aste (l'ipa, uodega) |
| Lat. | cauda       | Dan.  | hale (svans)            | ChSl. | opaši, očešā, ošibā  |
| It.  | codā        | Sw.   | svans                   | SCr.  | rep                  |
| Fr.  | queue       | OE    | tagl (steort)           | Boh.  | ocas, ohon, chvošt   |
| Sp.  | cola, rabo  | ME    | tail                    | Pol.  | ogon (chwošt)        |
| Rum. | coadă       | NE    | tail                    | Russ. | chvošt               |
| Ir.  | err, erball | Du.   | staart                  | Skt.  | puchā, lāṅgula-      |
| Nlr. | erball      | OHG   | zagal                   | Av.   | duma-                |
| W.   | cynffon     | MHG   | zagal, swanz, stierz    |       |                      |
| Br.  | lost        | NHG   | schwanz (schweif)       |       |                      |

Words for 'tail' are from such notions as 'projection', 'long slender shape', 'pointed shape' (or after particular objects of such shape), 'swinging motion'. Several are obscure. There are often special words for the 'tail' of different kinds of animals, some of which are mentioned beside the more generic.

1. Grk. *οἰπά* : *ὀππος*, OE *ears*, OHG *ars*, Hitt. *arras* 'rump, arse', Skt. *ṛṣva-* 'high', all from the notion of 'what stands out, projects', root as in Skt. *r-* 'move, rise', Grk. *ὀρνύμι* 'stir up', Lat. *oriri* 'rise', etc. Here also Ir. *err* 'tail' (also 'end', etc., as Nlr. *earr*), and Ir. *erball*, Nlr. *erball* 'tail', cpd. with *ball*

'part of the body'. Walde-P. 1.138. Pedersen 1.83.

2. Lat. *cauda*, *cōda* (> Romance words), etym.? Ernout-M. 164. Walde-H. 1.185. REW 1774.

Sp. *rabo*, fr. Lat. *rāpum* 'turnip, radish', as applied first to the similar shaped pig's tail, etc. REW 7065.

3. Ir. *err*, *erball*, above, 1.

W. *cynffon*, cpd. of *cyn*(t) 'former, earlier' but here 'hind' and *ffon* 'stick, staff'. Morris Jones 246.

Br., Corn. *lost* : W. *lost*



rücke, NHG rücken, prob. with notion of 'curved': Skt. *kruñc-* 'be crooked', W. *crug* 'heap', etc. Walde-P. 2.573. Falk-Torp 926. Hellquist 857 f.

5. Lith. *nugara*, cpd. of *nu-* 'down', second part: ChSl. *gora* 'mountain', etc. (1.22), hence first 'mountain ridge', then 'back'. Walde-P. 1.682. Berneker 329. Here also Lett. *muğura* (also *muğara*) fr. *\*nugara* (> Liv. *nugār*), with unexplained init. *m.* Mühl-Endz. 2.661.

6. SCR. *leđa* (pl.): ChSl. *lědvjě*, etc., general Slavic as 'loins'. Berneker 705 f. Boh. *zda*, pl. of *zad* = ChSl. *zadū*

'back part' in phrases, beside prep. *za* 'behind' (like *nadū* 'above' beside *na* 'on', etc.).

Boh. *hřbet*, Pol. *grzbiet*: ChSl. *chrubūtū* 'neck', also late *chribūtū* 'back', SCR. *hrbat* 'hump, back', Boh. *chřb* 'hill', etc. Berneker 404. Brückner 160 f.

Pol. *plecy* 'shoulder' (4.30), used in phrases for 'carry on the back', etc.

Russ. *spina*, fr. Lat. *spīna* 'spine'.

7. Skt. *pr̥ṣṭha-*, Av. *par̥šta-* (NPers. *pušt* 'back'), cpd. of *\*pr-* 'forth' (Lat. *por-*, etc.); beside *\*pro* in Grk. *πρό*, Skt. *pra*, etc.) and *\*st(h)ā-* 'stand', so lit. 'that which stands out'. Walde-P. 2.53.

## 4.20 HEAD

|      |                      |       |                |       |                        |
|------|----------------------|-------|----------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | κεφαλή, κάρα (poet.) | Goth. | hauþij         | Lith. | galva                  |
| NG   | κεφάλι               | ON    | hōfuð, hauþuð  | Lett. | galva                  |
| Lat. | caput                | Dan.  | hoved          | ChSl. | glava                  |
| It.  | testa, capo          | Sw.   | huvud          | SCR.  | glava                  |
| Fr.  | tête                 | OE    | hēafod, hafela | Boh.  | hlava                  |
| Sp.  | cabeza               | ME    | heved, hed     | Pol.  | głowa                  |
| Rum. | cap                  | NE    | head           | Russ. | golova                 |
| Ir.  | cenn, cenn           | Du.   | hoofd          | Skt.  | śiras-, śirṣan-,       |
| Nl.  | ocean                | OHG   | houbit         |       | mārdhan-               |
| W.   | penn                 | MHG   | houbet, kopf   | Av.   | sarah-, sāra-, var̥ṣa- |
| Br.  | penn                 | NHG   | kopf, haupt    |       | na-, kamāraṣa-         |

Words for 'head' are from the notion of 'top, summit' (as conversely often 'head' for 'top'), or through 'skull' from 'bowl, cup', 'potsherd', or 'bald'. No account is taken of the countless slang words for 'head' (NE *bean*, *nut*, etc.), except where such have become the standard words.

1. IE *\*ker-* in various formations meaning 'top, summit, head, horn'. Walde-P. 1.403 ff. Ernout-M. 177.

Grk. poet. *κέρα*, *κάρα*, *κάρη*; Skt. *śiras-*, Av. *sarah-*, *sāra-*; cf., in other senses, Grk. *κορυφή* 'summit', Grk. *κέρας*, Lat. *cornū* 'horn', etc. (4.17), Lat. *cerebrum*, OHG *hirni* 'brain', etc.

2. IE *\*kap-* in various formations meaning 'head, bowl', etc., root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.346 ff. Ernout-M. 151 f. Walde-H. 1.163. Falk-Torp 422.

Lat. *caput* (> It. *capo*, Rum. *cap*, etc.); ON *hōfuð*, Dan. *hoved*, Sw. *huvud*, and with different suffix OE *hafela*; cf. Skt. *kapucchala-* (*\*kaput-cala-* 'hair on the back of the head', *kapāla-* 'cup, bowl, skull', Lat. *capis* 'bowl', etc.

3. Grk. *κεφαλή* (NG *κεφάλι* fr. dim. form): Goth. *gibla* 'gable', etc. Walde-P. 1.571.

4. From Lat. *caput* (above, 2) the meaning 'head' of the body persists in

Rum. *cap*, in part in It. *capo*, and in various dialects, while Fr. *chef* (> NE *chief*) and Sp. *cabo* (> Fr. *cap*, NE *cape*) have only secondary uses. But Sp. *cabeza* 'head', fr. Lat. deriv. *capitum*. REW 1668, 1637.

Lat. *testa* 'potsherd' was used in late Lat. for 'skull' and became a common colloquial word for 'head', partly displacing *caput* in this sense. Hence It. *testa*, Fr. *tête* as the standard words, while Sp. *testa* is still only colloquial for *cabeza*. REW 8682.

5. Ir. *cenn*, *cenn*, Nl. *ceann*, W. *pen*, Br. *penn* (cf. also *Alpes Penninae*, the Apennines), etym.? Walde-P. 1.398. Pedersen 1.157 f.

Ir. *calb* (rare), fr. Lat. *calva* 'skull' (4.202). Pedersen 1.215.

6. ON *hōfuð*, etc., above, 2. The more widespread forms with diphthongal first syllable, Goth. *hauþij*, ON *hauþuð*, OE *hēafod*, ME *heved*, NE *head*, Du. *hoofd*, OHG *houbit*, NHG *haupt*, are explained by some as a blend of this group

with another represented by Skt. *kakubh-* 'summit', Lith. *kaupas* 'heap', etc. Walde-P. 1.346. Falk-Torp 422. Feist 248. Kluge-G. 237.

MHG *kopf* 'drinking-cup', hence sometimes 'skull, head' (cf. Lat. *testa*, above, 4), NHG *kopf* displacing *haupt* (now almost wholly in secondary uses): OE *cuppe* 'cup', etc. (5.35). Weigand-H. 1.1118 f.

7. Lith., Lett. *galva*, ChSl. *glava*, etc. general Balto-Slavic: ChSl. *golū*, Russ. *gol* 'naked, bare, bald', NHG *kahl* 'bald', etc. (4.93). For the development of 'bald' through 'skull' to 'head', cf. Lat. *calva*, *calvaria* 'skull' fr. *calvus* 'bald'. Berneker 324.

8. Skt. *śiras-*, Av. *sarah-*, etc., above, 1.

Skt. *mūrdhan-*, also Av. *ka-māraṣa-* (only for 'head' of evil beings): OE *molida* 'top of the head', Grk. *βλωρός* 'tall'. Walde-P. 1.295. Barth. 440. Av. *var̥ṣana-*, etym.? Barth. 1336.

## 4.202 SKULL

|      |                   |       |                       |       |                        |
|------|-------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | κράνιον           | Goth. | hvarinei              | Lith. | kiaušė, kaukoė         |
| NG   | κρανίον, καίκαλο  | ON    | hauss                 | Lett. | kauss                  |
| Lat. | calva, calvaria   | Dan.  | hovedskal, hjerneskal | ChSl. | kranijevū (adj.), lūbū |
| It.  | cranium           | Sw.   | huvudskalle, skalle   | SCR.  | lubanja                |
| Fr.  | crâne             | OE    | hēafodpanne (-bān)    | Boh.  | leb, lebka             |
| Sp.  | cráneo (calavera) | ME    | skulle, pan           | Pol.  | czaszka                |
| Rum. | craniu            | NE    | skull                 | Russ. | čerep                  |
| Ir.  | cloenn            | Du.   | schedel               | Skt.  | mastaka-, kapāla-,     |
| Nl.  | cloieann          | OHG   | hirsnschale           |       | karpara-               |
| W.   | penglog           | MHG   | schedel, hirsnschal   | Av.   | mastrayan- (in pl.)    |
| Br.  | penlog            | NHG   | schidel, hirsnschale  |       |                        |

Of the words for 'skull', some are cognate with words for 'head' or cpds. of such with words for 'stone' (so the Celtic) or 'shell, bowl, pan' (latter also with words for 'brain'). A few (like some for 'head' through 'skull') are based on the notion of 'bald'. But the most frequent

relation is with words for 'bowl, cup', etc., owing to the similarity in shape and the once widespread use of skulls as drinking-vessels. Cf. Scheffelowitz, BB 28.143 ff. (where are many less common words not included here).

1. Grk. *κράνιον* (> MLat. *cranium* >

Romance words, etc.), fr. *\*krapo-*νιον: *kāpa* 'head', *képas* 'horn', etc. Walde-P. 1.405.

NG pop. also *καίκαλο*, fr. Byz. *καῖκος* 'drinking-cup'.

2. Lat. *calva* and later *calvaria* (> Sp. *calavera* mostly 'skull' of a dead person, 'death's head', influenced by *cadāvar* 'corpse'? REW 1529), fr. *calvus* 'bald' (4.93). Ernout-M. 137. Walde-H. 1.143.

3. Ir. *cloenn* (K. Meyer, Contrib. 390), Nl. *cloieann*, W. *penglog*, Br. *klopenn*, cpds. of words for 'stone' (Ir. *cloch*, W. *glog*, 1.44) and head (Ir. *cenn*, W. *pen*, etc., 4.20). Pedersen 1.418.

4. Goth. *hvarinei*: ON *hverna* 'cooking-vessel', ON *heerr*, OE, OHG *hwer*, Skt. *caru-* 'cauldron, pot, kettle', etc. Walde-P. 1.518. Feist 280.

ON *hauss* (so also Norw. *haus*, Sw. dial. *hös*): Grk. *κίστρος* 'bladder, pouch', etc., fr. an *s*-extension of IE *\*s(keu)-* 'cover', parallel to a *k*-extension in Lith. *kiaušė* (below, 5). Walde-P. 2.551. Falk-Torp 385.

Norw., Sw. *skalle* (both used alone for 'skull'), fr. the same root as Dan., Sw. *skal* 'shell' and Dan. *skaal*, Sw. *skal* 'bowl, cup'. Here also cpds. with words for 'head' or 'brain', Dan. *hovedskal*, *hjerneskal*, Sw. *huvudskalle*, *huvudskal*. Walde-P. 2.293. Falk-Torp 981 f.

OE *hēafodpanne*, *hēafodbān*, cpds. of *hēafod* 'head' with words for 'pan' or 'bone'. ME *pan* also used alone for 'skull', NED s.v. 6.

ME *skulle* (*scolle*, *sculle*), NE *skull*, loanword fr. some Scand. form belonging with Sw. *skalle*, etc. (above). NED s.v. *skull*. Falk-Torp 982.

OHG *hirsnschale*, ME *hirsnschal*, NHG *hirsnschale*, cpd. of *hirni* 'brain' and *scala* 'covering, shell'.

MHG *schedel*, NHG *schädel* (> Du. *schedel*) = MLG *schedel* 'box, case', MDu. *scedel*, Du. *scheel* 'cover, lid', root connection dub. Walde-P. 2.543. Falk-Torp 982. Weigand-H. 1.665. Franck-v. W. 576.

5. Lith. *kiaušė*, Lett. *kauss* (latter mostly with gen. sg. of *galva* 'head'): Skt. *koga-* 'case, box' (i.e. 'container'), fr. *\*keu-k-* extension of IE *\*s(keu)-* 'cover', parallel to *\*keu-s-* in ON *hauss* (above, 4). Walde-P. 2.548 f. Mühl-Endz. 2.178.

Lith. *kaukolė*, etym.? Scheffelowitz, op. cit. 148, takes as loanword fr. the rare Lat. *caucula*, dim. of *caucus* 'drinking-cup', but medium of borrowing?

6. ChSl. in Gospels only adj. in *kranijevu mēsto* = *κρανίου τόπος*, based on the Grk. *κρανίον*, for which later *lūbovo* (or *lūbinoje*) *mēsto* (Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 312).

Late ChSl. *lūbū* (whence adj. *lūbovo*, etc., above), SCR. *lubanja*, Boh. *leb*, *lebka* (Pol. *leb*, Russ. *lob* 'forehead'), prob.: Russ. *lub* 'bark', etc., either through the notion of 'peeled off, bald' (as in Lat. *calva*, above, 2), or 'drinking-vessel'. Walde-P. 2.418. Berneker 749.

Pol. *czaszka*, fr. *czesza* = ChSl. *časa* 'cup', etc. Berneker 137.

Russ. *čerep* = ChSl. *črēpū* 'potsherd': OPruss. *kerpētis* 'skull', OHG *scirbi*, NHG *scherbe* 'potsherd', Skt. *karpara-* 'potsherd, pot' also 'skull'. Walde-P. 2.580. Berneker 147.

7. Skt. *mastaka-*, Av. *mastrayan-* (in pl.), prob.: Skt. *majjan-* 'marrow', ChSl. *mozgū* 'brain', etc. (4.203). Walde-P. 2.309.

Skt. *kapāla-* 'cup, bowl, potsherd' and 'skull', fr. the same root as Lat. *caput* 'head'. Walde-P. 1.346.

## 4.203 BRAIN

|      |               |       |                       |       |                     |
|------|---------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | ἐγκέφαλος     | Goth. | .....                 | Lith. | smegenys (pl.)      |
| NG   | μενάλ         | ON    | hjarni                | Lett. | smadzenes           |
| Lat. | cerebrum      | Dan.  | hjerne                | ChSl. | mozgū               |
| It.  | cervello      | Sw.   | hjärna                | SCR.  | mozak               |
| Fr.  | cerveau       | OE    | brægen                | Boh.  | mozek               |
| Sp.  | cerebro       | ME    | brain, hernes (pl.)   | Pol.  | mózg                |
| Rum. | creieri (pl.) | NE    | bratn                 | Russ. | mózg                |
| Ir.  | inchinn       | Du.   | hirsenen (pl.), brein | Skt.  | mastiška-           |
| Nl.  | inchinn       | OHG   | hirni                 | Av.   | mastrayan- (in pl.) |
| W.   | ymennyd       | MHG   | herne                 |       |                     |
| Br.  | empeny        | NHG   | hirn, Gehirn          |       |                     |

Most of the words for 'brain' are cognate with words for 'head' or 'marrow'. Sometimes the plural used as coll., like NE *brains*, is the usual form.

1. Derivs. of *\*ker(s)s-*, etc. seen in Skt. *śiras-* 'head', Grk. *képas* 'horn', etc. Walde-P. 1.403 ff. Ernout-M. 177. Walde-H. 1.203. Falk-Torp 410. REW 1826, 1827.

Lat. *cerebrum* (> Sp. *cerebro*, Rum. *creier* used mostly in pl. *cerieri*), *cerebellum* (> It. *cervella*, Fr. *cerveau*); ON *hjarni*, OHG *hirni*, etc., general Gmc. (except English, where ME *hernes*, Sc. *harns* fr. Norse).

2. Grk. *ἐγκέφαλος* phrase cpd. fr. *ἐν* 'in' and *κεφαλή* 'head'.

NG *μενάλ*, often pl. *τά μενάλ*, fr. Grk. *μενάλος*, late *μενάλος* 'marrow'. Cf. Aristot. PA 652<sup>a</sup>25 πολλοὶ γὰρ καὶ ὁ ἐγκέφαλος δοκεῖ μενάλος εἶναι 'for many think the brain is really marrow'.

3. Ir. *inchinn*, W. *ymennyd*, Br. *empeny*, cpds. (like Grk. *ἐγκέφαλος*) fr. words for 'in' and 'head' (Ir. *cenn*, etc., 4.20).

4. OE *brægen*, ME, NE *brain*, Du. *brein*, prob.: Grk. *βρεχμός*, *βρέγμα* 'front part of the head'. Walde-P. 2.314. NED s.v. *brain*. Franck-v. W. 91.

5. Lith. *smegenys* (pl.), Lett. *smadzenes* (or pl. -is), ChSl. *mozgū*, etc. (all the Slavic words): Skt. *majjan-*, ON *hjarni*, OHG *hirni*, etc., general Gmc. (except English, where ME *hernes*, Sc. *harns* fr. Norse).

6. Skt. *mastiška-*: *mastaka-* 'skull' (4.202).

Av. *mastrayan-* in pl. 'skull' (4.202) and 'brains' (Yt. 10.72). Barth. 1155.

## 4.204 FACE

|      |               |       |                              |       |                 |
|------|---------------|-------|------------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | πρόσωπον      | Goth. | andwairpi, wirts, andwairpi  | Lith. | veidas          |
| NG   | πρόσωπο       | ON    | andait, ludja                | Lett. | veigs           |
| Lat. | facies        | Dan.  | ansigt                       | ChSl. | lice            |
| It.  | faccia (viso) | Sw.   | ansikte (anlete)             | SCR.  | lice            |
| Fr.  | visage        | OE    | ansijn, andulita             | Boh.  | tvář            |
| Rum. | cara (rostru) | ME    | face                         | Pol.  | twarz           |
| Sp.  | faça, obraz   | NE    | face                         | Russ. | lico            |
| Ir.  | apad, euech   | Du.   | gesicht                      | Skt.  | anika-          |
| Nl.  | afghaidh      | OHG   | gesiht, anhluti, an-nuzzi    | Av.   | ainika-, čitra- |
| W.   | wyneb         | MHG   | gesiht, anhlüte              |       |                 |
| Br.  | dremm         | NHG   | gesicht (angesicht, anhlüte) |       |                 |

The face is the most distinguishing and expressive portion of the body, and the words for 'face' are most commonly based on the notion of 'appearance, look', most of these derived from verbs for 'see, look', or in some cases on the notion of 'form, shape'. There is sometimes interchange between 'face' and 'cheek' in the same word or group.

Included in the list (in parentheses) are some words that are synonyms of those given in first place, either popular (but not vulgar, as NE *mug*), as It. *viso*, Sp. *rostru*, or now restricted to a lofty style, as NHG *angesicht*, *anlitz*.

1. Grk. *πρόσωπον* (in Hom. always pl.), fr. *πρός* 'toward' and deriv. of *ὄρ-* (IE *\*ok-*) in *ὄδωμαι* fut. of *ὄδω* 'see, look', *δῶς* 'eyes', *ὤψ* also 'face', etc. (15.51). Hence orig. the 'appearance, look'.

2. Lat. *faciēs*, orig. 'form, shape', then esp. 'face', fr. *facere* 'make'. Hence, through VLat. *\*facia*, It. *faccia*, Fr. *face* (> ME, NE *face*), Rum. *față* (Port. *face* 'cheek', Sp. *haz*, *faz* fig.). But the use of Fr. *face* for the 'face' of a person was given up in the 17th cent. (Wartburg 3.356). Ernout-M. 322. Walde-H. 1.439. REW 3130.

Fr. *visage*, fr. older *vis* (now only in *vis-à-vis*) = It. *viso* (pop. for *faccia*), fr. Lat. *visus* 'sight'. REW 9384. Gamillscheg 893.

1. Grk. *κράνιον* (> MLat. *cranium* >

Sp. *cara* (the once quoted *ante caram*, Corippus in laud. Justinus 2.413, is a false reading of *ante casam* now in the editions of Patsch and of Petschenig), OFr. *chiere* (> ME *chere*, NE *cheer*, NED s.v.), generally taken as fr. Grk. *kāpa* 'head'. The difficulties are (1) the fact that *kāpa* is only found in poets, (2) the change in sense (but *kāpa* used for 'face' in Soph. El. 1310), (3) the restriction of the group to the West. Apparently one would have to assume a literary poetical borrowing as the starting point, or else that the Grk. word was in ordinary prose use among those who founded the colonies in Spain and southern Gaul. REW 1670. Diez 87. Wartburg 2.350.

Sp. *rostru* (pop. word for 'face', not vulgar), fr. Lat. *rōstrum* 'beak'. REW 7386.

Rum. *obraz*, fr. Slav. ChSl. *obrazū* 'form, shape, image' (12.57), SCR. *obraz* 'cheek', etc. Tiktin 1072 f.

3. Ir. *agad*, Nl. *aghaidh*, etym.? Pedersen 1.129.

Ir. *enech*, MW. MBr. *enep*, W. *wyneb*, (Br. *enep*, *eneb* 'the opposite'), a cpd. of IE *\*ok-* 'see', like Grk. *πρόσωπον* (above, 1) and *ὄντως* 'facing', Skt. *anika-* 'face'? Walde-P. 1.171 (adversely). Pedersen 1.38. Morris Jones 154.

## 4.205 FOREHEAD

|      |                 |       |                     |       |            |
|------|-----------------|-------|---------------------|-------|------------|
| Grk. | μετωπον         | Goth. | .....               | Lith. | kakta      |
| NG   | μετωπο, κοίτελο | ON    | enni                | Lett. | piere      |
| Lat. | frons           | Dan.  | pande               | ChSl. | čelo       |
| It.  | fronte          | Sw.   | panna               | SCR.  | čelo       |
| Fr.  | front           | OE    | forheafod           | Boh.  | čelo       |
| Sp.  | fronte          | ME    | forhe(u)de          | Pol.  | czoło      |
| Rum. | frunte          | NE    | forehead (brow)     | Russ. | lob (čelo) |
| Ir.  | etan, tul       | Du.   | voorhoofd           | Skt.  | bhāla-     |
| Nl.  | clār a ēadain   | OHG   | stirna, tinna, andi | Av.   | ainika-    |
| W.   | talcen          | MHG   | stirn(e), tinne     |       |            |
| Br.  | tal             | NHG   | stirn               |       |            |

Words for 'forehead' have such semantic sources as 'between the eyes', 'front part', 'flat surface', 'high', etc.

1. Grk. *μετωπον*, cpd. of *μετά* 'between', second part as in *πρόσωπον* 'face' (4.204), hence as if 'between the eyes', and so described by Aristot., HA 491<sup>b</sup>12.

NG *κοίτελο*, prob. (through 'skull'), deriv. of class. Grk. *κοίτη* 'hollow vessel'. Amantos, *Ἀθήνα* 28, παραρτ. 128 f.

3. Ir. *Nlr. mala*, prob. : Lett. *malde* 'edge', Alb. *mal* 'mountain', etc. Walde-P. 2.795. Pedersen 2.99. Stokes 203.  
W. *ael*, or esp. *ael y llygad* (with *llygad* 'eye'), OBr. *ail, quor-ail*: Ir. *ail, oil* 'cheek' (4.208)? Stokes 3.  
Br. *abrant* ('sourcil', Ernault, Vallée; not 'eyelid' as Pedersen) = Ir. *abra*,

nom. pl. *abrait* 'eyebrow, eyelid' (K. Meyer, Contrib. 7), W. *amrant* 'eyelid', etym. dub. Pedersen 1.119 (: Lat. *frons, frontis* 'forehead'). Henry 3.  
4. Lith. *antakis*, Lett. *uzacs*, Boh. *oboči*, cpds. of words for 'eye' (4.21) and 'on, upon, about'.

## 4.207 JAW

|       |                          |
|-------|--------------------------|
| Grk.  | σιάγων, γνάθος, γένυς    |
| NG    | σαγόνη, μασέλλα          |
| Lat.  | mazilla, mala            |
| It.   | mascella                 |
| Fr.   | mâchoire                 |
| Sp.   | quijada                  |
| Rum.  | falcă                    |
| Ir.   | carpat                   |
| Nlr.  | giall (carbad, corráin)  |
| W.    | gen, cern                |
| Br.   | karvan                   |
| Goth. | ....                     |
| ON    | kjopt                    |
| Dan.  | kæve                     |
| Sw.   | käk                      |
| OE    | cēace, ceaf              |
| ME    | ioue, chavel             |
| NE    | jaw                      |
| Du.   | kaak                     |
| OHG   | chinnibahho              |
| MHG   | kinnebacke, kiver, kivel |
| NHG   | kinnebacken, kiefer      |
| Lith. | žandas                   |
| Lett. | žuokls, zuods            |
| ChSl. | čeljusti                 |
| SCr.  | čeljust, vilica          |
| Boh.  | čelist                   |
| Pol.  | szczeka                  |
| Russ. | čeljust'                 |
| Skt.  | hanu-                    |
| Av.   | zānu-                    |

4.207-4.209. There is considerable interchange between 'jaw', 'cheek' and 'chin', notably in a widespread cognate group. This is not surprising, for the 'chin' is the prominent part of the lower jaw and the 'cheek' corresponds in position to the side of the jaw. Cf. Aristot., HA 492<sup>22</sup> ἐτι σιαγόνες δύο τούτων τὸ πρόσθιον γένειον, τὸ δ' ὀπίσθιον γένυς 'furthermore there are two jaws; of these

the front part is the chin, the hinder part the cheek'. There is also some interchange with 'mouth' and with 'face', and between 'chin' and 'beard'.

4.207. Several of the words for 'jaw' owe this use to some resemblance in shape, as that of a 'sickle' to the lower jaw in side view, of a 'wagon, cart' to the palate or upper jaw, of a 'box' to the

jaw as a box for the teeth, of a 'fork', and prob. of 'angle' to that of the jaw in the large cognate group. Some are derived from verbs for 'chew' or 'bite'. One (the modern Polish) seems to have started as a slang term for the 'chattering' jaw. Several are obscure in their ultimate root connection.

1. IE \**ǵenu-* in words for 'jaw', 'cheek', and 'chin'. Orig. sense 'jaw' and ultimate connection with the word for 'knee', IE \**ǵenu-* (neut.), Grk. γόνυ, Lat. *genū*, etc. (4.36), through some common notion like 'angle', is probable. Walde-P. 1.587. Ernout-M. 414. Walde-H. 1.589 f.

Grk. γένυς 'jaw' (so always in Hom.) and 'cheek', γένειον 'chin' (and 'beard'); Lat. *gena* 'cheek' (mostly in pl.; stem *genu-* in *genuīnī dentēs* 'back teeth'); W. gen 'jaw, chin' (Ir. *gin*, W. *geneu*, Br. *genou* 'mouth'); Goth. *kinnus*, ON *kinn*, Dan., Sw. *kind* 'cheek', OE *cin*, OHG *kinni*, etc. (all WGmc. words) 'chin' (but in early period traces of use for 'jaw', as OHG *chinne* 'jaws' Notker, Ps. 31.9, OHG *chinnibacho* 'jaw', OE *cinbān* 'jawbone'); Skt. *hanu-* 'jaw' (h for j secondary), Av. *zānu-* 'jaw' or 'chin' (in cpd., Barth. 1689), NPers. *zanaz* 'chin'; Toch. *šanvemp* 'jaws' (dual, SSS, 3, ftn.).

Here also, fr. an extension \**ǵon(ə)dh-*, Grk. γνάθος, Lith. *žandas* 'jaw', Lett. *zuods* (mostly 'chin', in some places 'jaw', Mühl.-Endz. 4.759).

2. Grk. σιάγων (the usual prose word), NG σαγόνη, etym.? Boisacq 862. Aristot. uses σιάγων, γνάθος, γένυς (above, 1) in this order of frequency.

NG μασέλλα, fr. It. *mascella* (below, 3).

3. Lat. *māla* (mostly in pl.) and *mazilla* (> It. *mascella* 'jaw', but Sp. *mejilla* 'cheek', Rum. *maseă* 'back tooth'), belonging together like *vēlum-vēzillum*, *āla-axilla*, with *māla*, perh. fr. \**maksłā* and : Ir. *smech*, Lith.

*smakras* 'chin', Skt. *śmaśru-* 'beard'. Walde-P. 2.689. Ernout-M. 582. Walde-H. 2.15.

Fr. *mâchoire*, fr. *mâcher* 'chew'. For Fr. dial. words and their distribution, cf. H. Kahane, *Bezeichnungen der Kinnbacken im Galloromanischen*, in Berl. Beitr. z. rom. Ph. 2.2.

Sp. *quijada*, deriv. of Lat. *capsa* and *capsus* 'box', as if 'box for the teeth'. Cf. Prov. *cais* 'jaw' and 'cheek'. Port. *queixo*, formerly 'jaw', now 'chin'. REW 1659c. Zauner, Rom. Forsch. 14.400. Wartburg 2.316. Malkiel, Language 21.151 ff.

Rum. *falcă*, fr. \**falca* for Lat. *falz*, *falcis* 'sickle' (8.33), hence 'jaw' from the similar shape of the lower jaw in side view. REW 3175. Puşcariu 575.

4. Ir. *carpat*, Nlr. *carbad* 'chariot, wagon' (10.75) used also for the 'upper jaw, palate' (cf. Nlr. *fiacra carbaid* 'teeth of the upper jaw'), apparently from the resemblance in shape. Here also Br. *karvan* 'beam of a loom' and reg. word for 'jaw' (upper or lower), and W. *car yr ên* 'jawbone'. Pedersen 1.118, 494.

Nlr. *corrān* 'sickle' (8.33) is used for the lower 'jaw'.

Nlr. *giall*, prob., like Gael. *ciobhal*, fr. forms of OE *ceaf*, NE *jowl* (below, 5). Macbain 193.

W. *gen*, above, 1.  
W. *cern*, also 'cheek', see 4.208.

5. ON *kjopt* (Dan. *kæft*, Sw. *käft* now more like 'mug'), OE *ceaf*, ME *chavel*, NE *jowl* (in part), MHG *kiver*, *kivel*, NHG *kiefer*, LG *keve* (> Dan. *kæve*) : Av. *zafar-* 'mouth' (of evil beings). Walde-P. 1.570 f. Falk-Torp 518, 521. Hellquist 544. Weigand-H. 1.103. NED s.v. *jowl*, sb.1.

OE *cēace*, *cēce* (also and later reg. 'cheek', but 'jawbone' in Chaucer's *an asses cheek*; and *cēacbān*, NE *cheek bone* = 'jawbone' in all early uses, present

Russ. *ščeka*, prob. orig. 'jaw', as Pol. *szczeka*, earlier *szczeka* (4.207).

7. Skt. *gaṇḍa-*, mostly 'cheek', but also 'boil, pimple' and orig. 'swelling', fr. \**goldno-*(?) or some form of the root \**gel-* seen in numerous words for round or swollen objects (Goth. *kilpei* 'womb', etc.) Walde-P. 1.614.

W. *gen* : Lat. *gena* 'cheek', etc.  
Br. *elgez*, W. *elgeth* (obs.), OCorn. *elgeht* (gl. *mentum*) : OBr. *ail*, W. *ael* 'eyebrow' (4.206). Ernault, Dict. étym. 281.

4. ON, Sw. *haka*, Dan. *hage*, orig. 'hook' (as still Dan. *hage*, Sw. *hake*) : OE *haca*, *hōc*, etc. (12.75). Falk-Torp 371. Hellquist 327.

OE *cin*, OHG *kinni*, etc., general WGmc. for 'chin' = Goth. *kinnus*, ON *kinn*, etc. 'cheek' : Grk. γένυς 'jaw, cheek', etc. (4.207).

5. Lith. *smakras*, Lett. *smakrs* : Ir. *smech* 'chin', etc. (above, 3). Mühl.-Endz. 3.950.

Lett. *zuods*, mostly 'chin' but in some places 'jaw' : Lith. *žandas*, Grk. γνάθος 'jaw' (4.207). Mühl.-Endz. 4.759.

6. SCr., Boh. *brada*, also and orig. 'beard' (4.142), and fr. same source Pol. *podbrodek*, Russ. *podborodok*, lit. 'what is under the beard', fr. *pod* 'under' and *broda, boroda* 'beard'. Berneker 72.

7. Skt. *chubuka-* (RV), *cubuka-*, *cibumīnēre*, *prōmīnēre* 'stand out, project', *mōns, montis* 'mountain', etc. Walde-P. 2.263. Ernout-M. 608. Walde-H. 2.72 f.

Sp. *barba*, also and orig. 'beard', and Rum. *barbie* deriv. (\**barbilia?* Tiktin 158) of *barbā*, Lat. *barba* 'beard' (4.142).

3. Ir. *smech*, Nlr. *smeig*, *smig* : Lith. *smakras*, Lett. *smakrs* 'chin', Skt. *śmaśru-* 'beard', etc. (4.142). Walde-P. 2.689. Pedersen 1.86.

W. *gen* : Lat. *gena* 'cheek', etc.  
Br. *elgez*, W. *elgeth* (obs.), OCorn. *elgeht* (gl. *mentum*) : OBr. *ail*, W. *ael* 'eyebrow' (4.206). Ernault, Dict. étym. 281.

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## 4.22 EAR

|      |             |
|------|-------------|
| Grk. | οἶς         |
| NG   | abri        |
| Lat. | auris       |
| It.  | orecchio    |
| Fr.  | oreille     |
| Sp.  | oreja, oído |
| Rum. | ureche      |
| Ir.  | au, diáas   |
| Nlr. | cluas       |
| W.   | clust       |
| Br.  | skouarn     |

|       |                             |
|-------|-----------------------------|
| Goth. | ausō                        |
| ON    | eyra, hlust                 |
| Dan.  | øre                         |
| Sw.   | öra                         |
| OE    | ēare                        |
| ME    | ere                         |
| NE    | ear                         |
| Du.   | oor                         |
| Skt.  | śroṇ                        |
| Av.   | karna-, karəna-, uši (dual) |

Most of the words for 'ear' belong to an inherited group. These and the others, so far as their origin is clear, are related to words for 'perceive, hear' (15.11, 15.41).

1. IE \**aus-* (also \**ōus-*, \**ous-*, to account for the Grk. forms) in various formations, esp. *-i-*, *-n-*, and *-s-* stems; beside IE \**au-* in Skt. *avis* 'evidently', Grk. *αἰσθάνομαι* 'perceive', etc. Walde-P. 1.17 f. Ernout-M. 93. Walde-H. 1.85 f.

Grk. οἶς (fr. \**ōivos*, cf. ChSl. *ucho*), gen. *ōbaros*, Att. *ōrōs*, dim. form *ōriov*, used for οἶς sometimes in NT, etc., whence (through *rā ōria* > *ῥαρία*, Hatziadakis, *Mer.* 2.322) NG *avri*; Lat. *auris* in VLat. replaced by dim. *auricula*, *ōricla*, whence It. *orecchio*, Fr. *oreille*, Sp. *oreja*, Rum. *ureche*, etc. (REW 793); Ir. *au*, *ō*; Goth. *ausō*, OE *ēare*, etc., general Gmc.; Lith. *ausis*, Lett. *ausis*, OPers. *ausins* (acc. pl.); ChSl. *ucho* (*-stem*; but *i-stem* in dual, nom. *ušī*, etc.); Av. nom. dual *uši* (NPers. *hoš* 'ear'); Arm. *unkn*.

2. Sp. *oid* 'hearing' and 'ear' as organ of hearing (but not used for the external ear), deriv. of *oir* 'hear', fr. Lat. *audire* 'hear'.

3. Ir. *cluas*, Nlr. *cluas*, W. *clust* : ON *hlust* 'ear' (beside *eyra*, cf. Vigfusson s.v.), OE *hlýst* 'hearing', *hlýstan* 'hear, listen' (NE *listen*), etc. fr. IE \**klew-*, beside \**kleu-* in Skt. *gru-*, Grk. κλέω 'hear', etc., from which root also Skt. *grotra-* 'hearing, ear', Toch. A *klots*, B *klaustro* 'ear' (SSS, 128, 129). Walde-P. 1.494 f. Pedersen 1.80.

Br. *skouarn*, Corn. *scovarn*, W. *ysgyfarn* (obs.), etym. dub., but perh. fr. a \**skheu-* beside IE \**keu-* in Grk. *κοῦω* 'perceive, hear', Lat. *cavēre* 'beware', Goth. *hausjan* 'hear', OE *scēauvan* 'look at', etc. (15.41, 15.52). Henry 243. Windisch ap. Ernault, Dict. étym. 377. Less probably Pedersen 2.53.

4. Skt. *karna-*, Av. *karəna-* (of evil beings), etym.? Walde-P. 1.412, 495.

Av. *gaoša-*, OPers. *gauša-* (NPers. *goš* 'ear') : Av. *gūš-* 'hear', Skt. *ghoṣa-* 'noise', *ghoṣati* 'sounds, calls'. Walde-P. 1.569.

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Br. *skouarn*, Corn. *scovarn*, W. *ysgyfarn* (obs.), etym. dub., but perh. fr. a \**skheu-* beside IE \**keu-* in Grk. *κοῦω* 'perceive, hear', Lat. *cavēre* 'beware', Goth. *hausjan* 'hear', OE *scēauvan* 'look at', etc. (15.41, 15.52). Henry 243. Windisch ap. Ernault, Dict. étym. 377. Less probably Pedersen 2.53.

4. Skt. *karna-*, Av. *karəna-* (of evil beings), etym.? Walde-P. 1.412, 495.

Av. *gaoša-*, OPers. *gauša-* (NPers. *goš* 'ear') : Av. *gūš-* 'hear', Skt. *ghoṣa-* 'noise', *ghoṣati* 'sounds, calls'. Walde-P. 1.569.

2. Sp. *oid* 'hearing' and 'ear' as organ of hearing (but not used for the external ear), deriv. of *oir* 'hear', fr. Lat. *audire* 'hear'.

3. Ir. *cluas*, Nlr. *cluas*, W. *clust* : ON *hlust* 'ear' (beside *eyra*, cf. Vigfusson s.v.), OE *hlýst* 'hearing', *hlýstan* 'hear, listen' (NE *listen*), etc. fr. IE \**klew-*, beside \**kleu-* in Skt. *gru-*, Grk. κλέω 'hear', etc., from which root also Skt. *grotra-* 'hearing, ear', Toch. A *klots*, B *klaustro* 'ear' (SSS, 128, 129). Walde-P. 1.494 f. Pedersen 1.80.

Br. *skouarn*, Corn. *scovarn*, W. *ysgyfarn* (obs.), etym. dub., but perh. fr. a \**skheu-* beside IE \**keu-* in Grk. *κοῦω* 'perceive, hear', Lat. *cavēre* 'beware', Goth. *hausjan* 'hear', OE *scēauvan* 'look at', etc. (15.41, 15.52). Henry 243. Windisch ap. Ernault, Dict. étym. 377. Less probably Pedersen 2.53.

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2. Sp. *oid* 'hearing' and 'ear' as organ of hearing (but not used for the external ear), deriv. of *oir* 'hear', fr. Lat. *audire* 'hear'.

3. Ir. *cluas*, Nlr. *cluas*, W. *clust* : ON *hlust* 'ear' (beside *eyra*, cf. Vigfusson s.v.), OE *hlýst*



| 4.24 MOUTH            |                                 |                               |  |
|-----------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------------|--|
| Grk. <i>στόμα</i>     | Goth. <i>munþs</i>              | Lith. <i>burna</i>            |  |
| NG <i>στόμα</i>       | ON <i>munnr</i> ( <i>māðr</i> ) | Lett. <i>mule</i>             |  |
| Lat. <i>os</i>        | Dan. <i>mund</i>                | ChSl. <i>usta</i>             |  |
| It. <i>bocca</i>      | Sw. <i>mun</i>                  | Scr. <i>usta</i>              |  |
| Fr. <i>bouche</i>     | OE <i>mūþ</i>                   | Boh. <i>usta</i>              |  |
| Sp. <i>boca</i>       | OE <i>mouthe</i>                | Pol. <i>usta, gęba</i>        |  |
| Rum. <i>gură</i>      | NE <i>mouh</i>                  | Russ. <i>rot</i>              |  |
| Ir. <i>gín, béoil</i> | Du. <i>mond</i>                 | Skt. <i>mukha-, ās-, etc.</i> |  |
| NIr. <i>béal</i>      | OHG <i>mund</i>                 | Av. <i>dh-, zafar-</i>        |  |
| W. <i>geneu</i>       | MHG <i>munt</i>                 |                               |  |
| Br. <i>genou</i>      | NHG <i>mund</i>                 |                               |  |

The IE word for 'mouth' persisted in several languages in the literal sense, in some others in secondary uses, but was to a large extent replaced by other words. Most of these were originally expressions applied to the mouth of animals and vulgarly of persons, like Lat. *rōstrum*, NHG *maul*, NE *jaw*, *snout*, *mug*, and many others (not included in the list, except where they have become standard words for 'mouth'). There is frequent association between 'mouth' and 'throat', 'jaw', 'cheek', 'chin' or 'lip'.

1. IE *\*ō(u)s-*, *\*aus-*. Walde-P. 1.168. Ernout-M. 714 f.

Lat. *os* (also *ostium* 'door, entrance, river-mouth', *ōra* 'edge, coast'; Ir. *ā* (rare); OPruss. *austo* (Lat. *uostas* 'river-mouth'); ChSl. *usta*, etc., general Slavic (but Russ. *usta* obs.); Skt. *ās-, āsan-, āsya-*, Av. *dh-* (also Skt. *oṣṭha-*, Av. *aōšta-* 'lip'); cf. also ON *öss* 'river-mouth', OE *ōr* 'beginning', *ōra* 'edge, bank', etc. But Hitt. *ais*, gen. *issas* 'mouth' (Sturtevant, Hitt. Gloss. with refs.) points to a parallel *\*ōis-*.

2. Grk. *στόμα* : Av. *staman-* 'dog's mouth', W. *safn* 'mouth, jaws' (of animals), MBr. *staffn*, Br. *staoñ* 'palate', root connection? Walde-P. 2.648. Pedersen 1.78.

3. It. *bocca*, Fr. *bouche*, Sp. *boca*, fr. Lat. *bucca* 'puffed-out cheek' (4.208) and also a pop. substitute for *os* (cf. Thes.

s.v.). Ernout-M.110. Walde-H. 2.120. REW 1357.

Rum. *gură* (so Alb. *gojë* 'mouth', Fr. *gueule* 'mouth, jaws' of animals, in some dial. common word for 'mouth'), fr. Lat. *gula* 'throat, gullet' (4.29).

Lat. *gurgēs* 'whirlpool', late *gurga*, has through 'throat' (Fr. *gorge*) given dial. words for 'mouth'; likewise Lat. *rōstrum* 'beak, snout, mouth' (of animals, vulgarly of persons), as ORum. *rost*. REW 3921, 7386.

4. Ir. *gín*, W. *geneu* (beside *gen* 'chin'), Br. *genou* : Lat. *gena*, Goth. *kinnus* 'cheek', etc. (4.207).

Ir. *béoil*, NIr. *béal*, see *bél* 'lip' (4.25).

5. Goth. *munþs*, OE *māþ*, OHG *mund*, etc., general Gmc., prob. : Lat. *mentum* 'chin', etc. (4.209), rather than : Lat. *mandere* 'chew', as preferred in Walde-P. 2.270, Falk-Torp 738. Feist 368. Ernout-M. 608.

6. Lith. *burna* : Bulg. *būrna* 'lip', Arm. *beran* 'mouth', Ir. *bern* 'cleft, gap', Grk. *φάραγξ* 'cleft, ravine', *φάρυγξ* 'throat', etc. Walde-P. 2.159. Trautmann 40.

Lett. *mule* : Skt. *mukha-* 'mouth', etc. (below, 8).

7. ChSl. *usta*, etc., above, 1.

Pol. *gęba* : Boh. *huba*, SCR. *gubica* (both 'mouth' only in derogatory sense, 'mug'), Russ. *guba* 'lip', ChSl. *gęba* 'sponge', Lith. *gumbas* 'swelling, protu-

berance', Lett. *gumba* 'tumor', etc. Walde-P. 1.568. Brückner 138 ff. (Berneker 340 makes two separate groups) Russ. *rot* : ChSl. *rūtū* 'peak', SCR. *rt* 'promontory', Boh. *ret* 'lip', etc., these prob. as orig. 'projection' (whence 'mouth' or 'lip' through 'snout' of animals) : Lat. *oriri* 'rise', Skt. *r̥sya-* 'high', etc. G. S. Lane, AJPh. 54.64.

8. Skt. (beside *ās-*, etc., above, 1)

| 4.25 LIP                          |                                  |                        |  |
|-----------------------------------|----------------------------------|------------------------|--|
| Grk. <i>χείλος</i>                | Goth. <i>wairilōm</i> (dat. pl.) | Lith. <i>lūpa</i>      |  |
| NG <i>χείλος</i> , <i>χείλα</i>   | ON <i>vorr</i>                   | Lett. <i>lūpa</i>      |  |
| Lat. <i>labrum</i>                | Dan. <i>læbe</i>                 | ChSl. <i>ustina</i>    |  |
| It. <i>labbro</i>                 | Sw. <i>læppe</i>                 | SCR. <i>usne</i>       |  |
| Fr. <i>lèvre</i>                  | OE <i>weler, lippa</i>           | Boh. <i>vet (pyks)</i> |  |
| Sp. <i>labio</i>                  | ME <i>lippe</i>                  | Pol. <i>warga</i>      |  |
| Rum. <i>buză</i>                  | NE <i>lip</i>                    | Russ. <i>guba</i>      |  |
| Ir. <i>bél</i>                    | Du. <i>lip</i>                   | Skt. <i>oṣṭha-</i>     |  |
| NIr. <i>béal, puisin</i>          | OHG <i>leffur, lefs</i>          | Av. <i>aōšta</i>       |  |
| W. <i>gwefus</i> ( <i>gwefl</i> ) | MHG <i>lefs(e)</i>               |                        |  |
| Br. <i>gwuez</i> , <i>muzell</i>  | NHG <i>lippe</i>                 |                        |  |

Some of the words for 'lip' are from the notion of 'hanging down' or 'projecting'. Several are connected with words for 'mouth', the lips being the visible part of the mouth.

1. Grk. *χείλος*, Dor. *χῆλος*, Aeol. *χῆλλος* ('*χῆλλος*; cf. also *χῆλῶν*), NG *χείλα* (based on pl. *ρά χείλα*) : ON *gǫllnar* 'gills', root connection? Walde-P. 1.632. Falk-Torp 319.

2. Lat. *labrum* (> It. *labro*), pl. *labra*, late as fem. sg. (> Fr. *lèvre*), *labium* (> Sp. *labio*) : OE *lippa*, NE *lip*, OHG *leffur, lefs*, NHG *lippe* (fr. LG), etc. (see list), root connection uncertain, but more prob. : Skt. *lamb-* 'hang down', Lat. *labāre* 'slip', etc. (on semantic side, cf. below, 5) than : Lat. *lambere* 'lick'. Walde-P. 2.384. Ernout-M. 513. Walde-H. 1.738 f. REW 4808, 4813. Falk-Torp 672.

Rum. *buză*, fr. or like Alb. *buzë* 'lip' (cf. below, 3).

Br. *muzell*, fr. Prov. *muzel* (Fr. *museau*) 'snout, muzzle', dim. of *\*māsus*, It. *muso*, etc. Henry 208. REW 5784.

4. OE *lippa*, etc., above, 2.

Goth. *wairilōm* (dat. pl.), ON *vorr*, OFris. *were*, OE *weler* (fr. *\*werel*) : OPruss. *wasarus* 'lip', and perh. through notion of 'protuberance' : OE *wearr* 'callous skin', Lat. *verruca* 'height' and

'wart', Skt. *varṣman-* 'height', etc. Walde-P. 1.266 ff. Feist 545.

5. Lith. *lūpa*, Lett. *lūpa* : LG *lobbe* 'hanging lip', Fris. *lobbe* 'hanging lump of flesh', NE *lob* (NED *lob*, sb.), etc., with common notion of 'loosely hanging'. Walde-P. 2.710.

6. ChSl. *ustina*, SCR. *usne*, deriv. of *usta* 'mouth' : Skt. *oṣṭha-*, Av. *aōšta-* 'lip', Lat. *ostium* 'door, entrance, river-mouth', etc., all deriv. of word for 'mouth' (4.24). Walde-P. 1.168 ff.

Boh. *ret* : ChSl. *rūtū* 'peak', SCR. *rt* 'promontory', Russ. *rot* 'mouth' (4.24).

Boh. *pyks* = Pol. *pyks* 'snout' : Boh. *puchnouti*, Pol. *puchnąć* 'swell', Grk. *φούσω* 'blow', etc. Walde-P. 2.81. Brückner 449 f.

Pol. *warga*, perh. : OPruss. *wasarus* 'lip', etc. (above, 4). Brückner 602.

Russ. *guba* : Pol. *gęba* 'mouth', etc. (4.24), with shift to 'lips' in pl. *guby*, whence sg. in same sense.

7. Skt. *oṣṭha-*, Av. *aōšta-*, see above, 6.

## 4.26 TONGUE

|                    |                    |                           |
|--------------------|--------------------|---------------------------|
| Grk. <i>γλῶσσα</i> | Goth. <i>tuggō</i> | Lith. <i>liežiuris</i>    |
| NG <i>γλῶσσα</i>   | ON <i>tunga</i>    | Lett. <i>mēle</i>         |
| Lat. <i>lingua</i> | Dan. <i>tunge</i>  | ChSl. <i>językū</i>       |
| It. <i>lingua</i>  | Sw. <i>tunga</i>   | SCR. <i>jezi-</i>         |
| Fr. <i>langue</i>  | OE <i>tunge</i>    | Boh. <i>jazyk</i>         |
| Sp. <i>lengua</i>  | ME <i>tounge</i>   | Pol. <i>język</i>         |
| Rum. <i>limbă</i>  | NE <i>tongue</i>   | Russ. <i>язык</i>         |
| Ir. <i>tenge</i>   | Du. <i>tong</i>    | Skt. <i>jihvā-</i>        |
| NIr. <i>teanga</i> | OHG <i>zunga</i>   | Av. <i>hižui-, hižui-</i> |
| W. <i>tafod</i>    | MHG <i>zunge</i>   |                           |
| Br. <i>teod</i>    | NHG <i>zunge</i>   |                           |

The majority of the words for 'tongue' belong to an inherited group, of unknown root connection. Secondary association with words for 'lick' is shown by some. Most of the words for 'tongue' are also used for 'language' (see 18.24).

1. IE *\*d̥ǵh₂wā-* or the like, but various phonetic difficulties involved. Walde-P. 1.792. Ernout-M. 553. Walde-H. 1.806 f.

Lat. *lingua* (> the Romance words), with dial. *l* (supported by association with *lingere* 'lick') fr. old *d̥ingua* (quoted by grammarians); Ir. *tenge*, NIr. *teanga*, W. *tafod*, Br. *teod* (all with unexplained init. *t*; Pedersen 1.88 assumes init. *zd*); Goth. *tuggō*, OE *tunge*, OHG *zunga*, etc., general Gmc.; OPruss. *inzwis*, Lith. *liežiuris* (re-formed by association with *liežiū* 'lick'), ChSl. *językū*,

etc., general Slavic (all with unexplained loss of init. *d*, as in Lith. *ilgas* 'long' for *\*dilgas*); here also (with metathesis) Toch. A *kāntu*, B. *kāntwa* (Pisani, KZ 64.100 f.; Benveniste, Hirt Festschrift 2.235).

2. Grk. *γλῶσσα*, Att. *γλῶττα*, Ion. *γλῶσσα* : *γλῶττι* 'point', *γλῶττι* 'beard of corn', outside connection dub. Walde-P. 1.662.

3. Lett. *mēle*, etym.? Mühl-Endz. 2.614. Berneker 2.72, 74.

4. Skt. *jihvā-*, Av. *hižui-, hižui-*, OPer. acc. sg. *h(i)zbanam* (for reading, cf. Kent, Language 19.226 f.), NPers. *zabān*, all as if fr. an IE *\*siǵh₂wā-* (init. *s* > Iran. *h*; Skt. *j* by assim. to following palatal), and so possibly a blend of IE *\*d̥ǵh₂wā-* (above, 1) with some other word. Barth. 1815 with references.

## 4.28 NECK

|  |  |                              |
|--|--|------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>αἰχτήν, τράχηλος, ἄσθρ</i>             | Goth. <i>hals</i>                            | Lith. <i>kaklas</i>          |
| NG <i>λαμῖος</i>                               | ON <i>hals</i> , <i>swiri</i>                | Lett. <i>kakls</i>           |
| Lat. <i>collum</i>                             | Dan. <i>hals</i>                             | ChSl. <i>nyja, šija</i>      |
| It. <i>collo</i>                               | Sw. <i>hals</i>                              | SCR. <i>vrat (šija)</i>      |
| Fr. <i>cou</i>                                 | OE <i>heals</i> , <i>swēora</i>              | Boh. <i>krk, šije</i>        |
| Sp. <i>cuello</i>                              | ME <i>hals</i> , <i>swere</i> , <i>necke</i> | Pol. <i>szuja, kark</i>      |
| Rum. <i>git</i>                                | NE <i>neck</i>                               | Russ. <i>šija</i>            |
| Ir. <i>brāge</i> , <i>muin</i> , <i>muinēl</i> | Du. <i>hals</i>                              | Skt. <i>grivā-, kaniṭha-</i> |
| NIr. <i>muinēal</i> , <i>brāgha</i>            | OHG <i>hals</i>                              | Av. <i>manaōbri-, grivā-</i> |
| W. <i>gwddf</i> , <i>munwgl</i>                | MHG <i>hals</i> , <i>kraze</i>               |                              |
| Br. <i>gouzoug</i>                             | NHG <i>hals</i>                              |                              |

Some words for 'neck' originally denoted only the 'back (nape) of the neck' (cf. NE *neck* : NHG *nacken*), and rest on the notion of 'projection, ridge'.

2. Ir. *fiacail*, NIr. *fiacal*, deriv. of a rare *fec* 'tooth' (Windisch 538), NIr. *feac* (Dinneen), this perh. in orig. identical with Ir. *fec*, NIr. *feac* 'spade' (though differing in decl. and gender), of which the etym. is dub. (Pedersen 1.159. Walde-P. 1.316). But cf. also Zupitza, KZ 36.208.

3. Lett. *zuoabs*, ChSl. *zqbū*, etc., general Slavic : Lith. *žambas* 'edge of a beam', Grk. *γρόφος* 'bolt, pin, etc.', *γροφίος* 'molar tooth', Skt. *jambha-* 'tooth, tusk', Alb. *dhēmp* 'tooth', OE *comb* 'comb', etc., all with common notion of 'tooth' or 'toothlike object'. Walde-P. 1.575 ff. (with needless division of Grk. *γρόφος* into two words). Here also Toch. A *kam*, B *keme* 'tooth'.

'throat', with extension from the internal throat (cf. 4.29), the latter being the front of the neck, hence 'neck'. In general, words for 'throat' are sometimes used for 'neck', as conversely (cf. NHG *halsweh* 'sore throat', etc.).

1. Grk. *αἰχτήν* (Hom. +, regular word in Aristot. and not at all restricted to 'nape of the neck'), perh. : Arm. *awj-* in *awji-k* 'collar'. N. Adontz, Mélanges Boissac 1.10.

Grk. *τράχηλος* (Hdt. +, displacing *αἰχτήν* in Hellenistic Grk., as always in NT), prob. : *τράχος* 'wheel', *τράχω* 'run', etc. Walde-P. 1.874 f. (with query, but favored by analogies).

Grk. *ἄσθρ* (poet.), see below, 7.

Grk. *λαμῖος* 'throat' (4.29) is in NG also the usual word for 'neck' (*τράχηλος* lit.). Cf. also *σβέρος* (= Alb. *swerk*) and *σνίχι* 'nape of the neck', loanwords but ultimate source?

2. Lat. *collum* (> It. *collo*, Fr. *cou*, Sp. *cuello*; Fr. *col* 'neck' of bottles, dresses, etc.) : Goth. *hals*, OE *heals*, etc., general Gmc. word for 'neck', all prob. fr. IE *\*k<sup>w</sup>el-* 'turn around' in Skt. *car-*, Grk. *πέλομαι*, etc., also Lith. *kaklas* 'neck' (below, 5), rather than fr. *\*kel-* 'rise, project' in *celsus* 'high', *collis* 'hill', etc., though either connection is possible phonetically, and semantically according as the words orig. denoted the 'round' neck' or the 'nape of the neck'.

Ernout-M. 204. Walde-H. 1.245 (vs. Walde-P. 1.434). Feist 242.

Rum. *gît*, orig. 'throat' (hence *gîtlee* 'throat'), loanword fr. Slavic, SCR. *gûd* 'throat' (obs., but *gutati* 'swallow'), Slov. *gol* 'throat', Bulg. *gûltik* 'a swallow', etc., these : Lat. *gula* 'throat', etc. (4.29). Tiktin 684. Berneker 309.

3. Ir. *brāge* 'neck' and rarely (inner) 'throat' (cf. K. Meyer, Contrib. s.v.), NIr. *brāgha* mostly 'throat' : MHG *kraze* (below, 4), Grk. *βρόχος* 'throat',

Skt. *gr-* 'swallow', Lith. *gerti* 'drink', etc. Walde-P. 1.683. Pedersen 1.100, 183.

Ir. *muin*, *muinēl* 'nape of the neck', NIr. *muinēal* 'neck', W. *mun* (arch.), *munwgl* 'neck' : ON *men*, OE *mene* 'necklace' (also OE *manu* 'mane', etc.), Lat. *monile* 'necklace, collar', Skt. *manyā-* 'nape of the neck', Av. *minu-* 'necklace', *manaōbri-* 'neck' (both words in Yt. 5.127, cf. Barth. 1126), all prob. fr. IE *\*men-* 'project' in Lat. *ēminere*, *prominere* 'project', *mōns* 'mountain', etc. Walde-P. 2.305, 265. Pedersen 1.33.

W. *gwddf*, Br. *gouzoug* (both also 'throat'), etym.? Pedersen 1.63. Henry 142. Morris Jones 145 (cf. Loth, RC 36.170).

4. Goth. *hals*, etc., above, 2.

ON *swiri*, OE *swēora*, *swira* (so, not *heals*, always in the Gospels), ME *swere* (cf. NED s.v. *swire*) : OE *swer*, *sweor* 'column', Skt. *svaru-* 'post', etc. Walde-P. 1.528.

ME *necke*, NE *neck*, fr. OE *hnecca* 'nape of the neck' : ON *hnakki*, OHG *hnac*, NHG *nacken*, etc. general Gmc. for 'nape of the neck', prob. : Ir. *cnoc* 'hill', etc. Walde-P. 1.391. Falk-Torp 754.

MHG *kraze* 'neck, throat, collar' (NHG *kragen* 'collar', rarely 'neck', Du. *kraag* 'collar'; ME *crave*, NE *craw* with only specialized meaning) : Ir. *brāge*, etc. above, 3.

5. Lith. *kaklas*, Lett. *kakls* : Grk. *κύκλος* 'circle', Skt. *cakra-* 'circle, wheel', OE *hweol* 'wheel', etc., fr. IE *\*k<sup>w</sup>el-* 'turn', as prob. also Lat. *collum*, Goth. *hals*, etc. (above, 2). Walde-P. 1.515.

6. ChSl. *vyja* (so always in Gospels, Supr., etc., *šija* only in later texts), etym.? Löwenthal, Z. sl. Ph. 8.129, connects with Av. *uyamna-* 'lacking, deficient' (Walde-P. 1.108) as if orig. 'neck-hole' (in a garment).

(> It., Sp. *gola* 'throat', but Fr. *gueule* 'jaws', Rum. *gură* 'mouth'; REW 3910); OE *ceole*, Du. *keel*, OHG *kela*, MHG *kele*, NHG *kehle*.

IE *\*g<sup>er</sup>-*. Walde-P. 1.682 ff. Ernout-M. 438. Walde-H. 1.627 f. Falk-Torp 605. Berneker 369.

Lat. *gurgēs* 'abyss, whirlpool' (also 'gullet' to be inferred fr. *ingurgitare* 'gorge oneself'), VLat. *\*gurga* (> Fr. *gorge* 'throat'; REW 3921); ON *kverkr* (pl.); Lith. *gerklė*, OPruss. *gurke*; ChSl. *grūlo*, SCR. *grlo*, Boh. *hrdlo*, etc., general Slavic (*\*gūrdlo*, Berneker 369); here (or in preceding group?) Skt. *gala-*, Av. *garō* (pl.), *garāman-* (in pl.), NPers. *gulā*.

2. Grk. *λαμῖος*, prob. (as fr. *\*λαμῖος*) : *λάμια* 'abysses', *λαμυρός* 'greedy', also *λαμία* 'monster', Lat. *lemures* 'ghosts'. Walde-P. 2.377, 434. Otherwise Boissac 551.

Grk. *σφαγή* or pl. *σφαγαί* (both in Aristot.) 'throat', this prob. the earliest meaning of the word, whence *σφαγῶ* 'cut the throat, slay' (cf. Lat. *iugulāre* 'slay' fr. *iugulum* 'throat') and the resulting common use of *σφαγή* as 'slaughter'. No accepted etym., but prob. connected by a series of parallel root-forms, with *σφῆξ*, Dor. *σφῆξ* (gen. -*κός*) 'wasp', *σφῆν*, Dor. *σφῆν* 'wedge', *σφιγγω* 'bind tight, constrict', all with common notion of 'narrow'. Cf. Dan. *strube*, etc., below, 4. (Different combinations in Walde-P. 2.651-53, 658.)

Grk. *στόμαχος* 'throat, gullet' (Hom., and reg. word for 'gullet' in Aristot., who does not use *λαμῖος* at all), only later 'stomach', fr. *στόμα* 'mouth', hence the passage from the mouth to the stomach, cf. Aristot. HA 595<sup>19</sup> ff. *ὁ δὲ στόμαχος φησὶται μὲν ἄνωθεν ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος, . . . τελευτᾷ δὲ . . . εἰς τὴν κοιλίαν*.

3. Lett. *faucēs* (sg. *faux* rare), 'throat' (internal, esp. upper part), etym.? Walde-P. 1.565. Ernout-M. 339 f.

Lat. *iugulum* 'throat' (external), orig. the collarbone, joining the breastbone and shoulder blade : *iugum* 'yoke', *iungere* 'join'. Walde-P. 1.201. Ernout-M. 502. Walde-H. 1.737 f.

Lat. *gula*, etc., above, 1.

Lat. *guttur* 'throat' (internal), prob. : Hitt. *kuttar* 'neck, strength' and a large group of words denoting diverse objects of a round or curved shape. Walde-P. 1.560. Ernout-M. 439 f. Walde-H. 1.629.

It. *strozza* (whence *strozzare* 'throttle'), fr. a Langobard form like MLG *strozze* (

hoe', ON *skilja* 'divide, separate', Lith. *skilti* 'split', etc. Walde-P. 2.593. Solmsen, Beitrage 198 (but the assumed development first to 'shoulder blade as implement for digging' with closer relation to Grk. *σκαλῖς* is not necessary; cf. the derivation of Fr. *épaule*, etc., and W. *ysgwydd*, above).

5. Lith. *petys*, OPruss. *pettis*, *pette*, prob. through 'shoulder blade' fr. the notion 'flat, spread out': Grk. *περαννῶν* 'spread out', Lat. *pandere* 'spread, open', Av. *padana-* 'broad'. Walde-P. 2.18.

Lett. *plecs*, mostly pl. *pleci*, either loanword fr. Russ. *pleči* (below, 6), or as native word: Lett. *plāce* 'shoulder blade', *plakt* 'become flat', Grk. *πλάξ* 'flat surface', etc. Walde-P. 2.90 Mühl.-Endz. 332 ff., 328.

Lett. *kamišis*, OPruss. *caymois* ('*cam-mois*'), perh. : Arm. *k'amak* 'back'. Li-d'n, Arm. Stud. 30. Mühl.-Endz. 2.151.

## 4.31 ARM

|      |                             |       |             |
|------|-----------------------------|-------|-------------|
| Grk. | <i>βραχίον, πῆχυς, χεῖρ</i> | Goth. | <i>arms</i> |
| NG   | <i>χίρ, μπράτσο</i>         | ON    | <i>armr</i> |
| Lat. | <i>brachium</i>             | Dan.  | <i>arm</i>  |
| It.  | <i>braccio</i>              | Sw.   | <i>arm</i>  |
| Fr.  | <i>bras</i>                 | OE    | <i>earm</i> |
| Sp.  | <i>brazo</i>                | ME    | <i>arm</i>  |
| Rum. | <i>braț</i>                 | NE    | <i>arm</i>  |
| Ir.  | <i>lám, dóe</i>             | Du.   | <i>arm</i>  |
| Nlr. | <i>lámh</i>                 | OHG   | <i>arm</i>  |
| W.   | <i>braich</i>               | MHG   | <i>arm</i>  |
| Br.  | <i>brec'h</i>               | NHG   | <i>arm</i>  |

Many of the words for 'arm' belong to an inherited group, derived from the notion of 'joint', and applied to both 'arm' and 'shoulder'. In several languages the words for 'hand' are extended to include, and in some are the usual terms for, 'arm' (cf. 'foot' for 'leg', 4.35).

1. IE *\*arəmo-s*, *\*rmo-s*, fr. IE *\*ar(ə)*- in Grk. *ἀρσενικόν* 'fit', *ἄρθρον* 'joint', Lat. *artus* 'joint', etc. Walde-P. 1.73. Ernout-M. 74. Walde-H. 1.69.

Lat. *armus* mostly 'shoulder, fore-quarter' of animals, rarely 'arm' of men; Goth. *arms*, etc., general Gmc.; OPruss. *irmo* 'arm'; ChSl. *ramo, rame*, SCr. *rame* 'shoulder', Boh. *rámě, rameno*, mostly 'arm', Pol. *ramię*, 'shoulder, arm'; Skt. *irma-* 'forequarter' of an animal; Av. *arəma-* in *arəməōšāta-* 'thrown by the arm'; Arm. *armuka* 'elbow'.

2. IE *\*bhāghu-* Walde-P. 2.130. Grk. *πῆχυς*, Dor. *πᾶχυς*, mostly 'fore-

arm', but also 'arm' (as Hom., II. 5.314); Skt. *bāhu-*, Av. *bāzu-* (NPers. *bāzū*) 'arm'; ON *bōgr*, OE *bōg*, OHG *buog* 'shoulder' (mostly of animals); Toch. A *poke* 'arm' (SSS, p. 3, ftn. 1).

3. Grk. *βραχίον*, in part 'upper arm' (e.g. vs. *πῆχυς* in Plat. Tim. 75a; but also = *πῆχυς* in Aristot. HA 698<sup>b2</sup>), but mostly generic (cf. esp. Aristot. HA 493<sup>b26</sup> f. with subordinate sequence *ὤμων, ἀγκώνων*, *ὠλέκρανον*, *πῆχυς, χεῖρ* 'shoulder, upper arm, elbow, forearm, hand'), an old comparative of *βραχύς* 'short', to be understood as first applied to the upper arm as 'shorter' than the forearm (including the hand; less prob. as shorter than the leg). Bechtel, Lexilogus zu Homer 83.

Hence Lat. *brachium* > It. *braccio* (> NG *μπράτσο*), Fr. *bras*, Sp. *brazo*, Rum. *braț*, W. *braich*, Br. *brec'h*. Ernout-M. 116. Walde-H. 1.114. REW 1256. Loth, Mots lat. 140.

Grk. *χείρ* 'hand' (4.33) is also used for 'arm' (Hom.); the double use is noted by Rufus, Onom. 82 *χείρ δὲ τὸ ὅλον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὤμου καὶ ὃ κρατοῦμεν*), and NG *χέρις* is the usual pop. word for 'arm' as well as 'hand'.

4. Ir. *lām*, Nlr. *lámh* 'hand' (4.33), also 'arm'.

Ir. *dōe* : Skt. *dōṣ-* 'forearm', Av. *daoš-* 'upper arm, shoulder' (4.30).

W. *braich*, Br. *brec'h*, fr. Lat. *brachium* (above, 3).

5. Goth. *arms*, etc., above, 1. ON *handlegg* (so reg. Nicel. *handlegg* replaces old *armr*), also *armlegg*, cpds. of 'hand' and 'arm' with *legg* 'hollow bone of foot or arm', esp. 'leg' (4.35).

ON *hpnđ* 'hand' (4.33), also 'arm'. 6. Lith. *ranka*, Lett. *ruoka*, SCr., Russ. *ruka*, Pol. *ręka* 'hand' and 'arm', but orig. only the former. Cf. ChSl. *raĭka* 'hand' (4.33).

ChSl. *myšica* (SCr. *mišica* 'arm' and 'muscle'), deriv. of ChSl. *myšī* 'mouse' in transferred sense 'muscle' (from the resemblance between the muscle of upper arm especially and a mouse). Cf. Lat. *māsculus* 'little mouse, muscle', Grk. *μῦς* 'mouse' and 'muscle', etc. Walde-P. 1.312 f. Ernout-M. 645 f.

Boh. *rámě, rameno*, Pol. *ramię*, above, 1.

Boh. *paže* : Russ. *pacha* 'armpit', *pach* 'groin', *paz* 'groove, joint', Skt. *pakṣa-* 'wing, side', all prob. fr. the root *\*pāg-* in Grk. *πήγνυμι* 'fix', OHG *fuoga* 'joint', etc. Walde-P. 2.3 f. Brückner 400.

7. Skt. *bāhu-*, Av. *bāzu-*, above, 2. Skt. *bhuja-* : Skt. *bhuj-*, Goth. *biug-an*, OHG *biogan* 'bend', etc. Walde-P. 2.145 f.

## 4.32 ELBOW

|      |                         |       |                     |
|------|-------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | <i>ἀγκών, ὠλέκρανον</i> | Goth. | ...                 |
| NG   | <i>ἀγκώνας</i>          | ON    | <i>ǣlbuogi</i>      |
| Lat. | <i>cubitus</i>          | Dan.  | <i>albuc</i>        |
| It.  | <i>gomito</i>           | Sw.   | <i>arnbåge</i>      |
| Fr.  | <i>coudé</i>            | OE    | <i>elnboga</i>      |
| Sp.  | <i>codo</i>             | ME    | <i>elbowe</i>       |
| Rum. | <i>cot</i>              | NE    | <i>elbow</i>        |
| Ir.  | <i>uillind</i>          | Du.   | <i>elleboog</i>     |
| Nlr. | <i>uille</i>            | OHG   | <i>e(l)l(b)uozo</i> |
| W.   | <i>elín</i>             | MHG   | <i>e(l)lenboge</i>  |
| Br.  | <i>ilín</i>             | NHG   | <i>ellenbogen</i>   |

'hand'), Toch. A *tsar*, B *šar*, Sturtevant, Hitt. Gram. 89. Duchesne-Guillemin, BSL 39.211 ff.

2. Lat. *manus* (> It., Sp. *mano*, Fr. *main*, Rum. *mână*), Osc. *manim* 'manum', Umbr. *mani* 'manu', etc. : ON *mund* 'hand', OE *mund*, OHG *mund* 'hand' (but more usually 'protection, guardianship'), Grk. *μάχη* 'hand' (Pind.; cf. *εὐμαρής*), IE *\*mər-*, *\*mən-* (or *\*mṛ-*, *\*mṛ-*), *\*mṛt-* (orig. an *r/n* stem). Walde-P. 2.272. Ernout-M. 591 f. Walde-H. 2.34 f.

3. Ir. *lām*, Nlr. *lámh*, W. *llaw* : OE *folm* 'palm, hand', *folme* 'hand', OS *folmōls* pl. 'hands', OHG *folma* 'palm', Lat. *palmā* 'palm', Grk. *παλάμη* 'palm' (Grk. and Lat. forms also used for 'hand'), Skt. *pāṇi-* 'hand' (*\*parni-*), Av. *parəna-* 'cupped hollow hand', all with orig. application to the '(flat) palm' only, fr. the root in Lat. *palam* 'openly', *plānus* 'smooth, flat', etc. Walde-P. 2.62. Ernout-M. 725.

Br. *dornn* = Corn. *dorn*, W. *dwrn*, Ir. *dorn* 'fist' : Lett. *dūre, dūris* 'fist', orig. 'fist' in striking, fr. *dūrt* 'sting, thrust' (cf. Lat. *pugnus* 'fist' : *pungere* 'sting', orig. 'thrust'). Walde-P. 1.794 f.

## 4.34 FINGER

|      |                 |       |               |
|------|-----------------|-------|---------------|
| Grk. | <i>δάκτυλος</i> | Goth. | <i>figgra</i> |
| NG   | <i>δάχτυλο</i>  | ON    | <i>fingr</i>  |
| Lat. | <i>digitus</i>  | Dan.  | <i>finger</i> |
| It.  | <i>dito</i>     | Sw.   | <i>finger</i> |
| Fr.  | <i>doigt</i>    | OE    | <i>finger</i> |
| Sp.  | <i>dedo</i>     | ME    | <i>finger</i> |
| Rum. | <i>deget</i>    | NE    | <i>finger</i> |
| Nlr. | <i>mēc</i>      | Du.   | <i>vinger</i> |
| W.   | <i>mācar</i>    | OHG   | <i>finġar</i> |
| Br.  | <i>biz</i>      | MHG   | <i>vinger</i> |
|      |                 | NHG   | <i>finger</i> |

There is no inherited group pointing to an IE word for 'finger', but mostly agreement within the several branches, as Gmc., Balto-Slavic, etc. These independent terms are in most cases of

|       |                         |
|-------|-------------------------|
| Lith. | <i>pirštas</i>          |
| Lett. | <i>pirkstas</i>         |
| ChSl. | <i>prǣstā, prǣstū</i>   |
| SCr.  | <i>prst</i>             |
| Boh.  | <i>prst</i>             |
| Pol.  | <i>palec</i>            |
| Russ. | <i>palec (persl)</i>    |
| Skt.  | <i>aṅgulī-</i>          |
| Av.   | <i>arəcu-, angūšta-</i> |

doubtful, if not wholly obscure, etymology.

1. Grk. *δάκτυλος*, also neut. pl. *δάκτυλα* (Theoc. +) hence NG neut. *δάκτυλο*, prob. fr. *\*dāc-kūlos* (cf. Boeot.

*δάκτυλος*), but etym. dub. Perh. orig. 'tip' (whence 'finger' and 'toe') : ON *tindr* 'point, mountain peak', OE *tind*, OHG *zinna* 'prong', etc., though for these there are other possible connections. Walde-P. 1.120 ff. Boisaq 164.

2. Lat. *digitus* (> the Romance words), prob. fr. IE *\*deig-* in Goth. *taikns* 'sign', etc., beside *taik-* in Grk. *δείκνυμι*, Skt. *diṣ-* 'point out', Lat. *dicere* 'say' (fr. 'point out'), *index* 'index finger', prob. also OE *tā* 'toe', etc. (as orig. 'finger'). Walde-P. 1.776 f. Ernout-M. 268, 271. Walde-H. 1.351.

3. Ir. *mēr*, Nlr. *mēar*, etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.221, 223. Pedersen 1.134.

W. *bys*, Br. *biz*, possibly : ON *kviðr* 'twig'. Walde-P. 1.694. Pedersen 1.79. 4. Goth. *figgra*, OE *finger*, etc., general Gmc., perh. fr. *\*penk-wrōs* : Ir. *cōicer* 'number of five', fr. IE *\*penk-e* 'five'. Walde-P. 2.26. Falk-Torp 218. Feist 150.

## 4.342 THUMB

|      |                                  |       |                     |
|------|----------------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | <i>μέγας δάκτυλος, ἀντίχειρ</i>  | Goth. | ...                 |
| NG   | <i>μεγάλο δάχτυλο</i>            | ON    | <i>þumalfinger</i>  |
| Lat. | <i>pollex</i>                    | Dan.  | <i>tommelfinger</i> |
| It.  | <i>pollice</i>                   | Sw.   | <i>tumme</i>        |
| Fr.  | <i>pouce</i>                     | OE    | <i>þūma</i>         |
| Sp.  | <i>pulgar</i>                    | ME    | <i>thoum(b)e</i>    |
| Rum. | <i>degetul cel gros, policar</i> | NE    | <i>thumb</i>        |
| Ir.  | <i>ordu</i>                      | Du.   | <i>duim</i>         |
| Nlr. | <i>ordog</i>                     | OHG   | <i>dāmo</i>         |
| W.   | <i>bawd, bodfys</i>              | MHG   | <i>dāme</i>         |
| Br.  |                                  | NHG   | <i>daumen</i>       |

In some of the IE languages there is no single word for 'thumb', which is called the 'big finger', like NE *big toe*. Many of the single words are of similar semantic origin, being based on the notion of 'stout, thick'. Just as the same word may be used for either 'finger' or 'toe', so many of the forms listed here are used for either 'thumb' or 'big toe' (NE *thumb* obs. in latter sense). Several were also used for a measure of length,

the 'thumb's breadth' (cf. NED s.v. *thumb*, sb.) and in some cases came to be restricted to this use, with derivatives or compounds for 'thumb', as Dan. *tomme* vs. *tommelfinger*, Sw. *tum* vs. *tumme*.

1. Grk. *μέγας δάκτυλος*, NG *μεγάλο δάχτυλο*, the 'big finger'.

Grk. *ἀντίχειρ* (sc. *δάκτυλος*), as what is opposite the fingers.

2. Lat. *pollex* (> It. *pollice*, Fr.

Sw. *ben*, Du. *been*, OHG, MHG *bein* 'bone, leg' (also coll. OHG *gibeini*, MHG *gebeine* in both senses), NHG *bein* 'leg' = OE *bān*, NE *bone* (4.16).

OE *seanca* (but esp. the leg below the knee, 'the shank', gl. Lat. *crus*) = Dan. *skank* 'shank', Sw. *skank* 'thigh- or shinbone', MLG *schenke* 'thigh' (dim. MHG, NHG *schenkel*, etc. 'thigh'), perh. fr. the notion of 'crooked' (cf. Grk. *σκέλος* : σκολός, above, 1) : OHG *hinkan*, NHG *hinken*, Skt. *khañj-* 'limp', *kañja-* 'lame'. Walde-P. 2.564. Falk-Torp 984 f.

OE *scia*, gl. Lat. *crus*, perh. only 'shin' : OE *scinu*, OHG *scina*, etc. 'shin, shinbone', perh. fr. the root in Skt. *chyati* 'cuts off', Grk. *σχάω* 'slit, rend', as orig. 'flat piece split off', then applied to the 'shinbone'. Walde-P. 2.542.

5. Lith. *koja*, Lett. *kāja* 'leg, foot', etym. obscure (Arm. *k'ayl* 'step, foot'?). Mühl.-Endz. 2.188.

6. ChSl. *golēni* renders *σκέλος* in Jn. 19, 31 ff., 'breaking the (bones of the) legs', the modern Slavic forms meaning 'shinbone, shin', etym. uncertain. Berneker 320 f.

SCr. *noga*, etc. the common modern Slavic word for 'leg', but properly, and ChSl. *noga* in Gospels only, 'foot' (4.37).

7. Skt. *jañghā-* (mostly 'lower leg'; Av. *zanga-* 'ankle') : Lith. *žengti* 'step, stride', Goth. *gaggan*, ON *ganga*, etc. 'walk, go', IE *\*ghengh-*. Walde-P. 1.588.

Av. *paistāna-*, lit. 'what one stands on, support', fr. cpd. of *štā-* 'stand'. Barth. 837.

ON *bein* (but mostly 'bone'), Dan.,

*pouce*, adj. *pollicāris* (> sbs. Sp. *pulgar*, Rum. neolog. *policar*), prob. (formed on the analogy of *index* 'forefinger') : Lat. *pollēre* 'be strong', Skt. *phala-* 'fruit, kernel, testicle', with a common notion of 'swelling, thickening'; here prob. also ChSl. *palici*, etc. 'thumb' (below, 6). Walde-P. 2.102. Ernout-M. 785 f.

3. Ir. *ordu*, Nlr. *ordog*, Gael. *ordag*, prob. : ord 'hammer' (9.49). Macbain 269.

W. *bawd* (also *bodfys*, cpd. with *bys* 'finger'), OW *maut*, Br. *meud*, fr. *\*mōto-*, perh. : Arm. *matu* 'finger', root connection? Walde-P. 2.221. Henry 200 f.

4. ON *\*þumi*, *þumalfinger*, Dan. (*tomme* formerly 'thumb', now only 'inch') *tommelfinger*, Sw. (*tum* 'inch') *tumme*, OE *þūma*, ME *thoum(b)e*, etc., NE *thumb*, Du. *duim*, OHG *dāmo*,

MHG *dāme*, NHG *daumen*, orig. the 'stout or thick (finger)'; Lat. *tumēre* 'swell', *tumor* 'swelling', Skt. *tu-* 'be strong', etc. Walde-P. 1.708. Falk-Torp 1270. NED s.v. *thumb*, sb.

5. Lith. *rykštis*, OLith. *inkstys*, Lett. *īkstis*, OPruss. *instizs*, prob. with Lith. *inkstas*, Lett. *īkst* 'kidney' : Lat. *inguen* 'swelling in the groin', Grk. *ἀδών* 'gland', the various applications being based on the common notion 'swelling'. Mühl.-Endz. 1.835. Walde-H. 1.701.

6. Late ChSl. *palici*, SCr. *palac*, Boh. *palec*, prob. : Lat. *pollex* 'thumb' (above, 2). But Pol., Russ. *palec* now 'finger' and Pol. *wielki palec*, Russ. *bol'soj palec* 'thumb', lit. the 'big finger'.

7. Skt. *aṅguṣṭha-* = Av. *angūšta-* 'finger, toe', beside Skt. *aṅgulī-* 'finger, toe' (4.34).

## 4.35 LEG

|      |                     |       |  |
|------|---------------------|-------|--|
| Grk. | <i>σκέλος</i>       | Goth. | ...  |
| NG   | <i>σκέλι (πόδι)</i> | ON    | <i>legg</i> , <i>fōtr</i> , <i>fōllegg</i> |
| Lat. | <i>crūs</i>         | Dan.  | <i>ben</i>                                 |
| It.  | <i>gamba</i>        | Sw.   | <i>ben</i>                                 |
| Fr.  | <i>jambe</i>        | OE    | <i>seanca, scia</i>                        |
| Sp.  | <i>pierna</i>       | ME    | <i>leg</i>                                 |
| Rum. | <i>picior</i>       | NE    | <i>leg</i>                                 |
| Ir.  | <i>cos</i>          | Du.   | <i>been</i>                                |
| Nlr. | <i>cos</i>          | OHG   | <i>bein, gibeini</i>                       |
| W.   | <i>coes</i>         | MHG   | <i>bein, gebeine</i>                       |
| Br.  | <i>gar</i>          | NHG   | <i>bein</i>                                |

Some words which meant originally only 'foot' have been extended to designate the 'leg' also (like 'hand' > 'arm', 4.31). Sometimes the original sense was 'bone' of the leg 'either above or below the knee'. Often (as in the case of 'hand', 'arm', and 'shoulder') the original term seems to have applied to various members of the body or to their articulations.

1. Grk. *σκέλος*, NG pop. *σκέλι* : *σκολός* 'curved, bent', OHG *scelah* 'crooked', Lat. *scelus* 'wickedness' (fr.

'crookedness'), prob. also (fr. *\*kel-*, beside *\*skel-*) Lith. *kelys*, Lett. *celis*, ChSl. *kolěno* 'knee', Lat. *calx*, Lith. *kulnis* 'heel'. Walde-P. 2.598.

NG *πόδι, ποδάρι* 'foot' (4.37), also sometimes 'leg'.

2. Lat. *crūs*, etym.? Walde-P. 1.489. Ernout-M. 236. Walde-H. 1.295.

It. *gamba*, Fr. *jambe* (OSp. *camba*), fr. late Lat. *gamba* 'hoof or hock of a horse', orig. only a veterinary's term, then applied to persons; this from Grk. *καμπή* 'bend', used in Aristot. for the joints of

nes by dissim., Vendryes quoted by Loth, RC 40.149). Otherwise for the Celtic words Walde-P. 1.618.

## 4.36 KNEE

|      |                         |       |                    |
|------|-------------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | <i>γόνυ</i>             | Goth. | <i>knīu</i>        |
| NG   | <i>γόνυ</i>             | ON    | <i>knē</i>         |
| Lat. | <i>genū</i>             | Dan.  | <i>knæ</i>         |
| It.  | <i>ginocchio</i>        | Sw.   | <i>knå</i>         |
| Fr.  | <i>genou</i>            | OE    | <i>cnē(u)</i>      |
| Sp.  | <i>rodilla (hinojo)</i> | ME    | <i>kne</i>         |
| Rum. | <i>genunchiu</i>        | NE    | <i>knee</i>        |
| Ir.  | <i>glán</i>             | Du.   | <i>knīe</i>        |
| Nlr. | <i>glán</i>             | OHG   | <i>knīu, knēo</i>  |
| W.   | <i>glán</i>             | MHG   | <i>knīe (knīu)</i> |
| Br.  | <i>glán</i>             | NHG   | <i>knīe</i>        |

1. IE *\*genu-* 'knee', root connection? Walde-P. 1.586 f. Ernout-M. 419 f. Walde-H. 1.592 f.

Grk. *γόνυ*, gen. *γόνυτος* (hence NG *γόνυτος*); Lat. *genū* (VLat. dim. *genuchium* > It. *ginocchio*, Fr. *genou*, Sp. *hinojo*, Rum. *genunchiu*); Goth. *knīu*, etc., general Gmc.; Skt. *jānu-*, Av. *žnu-*, NPers. *zānu*; Arm. *cunr*; Hitt. *genu*; Toch. A *kanwep*, B *kenine* (dual; SSS 128 f.); here also prob. the Celtic group

Ir. *glán*, W. Br. *glín* (*\*gnū-nes* > *\*glū-* nes by dissim., Vendryes quoted by Loth, RC 40.149). Otherwise for the Celtic words Walde-P. 1.618.

Lat. \**pediculus*. REW 6324a. Pușcariu 1305.

2. Ir. *traig* (gen. *traiged*), Nlr. *troigh*, W. *troad*, Br. *troad*: Gall. *ver-tragus* 'swift-footed dog', SCR. *trag* 'footstep', perh. Goth. *þragjan* 'run', etc. Walde-P. 1.752 f. Pedersen 1.39. But cf. H. Lewis, BBCS 9.34 f.

Ir. *cos* 'leg, foot', Nlr. *cos* 'leg' (4.35).

3. Lith. *koja*, Lett. *kāja* 'foot, leg' (4.35).

4. ChSl., etc. *noga*, the regular Slavic word for 'foot' (and by extension 'leg'): OPruss. *nage* 'foot', Lith. *naga* 'hoof', all

orig. 'claw', coll. formation to Lith. *nagas*, Lett. *nags* 'nail (on finger or toe), claw' (4.39). Walde-P. 1.180 f.

5. Skt., Av. *pad-*, above, 1. Skt. *carāṇa-*, fr. *car-* 'go, move, wander'.

Av. *zbaraṇa-*, fr. *zbar-* 'walk' (of evil beings): Skt. *hvar*, *hwal-* 'go crookedly, go astray, err', etc. Barth. 1699. Walde-P. 1.643.

Av. *dvarīθra-*, fr. *dvar-* 'go, hasten' (of evil beings), prob. orig. Skt. *dhur-* 'run' (only Dhātup.), further connections still more dub. Walde-P. 1.842. Otherwise Barth. 765.

## 4.38 TOE

|      |                       |       |        |
|------|-----------------------|-------|--------|
| Grk. | δάκτυλος              | Goth. | ....   |
| NG   | δάκτυλο (τοῦ ποδίου)  | ON    | tā     |
| Lat. | digitus               | Dan.  | taa    |
| It.  | cito (del piede)      | Sw.   | tā     |
| Fr.  | orteil, doigt du pied | OE    | tā     |
| Sp.  | dedo (del pie)        | ME    | to     |
| Rum. | deget de la picior    | NE    | toe    |
| Ir.  | mēr (coise)           | Du.   | teen   |
| Nlr. | mēar (coise)          | OHG   | zaha   |
| W.   | bys troed             | MHG   | ze(he) |
| Br.  | biz troad             | NHG   | zehe   |

'Toe' is usually expressed by the word for 'finger' (4.34) with or without the addition of 'of the foot'. The use of parentheses in the list attempts to show the situation. The distinctive words for 'toe' are:

1. Fr. *orteil*, fr. OFr. *arteil*, fr. Lat. *articulus* 'joint, knuckle, limb', also of

the fingers (*articulus manus*), but crossed with Gall. *ordiga* 'big toe' (Cassel Glosses). REW 687. Wartburg 1.149 f.

2. ON *tā*, etc., all the Gmc. words, prob. orig. 'finger' as 'pointer': Lat. *index* 'index finger', *digitus* 'finger' (4.34). Walde-P. 1.776. Falk-Torp 1237. Walde-H. 1.351.

also 'wing', Barth. 870); ChSl. *pero*, etc. general Slavic for 'feather', Lith. *sparnas*, Lett. *spārns* 'wing'.

3. Lat. *ala* (> It., Sp. *ala*, Fr. *aile*), fr. \**axlā* (cf. dim. *axilla*), orig. the joint of wing or arm: OE *earl*, OHG *ahsala*, etc. 'shoulder', Lat. *axis* 'axle', etc. Walde-P. 1.37. Ernout-M. 30 f. Walde-H. 1.25. REW 304.

Rum. *aripă*: Calabr. *alapa*, Fr. *aube* 'a sweep', fr. Lat. *alapa* 'blow with the hand on the face' (of obscure orig.), with common notion of swinging. REW 310.

4. Ir. *ette*, etc., W. *adain*, above, 1. Ir. *sciath* 'shoulder blade, wing' (W. *ysgwydd* 'shoulder'), Nlr. *sciathān* 'wing', fr. the root in Grk. *αχίζω*, Lat. *scindere* 'split'. Walde-P. 1.544. Pedersen 1.76, 112.

W. *asgell*, Br. *askell*, Corn. *ascall* (Ir. *ascall* 'armpit') fr. late Lat. *ascella* ('wing' in Italia, etc.) for *axilla* dim. of *ala* (above, 3). Loth, Mots lat. 134, RC 41.395 ff.

5. ON *vēngr* (pl. > ME *wengen*, win-

*gen*, *wenge*, first used in pl., NE *wing*; NED s.v. *wing*, sb.), Dan., Sw. *vinge*, fr. IE \**wē-* in Skt. *vā-*, Grk. *ἀνω*, Goth. *waian*, etc. 'blow', prob. through a secondary 'flutter'. Falk-Torp 1384. Hellquist 1350. (Not included in Walde-P. 1.220 ff.)

OE *fiþere*, OHG *federal*, above, 1. MHG *vügel*, NHG *flügel*, Du. *vleugel*, fr. vbs. for 'fly', MHG *vliegen*, etc. (10.37).

6. Lith. *sparnas*, Lett. *spārns*, above, 2.

7. ChSl. *krilo*, etc., general Slavic, fr. \**kri-dlo* (dl preserved in Boh., Pol.): Lith. *skrieti* 'run or fly in a circle', *skritulys* 'circle', OHG *scritan* 'stride', also Lith. *kreivas*, ChSl. \**krivū* (SCR. *kriv*, etc.), Lat. *curvus*, etc. 'crooked', fr. a root \**(s)ker-* with various extensions. Development of 'wing' fr. 'fly' or like that in Lat. *ala?* Walde-P. 2.570. Berneker 615 f. Brückner 497 f.

8. Skt. *pakṣa-*, see under Boh. *paže*, 4.31.

Skt. *patra-*, above, 1.

## 4.393 FEATHER

|      |              |       |             |
|------|--------------|-------|-------------|
| Grk. | πτερόν       | Goth. | ....        |
| NG   | φτερό        | ON    | fjōðr       |
| Lat. | penna        | Dan.  | fjeder fjer |
| It.  | penna, piuma | Sw.   | fjeder      |
| Fr.  | plume        | OE    | feþer       |
| Sp.  | pluma        | ME    | feþer       |
| Rum. | pană         | NE    | feather     |
| Ir.  | cleite, clám | Du.   | feder, feer |
| Nlr. | cleite, clám | OHG   | fedara      |
| W.   | pluen        | MHG   | veder(e)    |
| Br.  | pluen        | NHG   | feder       |

The majority of the words for 'feather' are cognate with words for 'wing' and have been included in the preceding discussion, 4.392. Here only the following:

1. Lat. *plūma*, denoting the fine, soft feathers covering the body, vs. the *penna*

of wing or tail, but eventually displacing the latter in part (hence It. *piuma*, Fr. *plume*, Sp. *pluma*) prob. (fr. \**plus-mā*): MLG *vlūs*, OE *fleōs*, etc. 'fleece', also(?) Lith. *plunksna* 'feather' (see below). Walde-P. 2.96. Ernout-M. 781.

2. Ir., Nlr. *cleite*, etym.?

## 4.39 NAIL

|      |         |       |       |
|------|---------|-------|-------|
| Grk. | ὄνυξ    | Goth. | ....  |
| NG   | νύχι    | ON    | nagl  |
| Lat. | unguis  | Dan.  | nagl  |
| It.  | ungchia | Sw.   | nagel |
| Fr.  | ongle   | OE    | nagel |
| Sp.  | uña     | ME    | nail  |
| Rum. | ungchie | NE    | nail  |
| Ir.  | ingen   | Du.   | nagel |
| Nlr. | ionga   | OHG   | nagal |
| W.   | ewin    | MHG   | nagel |
| Br.  | win     | NHG   | nagel |

1. IE \*(*o*)*nagh-* (with wide variation of root grade and suffixes in different IE languages). Walde-P. 1.180 f. Ernout-M. 1125.

Hence all the words listed except Av. *srū*, *srūd* (below), but represented in Iranian by NPers. *nāzun* (Skt. also *nakha-*, with unexplained *kh* for *gh*). NG *νύχι* fr. dim. *όνυχιον*; the Romance

forms fr. the Lat. dim. *ungula* (REW 9071); Pol. *paznokcie*, cpd. with prefixed *paz-*: *pazur* 'claw', *pazucha* 'breast', Boh. *paže* 'arm' (4.31), etc. (Brückner 400).

2. Av. *srū*, *srūd*, also 'horn' (the earlier meaning): Grk. *κέρας*, etc. 'horn' (4.17). Walde-P. 1.404. Barth. 1647 f.

## 4.392 WING

|      |                       |       |                      |
|------|-----------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | πτέρυξ                | Goth. | ....                 |
| NG   | φτερούγα              | ON    | vēngr                |
| Lat. | ala, penna            | Dan.  | vinge                |
| It.  | ala                   | Sw.   | vinge                |
| Fr.  | aile                  | OE    | fiþere, feþera (pl.) |
| Sp.  | ala                   | ME    | wenge, winge         |
| Rum. | aripă                 | NE    | wing                 |
| Ir.  | eile, sciath          | OHG   | vleugel              |
| Nlr. | eile eileog, sciathān | OHG   | federal, fellaach    |
| W.   | adāia, asgell         | MHG   | vügel, vedrach       |
| Br.  | askell                | NHG   | flügel               |

Many of the words for 'wing' are derived from verbs for 'fly', whence also many of those for 'feather', in this case a secondary sense, which are then included in the discussion here. Several words for 'wing' denoted originally the joint or axis (of arm or wing), hence relations with words for 'shoulder blade, shoulder'.

1. Derivs. of IE \**pet-* in Grk. *πέτομαι*, Skt. *pat-* 'fly' (10.37), including here words for 'feather'. Walde-P. 2.19 ff. Ernout-M. 752 f. Pedersen 1.90, 160.

Grk. *πτέρυξ* 'wing' (dim. *περίρυσον* > NG *φτερούγα*; Hatzidakis, Μεσ. 2.99), *πτερόν* 'feather', pl. often 'wings'; Lat.

*penna* 'wing, feather' (> It. *penna*, Rum. *pană* 'feather'); Ir. *ette* 'wing', Nlr. *eile*, *eileog* 'wing, pinion, feather', W. *adain* 'wing'; ON *fjōðr*, OE *feþer* (pl. also 'wings'), OHG *federal*, etc., general Gmc. for 'feather', with derivs. for 'wing' OE *fiþere* (cf. NED s.v. *feather*, sb.), OHG *federal*, MHG *vedrach*, also OHG *fellaach*, MHG *vellaach* (NHG *fittich*, Weigand-H. s.v.); Skt. *patra-* (also *patra-*) 'wing, feather, leaf, blade'.

2. Forms fr. \**per-*, ultimately \**pter-* and belonging with preceding? Walde-P. 2.21.

Skt. *parṇa-*, Av. *parṇa-* 'feather' (Av.

*plusna*), either: *plaukas* 'hair', Lett. *plūkti* 'pluck', or, with *k* fr. this group, fr. old *plusna*, this: Lat. *plūma* (above, 1). Walde-P. 2.96. Thurneysen IF 14.127 f.

## 4.40 BREAST

(Front of Chest)

|      |                  |       |              |
|------|------------------|-------|--------------|
| Grk. | στήθος (στέρνον) | Goth. | brusts (pl.) |
| NG   | στήθος           | ON    | brjóst       |
| Lat. | pectus           | Dan.  | bryst        |
| It.  | petto            | Sw.   | bröst        |
| Fr.  | poitrine, sein   | OE    | brēost       |
| Sp.  | pecho            | ME    | breste       |
| Rum. | piept            | NE    | breast       |
| Ir.  | bruinne, ucht    | Du.   | borel        |
| Nlr. | ucht, bruinne    | OHG   | brust        |
| W.   | bron, dwyffron   | MHG   | brust        |
| Br.  | brennid          | NHG   | brust        |

Words for 'breast' as front part of the chest and for 'breast' as woman's breast are in part the same, and where they are normally different there may be some overlapping. There is also overlapping on the other side with 'chest'. In fact, except where the distinctive Grk. *ᾠραξ* (the whole 'trunk' in Aristot., later 'chest') has been borrowed, 'breast' as the front of the chest, and the whole 'chest' are generally not distinguished but covered by the same word. (So Lat. *pectus*, It. *petto*, Fr. *poitrine* and most of the words listed here).

Omitted from the list are a number of words which, like NE *bosom*, are sometimes used of the breast in a literal sense but are generally poetical, or with emotional connotation. So Grk. *κόλπος*, Lat. *sinus*, Goth. *barm*s (which renders *κόλπος* in this sense), Dan., Sw. *barm*, OE *bearm*, OHG *barm*, OE *bōsm*, NE *bosom*, NHG *busen*, etc.

The chief semantic source is the notion of 'curved shape, swelling'.

1. Grk. *στήθος*, prob. related in some way (perh. a blend with some other word

in -θος) to *στήνιον*: *στήθος* (Hesych.), this: Skt. *stana-* 'woman's breast', etc. (4.41). Walde-P. 2.663.

Grk. *στέρονον* (in Hom. only of males), specialization of 'flat surface', fr. the root of *στέρονι*, etc. 'spread out' (9.34). Cf. OHG *sterna* 'forehead', fr. the same root. Walde-P. 2.639. Boisacq 931.

2. Lat. *pectus* (> It. *petto*, Sp. *pecho*, Rum. *piept*; Fr. *pis* once 'breast', now 'udder'; deriv. Fr. *poitrine*; REW 6335, 6332), perh. as denoting first the hairy breast of man (cf. Grk. *λάσια στήθη*): Lat. *pectere* 'comb', Grk. *πόκος* 'fleece', etc. Walde-P. 2.17.

Fr. *sein* (It., Sp. *seno*, Rum. *stin* 'bosom, lap') fr. Lat. *sinus* 'fold, bosom, lap', itself of dub. etym. Ernout-M. 946. REW 7950.

3. Ir. *bruinne*, W. *bron* (also *dwyffron* orig. 'the two breasts'), Br. (*bronn* only 'woman's breast') *brennid*: Ir. *brū* 'belly, womb', W. *bryn* 'hill', Goth. *brusts*, etc., all fr. a common notion of 'swelling'. Walde-P. 2.197 ff.

Ir. *ucht*, prob. fr. \**puptu-*: VLat. *puppa*, It. *poppa*, Lett. *pups* 'woman's

breast' (4.41). Walde-P. 2.81. Stokes 55. Otherwise (: Lat. *pectus*) Pedersen 1.90, etc. (cf. Walde-P. 2.17).

4. Goth. *brusts* (pl. = *στήθος*), OE *brēost*, etc., general Gmc.: Ir. *bruinne*, etc., above, 3.

5. Lith. *krūtis* (mostly 'woman's breast'), *krūtinė*, Lett. *krūtis*: Nlr. *cruil*, W. *crueth* 'hump' and a kind of 'violin', fr. common notion of 'curved, bent', Walde-P. 1.489. Mühl-Endz. 2.293.

6. ChSl. \**grādŭ* (quotable only in late form *grudi*), SCR. *grudi* (pl.), Boh. *hrud*, Russ. *grud*, perh.: Grk. *βρεστός* 'arrogance', Lat. *grandis* 'large', fr. a common

notion of 'swelling'. Walde-P. 1.699. Berneker 356. Walde-H. 1.351.

ChSl. *prŭsti* (pl.), SCR., Boh. *prsa* (pl.) or *prsi*, *prsy* (pl.), Boh. sg. *prs* 'woman's breast', Pol. *piers*: Skt. *parcu-*, *prṣṭi-*, Av. *parəsu-* 'rib'. Slavic shift from 'ribs' through 'chest' to 'breast', or 'ribs' and 'chest' fr. a common notion of 'inclosing'; uncertain which, since root connection doubtful. Walde-P. 2.44 f.

7. Skt. *uras-*, Av. *varah-* (rare, Barth. 1365, but NPers. *bar* 'breast'): Skt. *uru-*, Grk. *εὔρις* 'wide, broad', etc. Walde-P. 1.285.

Skt. *vakṣas-*: Skt. *vakṣ-*, *ukṣ*, Goth. *wahsjan* 'grow', etc. Walde-P. 1.22 ff.

## 4.41 BREAST

(Of Woman)

|      |                |       |              |
|------|----------------|-------|--------------|
| Grk. | μαστός         | Goth. | (brusts pl.) |
| NG   | στήθος, βυζί   | ON    | brjóst       |
| Lat. | mamma, mamilla | Dan.  | bryst        |
| It.  | poppa, mamella | Sw.   | bröst        |
| Fr.  | sein, mamelle  | OE    | brēost       |
| Sp.  | teía, mama     | ME    | breste       |
| Rum. | lăpt           | NE    | breast       |
| Olr. | cich           | Du.   | borst        |
| Nlr. | cioch, mama    | OHG   | brust        |
| W.   | bron           | MHG   | brust        |
| Br.  | bronn          | NHG   | brust        |

Words for woman's (or the corresponding man's) 'breast' are in part the same as those listed and discussed in 4.40. They are naturally of most frequent occurrence in the plural (or originally dual), but may be used in the singular and are so entered. Words for 'teat, nipple' are frequently used, especially in vulgar speech, for woman's 'breast', but these are not considered here, except where they have become serious terms in the latter sense. Numerous other vulgar terms, like Fr. *nichon*, etc. are likewise omitted.

1. Grk. *μαστός*, Ion. *μαστός*, late *μαστός*: Lat. *madēre* 'be moist' (Grk. *μαδάω*

only with secondary meaning), Skt. *mad-* 'bubble, be glad', *matta-* 'drunk', OHG *manzon* 'udders', Alb. *mënd* 'suckle', etc. Walde-P. 2.230 f. Walde-H. 2.7.

Grk. *στήθος* (4.40) only rarely for woman's 'breast', but in NG preferred as polite term, esp. in pl. pop. *τὰ στήθια*, to the following.

NG pop. *βυζί*, fr. late *βυζίων* (Test. Solom. +; cf. also *βίζω*, *βίζα* in CGL), whence also Byz., NG *βυζάω* 'suck', fr. adj. *βυζός* (Hesych. *βυζόν* *πικρόν*, κτλ.; belonging with *βυζήν* 'closely', *βύω*, *βυζέω* 'be full') and applied to the full, large breasts of women. Hatzidakis, Glotta 15.144 f.

2. NG *μαστόρι*, deriv. of Grk. *μαστός* 'breast', and *βυζί* 'breast' (4.41) also 'udder'.

3. It. *poppa*, *mammella*, same as for 'woman's breast' (4.41).

Fr. *pis*, fr. Lat. *pectus* 'breast' (4.40).

4. Ir. *uth*, Nlr. *uth*, perh. fr. \**pula-*: Lith. *pusti* 'blow up', *pultus* 'puffed up', Lett. *pule* 'blister, pustule', etc. Walde-P. 2.80. Stokes 54.

## 4.43 NAVEL

|      |                  |       |          |
|------|------------------|-------|----------|
| Grk. | ὀμφαλός          | Goth. | ....     |
| NG   | ἀμφαλός          | ON    | naffi    |
| Lat. | umbilicus        | Dan.  | nafle    |
| It.  | bellico          | Sw.   | nafle    |
| Fr.  | ombilic          | OE    | nafola   |
| Sp.  | ombligo          | ME    | navele   |
| Rum. | buric            | NE    | nanel    |
| Ir.  | imblíu, imleacan | Du.   | nanel    |
| Nlr. | imleacan         | OHG   | nabalo   |
| W.   | bogail           | MHG   | nabel(e) |
| Br.  | begel            | NHG   | nabel    |

Most of the words for 'navel' belong to an inherited group. A recurring secondary sense of such words is 'center'.

1. IE \**ombh-*, \**nobh-*, etc. with various grades of the root syllable and different suffixes. Walde-P. 1.130. Ernout-M. 1122.

Grk. *ὀμφαλός*, NG pop. *ἀμφαλός*, *ἀφάλη*; Lat. (*umbō* 'boss, knob') *umbilicus* (> It. *bellico*, Sp. *ombligo*, Rum. *buric*; dim. form \**umbiliculus* > OFr. *lombil*, Fr. *ombilil*; REW 9044-45); OIr. *imblíu*, Mir. *imleacan*, Nlr. *imleacan*; ON *naffi*, OE *nafola*, etc., general Gmc.; Lett. *naba*, OPruss. *nabis*; Skt. *nābhī-*, Av. *nāfa-*, NPers. *nāf*.

2. W. *bogail*, Br. *begel*, fr. Lat. *buc-*

W. *purs* (also 'bag, purse') fr. ME *purs* 'purse'. Parry-Williams 160. Cf. the similar use of NE *bag* for 'udder' (NED s.v. *bag*, sb. 10).

Br. *tez*: Fr. *tette* 'teat', etc. Cf. 4.41, Rum. *lăpt*.

5. Lith. *tešmuo*, Lett. *tesminis*: Lith. *tešia* 'swells up', *tešla* 'dough', etc. Mühl-Endz. 4.168. Leskien, Ablaut 351.

2. Lat. *mamma* (> Sp. *mama*, Ir. *mama*, *mām*), *mamilla* (> It. *mammella*, Fr. *mamelle*, Sp. *mamila*), the first derived by some fr. \**mad-mā*: Lat. *madēre*, Grk. *μαστός*, etc. (above, 1), but prob. the same as the child's word for 'mother, mama' (2.36), just as Grk. *μάμμη* is also used for 'mother's breast'. Walde-P. 2.23



Gal. 6.679, 704. Hence the Latinized form *ficatium* (fr. *ficus* 'fig'), whence (but with fluctuation of accent and of vowel of first syllable; cf. REW 8494), It. *figato*, Fr. *foie*, Sp. *hígado*, Rum. *ficat*.

3. Ir. *da*, Nlr. *ac*, W. *afu*, Br. *avu*, general Celtic word, etym.? Pedersen 1.313.

Ir. *trommchride*, cpd. of *tromm* 'heavy' and *cride* 'heart'. Pedersen 1.56.

4. ON *lifr*, OE *lifer*, etc., general Gmc., prob.: Grk. *λίπος* 'fat', *λιπαρός* 'fatty', etc., and at first applied to the

'liver' as an article of food (cf. Fr. *foie gras*). Walde-P. 1.205. Falk-Torp 639 (but with a less probable view of the semantic relation).

5. Lith. *kepenys*, fr. *kepti* 'bake, roast', as (and prob. in imitation of) Russ. *pečen'*, *pečenka* fr. *peč'* 'bake, roast', orig., of course, the cooked liver.

6. ChSl. *jětro*, SCR. *jětra*, Boh. *játra*, Pol. *wątroba* (like ChSl. *qtroba* 'womb'): ChSl. *qtrǐ*, Lat. *inter*, Skt. *antar* 'within', Grk. *ἐντερα* 'entrails', etc. Walde-P. 1.127. Berneker 269. Brückner 605.

## 4.46 BELLY; STOMACH

|      |                             |       |                          |       |                           |
|------|-----------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| Grk. | γαστήρ, κοιλία; (σρό-μαχος) | Goth. | wamba; qirus             | Lith. | pilvas; skilvis, pildėdis |
| NG   | κοιλία; στρομάχι            | ON    | kvǣðr, vomb; magi        | Lett. | vėdėrs; pazirds           |
| Lat. | venter; stomachus           | Dan.  | bug; mave                | ChSl. | črěvo, qtroba             |
| It.  | ventre; stomaco             | Sw.   | buk; mage                | SCR.  | trubuh; želudac           |
| Fr.  | ventre; estomac             | OE    | wamb, innob; maga        | Boh.  | brich(o), život; žalud    |
| Sp.  | vientre; estomago           | ME    | wombe, bel; mave, stomak | Pol.  | brzuch, żywt; żóładek     |
| Rum. | pîntece; stomac             | NE    | belly; stomach           | Russ. | brjuchko, život; želudok  |
| Ir.  | brú, bolg; eglas, gaile     | Du.   | buk; mag                 | Skt.  | udara, jajhara-           |
| Nlr. | bolg; goile                 | OHG   | wamba, bāh; mago         | Av.   | udara-, maršā-            |
| W.   | bol, bola; cylla            | MHG   | bāch, wamb; mage         |       |                           |
| Br.  | kof; poulgalon              | NHG   | bauch; magen             |       |                           |

Words for 'belly' were used alike for the external 'belly' and the internal 'belly, stomach', and most of them are still familiar in the latter sense, in biblical language ("the whale's belly") and in common, partly vulgar, speech. Either the external or internal application may be the more original etymologically. Many of the same or related words were also used for 'womb' (4.47).

Words that denote more specifically the internal organ, the 'stomach', are added in the list after a semicolon. Some of these, like the Gmc. group, ON *magi*, etc. are old and have always been in common use. Some are less common, except in medical use, than the old words for 'belly', while NE *stomach* has virtually replaced *belly* in polite use.

Words that properly denote 'big belly,

paunch', like It. *pancia*, Fr. *panse*, Sp. *panza*, NHG *wanst*, Russ. *puzo*, are not included in the list, except where such a word has become the usual one for 'belly', as Rum. *pîntece*.

1. IE \**udero-*, \**wedero-*. This is at least a convenient heading for a group of words for 'belly' or 'womb' which are obviously related, though showing phonetic disparity which must be due in part to analogical influence. Root connection wholly uncertain. Walde-P. 1.190 f. Ernout-M. 1085, 1141.

Skt. *udara-*, Av. *udara-* (in a cpd.) 'belly'; Lett. *vėdėrs*, OPruss. *weders* 'belly' (Lith. *vėdėras* 'fish entrails', 'a kind of sausage', also 'stomach' in Donal- lit.); Grk. *δέρσος* γαστήρ (Hesych.); Lat. *venter* 'belly' (> It., Fr. *ventre*, Sp. *vientre* 'belly'; Rum. *vintr* now 'abdo-

men'), Lat. *uterus* 'womb' (> It. *utero*, etc. only as learned words), in which the *t* of both forms is easily explained as due to the influence of words with suffix

2. Grk. γαστήρ (in Hom. 'belly' in connection with wounds, most frequently 'stomach' in connection with hunger, once 'womb'; in Aristot. 'belly' and 'womb', while κοιλία is 'stomach'), by dissim. fr. \*γαστήρ: γράω 'gnaw, eat', γράσσις 'fodder', Skt. *gras-* 'devour'. Walde-P. 1.657f. Otherwise Boisacq 141.

Grk. κοιλία, used for various cavities in the body, but esp. 'belly' (not in Hom.; in Aristot. the technical word for the 'stomach' as organ; in NT more common than γαστήρ for both 'belly' and 'womb'; so in NG), fr. κοῖλος 'hollow': Lat. *cavus* 'hollow', etc. Walde-P. 1.366 f.

Grk. στόμαχος, deriv. of στόμα 'mouth' (4.24), hence, as orig. the passage from the mouth, 'throat, gullet' (see 4.29), later 'orifice of the stomach' and finally 'stomach' (στόμαχος occurs only once in NT, namely 1 Tim. 5.23, likewise the only occurrence of *stomach* in the English Bible; elsewhere, as Mt. 12.40 'whale's belly', in NG), likewise in the translations NE *belly*, NHG *bauch*, Lith. *pilvas*, etc.). Hence Lat. *stomachus* > It. *stomaco*, Sp. *estómago*, Rum. *stomac*, Fr. *estomac* > ME *stomak*, NE *stomach*.

3. Lat. *venter*, etc., above, 1.

Rum. *pîntece* 'belly, womb', like It. *pancia*, OFr. *panche* (> ME *paunch*, Fr. *panse*, Sp. *panza* 'big belly, paunch', fr. Lat. *panter*, mostly pl. *pantrices* 'entrails, bowels'. REW 6207.

4. Ir. *brú* 'belly, womb', Nlr. *brú* mostly 'womb', W. *bru* 'womb': Ir. *bruinne*, W. *bron* 'breast', W. *bryn* 'hill', Dan. *bug*, Sw. *buk* (ON *búkr* 'trunk'),

Goth. *brusts* 'breast', etc., all with common notion of 'swelling'. Walde-P. 2.197 f.

Ir. *bolg* 'bag, bellows, belly', Nlr. *bolg* 'belly, bag', W. *bol*, *bola* 'belly': Goth. *balgs* 'leather bag' (Grk. *ἀσκάς*), ON *belgr* 'skin, leather bag', OHG *balg*, OE *baig* 'husk, pod', ME *bali*, *beli* 'belly', NE *belly* (and bellows), all fr. IE \**bhelg-*, extension of \**bhel-* in Lat. *foliis* 'leather bag', Lat. *flāre*, OE *blāwan* 'blow', etc. Walde-P. 2.182 f., 2.177 f.

Br. *kof* 'belly, womb', obs. W. *coff* 'hollow trunk' (Pughe), also 'belly' (Evans), etym.? On Henry's deriv. fr. Lat. \**cofus*, *cophinus* 'basket', see Loth, Mots lat. 151.

OIr. *ecelas* 'stomach' (Thes. 1.687), Nlr. *eaglais* 'bird's stomach', etym.?

Mr. *gaile*, Nlr. *goile* 'stomach': Ir. *gelim* 'devour', Lat. *gula*, OE *ceole* 'throat', etc. (4.29)? So Macbain 200, but phonetically difficult and not included in Stokes 112 or Walde-P. 1.621 ff.

W. *cylla* (arch. *cull*) 'stomach', etym.?

Br. *poullkalon*, *poulgalon* (cf. Vallée s.v. *estomac*), cpd. of *poull* 'hole, hollow' and *kalon* 'heart' (4.44).

5. Goth. *wamba* 'belly, womb', ON *vomb* 'belly', OE *wamb*, *womb*, ME *wambe*, *wombe* 'belly, womb', in latter sense NE *womb*; OHG *wamba*, MHG *wambe* 'belly, womb', NHG *wamme* 'belly of animal's skin', dial. 'belly', outside connections? Walde-P. 1.191. Feist 549.

Goth. *qirus* 'womb', once 'stomach', ON *kvǣðr* 'belly, womb', OE *cwip* 'womb': ON *koddi* 'pillow', OE *codd* 'bag, pod' (ME *codd* rarely 'belly' or 'testicle'), prob. Lat. (fr. Oscan) *botulus* 'sausage', all with common notion of 'swollen, rounded' object. Walde-P. 1.671. Falk-Torp 606. Feist 390.

Dan. *bug*, Sw. *buk* (ON *búkr* 'trunk'),

## 4.47 WOMB

|      |                              |       |                                 |       |                            |
|------|------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| Grk. | ἰστέρα, γαστήρ, κοιλία, etc. | Goth. | wamba, qirus, kilpei            | Lith. | žyvas                      |
| NG   | κοιλία, μήτρα                | ON    | kvǣðr                           | Lett. | mātes miesas, mātes klēpis |
| Lat. | uterus, vulva                | Dan.  | morderliv                       | ChSl. | črěvo, qtroba              |
| It.  | matrice, madre, utero        | Sw.   | morderliv                       | SCR.  | materia                    |
| Fr.  | sein, matrice, uterus        | OE    | hrif, innob                     | Boh.  | život, matka               |
| Sp.  | matriz, madre, utero         | ME    | wombe                           | Pol.  | żywt, lono                 |
| Rum. | pîntece                      | Du.   | baarmuoder                      | Russ. | matka                      |
| Ir.  | brú                          | OHG   | (h)ref, wamba                   | Skt.  | garbha-, yoni-             |
| Nlr. | brū                          | MHG   | barmuoter, muoterlip (wambe)    | Av.   | garšwa-, baršōr-           |
| W.   | croth, bru                   | NHG   | mutterleib, gebärmutter, schoss |       |                            |
| Br.  | kof                          |       |                                 |       |                            |

The majority of the words for 'womb' are related to those for 'belly' and so have been discussed in 4.46. Of the others the commonest source is 'mother', while some are words for 'body' or 'lap' used in specialized sense, or of various other sources.

1. Grk. μήτρα (in Aristot. HA 510<sup>b</sup> distinguished from ἰστέρα or δελφός 'womb' as the 'tube and opening of the womb'; in NG the technical word for 'womb', pop. κοιλία); Lat. *mātrix* 'breeding animal', late 'womb' (> It. *matrice*, etc.); SCR. *materia*, all derivs. of word for 'mother', as It., Sp. *madre*, Dan. *moder*, Boh., Russ. *matka* 'mother' also used for 'womb'. Cf. also NHG *mutterleib*, *gebärmutter*, etc.

Grk. ἰστέρα (the most usual technical term, Hipp., Aristot., etc.; cf. also ἰστρος γαστήρ Hesych.), apparently: ἰστρος 'latter, behind', Skt. *uttara-* 'upper, up' upwards, so orig. 'back part' or 'upper part'? Or perh. ultimately: Skt. *udara-* 'belly', etc. (4.46) with analogical re-formation. Walde-P. 1.191. Boisacq 1008.

Grk. δελφός (rare): Skt. *garbha-*, etc., below, 7.

2. Lat. *vōlva*, *vulva*, prob.: Lat. *volvere* 'roll', *vola* 'hollow of the hand or foot', Grk. *εἰλίμα* 'wrapper', etc. Walde-P. 1.301.

Fr. *sein* 'breast' (fr. Lat. *sinus* 'fold, bosom, lap') also the common expression for 'womb'.

## 4.48 EGG

|      |       |       |          |       |            |
|------|-------|-------|----------|-------|------------|
| Grk. | ᾠόν   | Goth. | ada      | Lith. | kiaušinis  |
| NG   | αἶνόν | ON    | egg      | Lett. | uola       |
| Lat. | ovum  | Dan.  | æg       | ChSl. | ajice      |
| It.  | ovo   | Sw.   | egg      | SCR.  | jaje       |
| Fr.  | œuf   | OE    | eg       | Boh.  | vejce      |
| Sp.  | huevo | ME    | egg, egg | Pol.  | jaje, jajo |
| Rum. | ou    | NE    | egg      | Russ. | jajco      |
| Ir.  | ubh   | Du.   | ei       | Skt.  | ajda-      |
| Nlr. | uy    | OHG   | ei       | Av.   | (*āvaya-   |
| W.   | vi    | MHG   | ei       |       |            |
| Br.  | vi    | NHG   | ei       |       |            |

The majority of the words for 'egg' belong to an inherited group.

1. IE \**ōwo-*, \**ōw(e)yo-*, \**ō(w)yo-* (?). The words grouped here, despite some phonetic problems, prob. reflect an IE word for 'egg' derived fr. the word for 'bird' seen in Lat. *avis*, Skt. *vi-* (3.64).

Walde-P. 1.21 ff. Ernout-M. 718. Pedersen 1.66. Falk-Torp 182. Berneker 26.

Grk. \**ώφεον* (ἀθεα) ᾠά. Ἀργείοι, Hesych.), ᾠον (Epich.), Lesb. ᾠον, Att. ᾠόν, NG αἶνόν (arising in *τὰ φά* > *τ' αὐτά* like *τὰ ὠρία* > *τ' αὐρία*, whence *αὐρί* 'ear'; Hatzidakis *Μεσ.* 2.322); Lat. *ovum* (> It. *uovo*, Fr. *œuf*, Sp. *huevo*, Rum. *ou*); Ir. *og*, Nlr. *ubh*, W. *uy*, Br. *vi*; Crim. Goth. *ada*, ON *egg*, Dan. *æg*, Sw. *egg*, OE *eg*, ME *ey* (ME, NE *egg* fr. ON), Du., OHG, MHG, NHG *ei*; ChSl. \**(j)aje*, *ajice*, SCR. *jaje*, Boh. *vejce*, Pol.

*jaje*, *jajo*, Russ. *jajco*; Av. \**āvaya-*, NPers. *zāya*; Arm. *ju*.

2. Lith. *kiaušinis* (also *kiaušis*): Lith. *kiaušė* 'skull', Skt. *koṣa-* 'container, cup, pod' (also rarely 'egg'), *sku-* 'cover', etc. Walde-P. 2.549.

Lett. *uola* (also 'round stone, pebble'; Lith. *uola* 'whetstone, rock'): Lett. *velt*, Lat. *volvare* 'turn', Lith. *apvalus*, ON *valr* 'round', etc. (Walde-P. 1.298 ff., without *uola*). Mühl.-Endz. 4.416.

Lith. *paulas*, Lett. *pauls*, formerly 'egg', now 'testicle' (Lett. dial. 'egg'): Lith. *pusti* 'blow, swell up', Lett. *pūle* 'blister, pustule', etc. Walde-P. 2.80. Mühl.-Endz. 3.130.

3. Skt. *ajda-* (also 'testicle'), etym.? Possibly fr. \**andra-* and: ChSl. \**jedro*, *jadro* 'kernel, testicle' (but cf. 4.49). So Uhlenbeck, s.v., Barth., IF 3.175.

## 4.49 TESTICLE

|      |                              |       |                                       |       |                    |
|------|------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | δοξεν                        | Goth. | ...                                   | Lith. | paulas             |
| NG   | δοξεν (lit.), ἀρχιδ          | ON    | eista, bqlr (hreðjar pl.)             | Lett. | pauts              |
| Lat. | testiculus, testis (cā-leus) | Dan.  | testikel, sten, rædder (pl.)          | ChSl. | isto, *mqdo, lono  |
| It.  | testicolo, coglione          | Sw.   | testikel, sten                        | SCR.  | mudo, jajce        |
| Fr.  | testicule, couille           | OE    | herpan, sceallan, beallucas (all pl.) | Boh.  | varle, mudo, kulka |
| Sp.  | testiculo, cojon             | ME    | ballok, stone                         | Pol.  | mudo, jadra (pl.)  |
| Rum. | testicul, boş, coîu          | NE    | testicle (ballock, ball)              | Russ. | mudo, jajco        |
| Ir.  | macraile, uirge              | Du.   | teelbal, zaadbal                      | Skt.  | ajda-, muska-      |
| Nlr. | magairle                     | NHG   | hodo                                  | Av.   | arzi (du.)         |
| W.   | caill                        |       |                                       |       |                    |
| Br.  | kell                         |       |                                       |       |                    |

Lat. *cōleus* (> Fr. *couille*, Rum. *coîu*; VLAT. \**cōlēb*, *-ōnis* > It. *coglione*, fr. IE \**skeu-* 'cover' (semantic development from 'leather bag', 'scrotum' as in ON *hreðjar* and W. *caill*, etc., above). Walde-P. 2.549. Falk-Torp 425.

5. Lith. *paulas*, Lett. *pauts*, orig. 'scrotum', fr. VLAT. \**bursa* 'leather bag' (> It. *borsa*, etc.), Grk. *βύρα* 'hide, leather'. REW 1432. Puscaru 210.

3. Ir. *macraile*, Nlr. *magairle*, prob.

OE *bāc* (rarely 'belly', mostly 'jug'), Du. *buik*, OHG *būh*, MHG *būch*, NHG *bauch*, all 'belly', root connection disputed, either: Skt. *bhuj-*, Goth. *biugan* 'bend', etc., IE \**bheug-*, \**bheugh-*, or: words denoting 'swelling', etc. containing a syllable \**bhu-*. Walde-P. 2.146 (with preference for latter connection, that is, with 2.114 ff.). Falk-Torp 113.

OE *innob* 'belly, womb', lit. 'inner part': OE *innan* 'within', etc.

ME *bali*, NE *belly*: Ir. *bolg*, etc. (above, 4).

ON *magi*, Dan. *mave*, Sw. *mage*, OE *maga*, ME *mave* (NE *maw* only of animals), Du. *maag*, OHG *mago*, NHG *magen* 'stomach', prob.: Lith. *makas* 'purse', W. *megin* 'bellows'. Walde-P. 2.225.

6. Lith. *pilvas* 'belly', etym.? Leskien, Ablaut 359: Lith. *pilti* 'pour', *pilnas* 'full'. Better (though ultimately perh. the same root): Lat. *pēlvis* 'basin', Grk. *πέλλα* 'bowl, pail', etc. (Walde-P. 2.56 ff., without *pilvas*). Cf. the modern anatomical application of *pelvis*.

Lett. *vėdėrs*, above, 1.

Lith. *skilvis* 'stomach' (so in translations of NT, 1 Tim. 5.23; cf. also Kur-schat, Lalis, Gailius-Slaža, etc.), perh. (cf. Lett. *skilva*, 'maw of birds'): Lith. *skelti* 'split', etc. Walde-P. 2.594.

Lith. *pilvelis*, *pilvukas* (given for 'magen' by Senn, Lit. Spraclh., pp. 42, 267), dims. of *pilvas* 'belly'.

Lett. *pazirds* 'stomach', cpd. of *pa* 'under' and *zirds* 'heart'. Mühl.-Endz. 3.98.

7. ChSl. *črěvo* 'belly, womb', Boh. *stěvo*, SCR. *crěvo*, Pol. *trzewo* 'intestine', OPruss. *germs* 'body', root connection? Walde-P. 2.577. Berneker 150. Brückner 581.

ChSl. *qtroba* 'belly'(?), 'womb' (much less frequent than *črěvo*, Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 421; the examples are where Grk. *κοιλία* is 'womb', but this may be accidental), SCR., Bulg., Russ. *utroba* 'womb' (in church language), Pol. *wątroba* 'liver', all: ChSl. *jětro* 'liver', etc. (4.45).

SCR. *trubuh* 'belly', Pol. dial. *telbuch* id., Russ. *trebuch* 'intestine', etc., etym.? Miklosich 364. Brückner 567.

Boh. *břicho*, *břicho*, Pol. *brzuch*, Russ. *brjuch* 'belly': Goth. *brusts* 'breast', etc. (4.40), orig. 'swelling'. Walde-P. 2.198. Berneker 95 ff.

Boh. *život*, Pol. *żywt* 'belly, womb', Russ. *život* 'belly' (Lith. *žyvas* 'womb' fr. Pol. or Russ.), same as the word for 'life', ChSl. *životā*, Boh. *život*, etc. (4.74), applicable to either 'belly' (as 'stomach') or 'womb', as the source of life.

ChSl. (late) *želudākū*, SCR. *želudac*, etc., general Slavic for 'stomach', etym.? Against deriv. fr. *želqdi* 'acorn' (Brückner 665), see Meillet, Etudes 322 f.

8. Skt., Av. *udara-*, above, 1.

Skt. *jāthara-* 'belly, womb': Goth. *kilpei* 'womb', OE *cild* 'child', fr. IE \**gel-*, beside \**gel-* in words for round objects. Walde-P. 1.614. Feist 311.

Av. *maršā-* 'belly', perh. orig. 'bag' (cf. Ir. *bolg*, etc., above, 4), and the source, or from the same source as, Grk. *μάστιγος* 'bag, pouch'. Buck, IF 25.257.

\**id-s-to-*, \**oid-s-to-* and Grk. *οἶδος* 'swelling, tumor', *οἶμα* 'swelling', etc. Walde-P. 1.166. Berneker 434 f.

ChSl. \**jedro*, Russ. ChSl. *jadro* 'kernel, testicle', Pol. *jadro* 'kernel', pl. *jadra* 'testicles' (Boh., Russ. *jadro* 'kernel'), etym.? Perh. as orig. 'swelling' and fr. a nasalized \**ind-*: ChSl. *isto*, etc., above, but other combinations, as with Skt. *ajda-* 'egg, testicle', possible. Walde-P. 1.166. Berneker 455 f.

ChSl. *lono* 'bosom, lap' (as in Russ., Pol., etc.), late ChSl. also 'testicle', etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.158. Berneker 732.

ChSl. \**mqdo*, late *mudo*, SCR., Russ. (> Pol.) *mudo*, Boh. *moud*, etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.232. Miklosich 201.

SCR. *jajce* 'little egg', Russ. *jajco*, 'egg' (4.48), also testicle. Boh. *varle*, etym.?

Boh. *kulka* (also esp. 'bullet'), dim. of *koule* 'ball', fr. LG *kūle*. Berneker 641.

7. Skt. *ajda-* (du. *ajda* in AV.), same word as for 'egg' (4.48).

Skt. *muška-*, apparently dim. to *mūṣ-* 'mouse', from the shape (cf. Lat. *musculus* 'muscle', etc.). Walde-P. 2.313.

Av. *arzi*, above, 1.

## 4.492 PENIS



courage' (fr. \**alēnīlāre*) derivs. (with metathesis) of Lat. *anhēlare* 'breathe hard, puff, pant', fr. *an-* + \**anslā-* (cf. *hālāre* 'breathe out, exhale', with unetymological *h-*). REW 472, 473.

2. Grk. *πνέω* (*ánarwō* 'take breath', in NG the usual form for 'breathe'; cf. Fr. *respirer*, etc., below) with sb. *πνέμα*, *πνοή* : ON *fnýsa* 'sneeze, snort', OE *fnōsan* 'sneeze', etc., IE \**pneui-* in words for 'puff, pant, breathe, etc.'. Walde-P. 2.85 (with other similar groups with initial \**pn-*, all of imitative orig.).

NG *ánasáiwō* (with sb. *ánása*, back-formation), deriv. of class. Grk. *ánēsis* 'relaxation' (: *ánēnu* 'let go'), through *ánasáiwō*, then *ána-* by pop. etym. 'Relax' > 'catch one's breath', then also simply 'breathe'. Hatzidakis, *Mez.* 2.58, fn.

3. Lat. *spīrāre* (cpd. *respirāre* 'breathe again, take breath, etc.' > It. *respirare*, Fr. *respirer*, Sp. *respirar*), with sb. *spīritus* (It. *respiro* fr. *respirāre*) prob. : ChSl. *piskati* 'whistle', SCr. *pištati* 'hiss', ON *fisa* 'pedere' (4.64), etc., IE \*(s)peis- (imitative). Walde-P. 2.11.

It. *fiatare*, deriv. of *fiato*, fr. Lat. *flātus* 'blowing, snorting, breeze' sometimes also 'breath' : *flāre* 'blow', etc. REW 3359.

Fr. *souffle* (also 'wind, blast') back-formation fr. *souffler* 'blow, pant' (= Sp. *sollar*, Rum. *sufia*, etc.) fr. Lat. *sufflāre* 'blow' (10.38); Sp. *resollar*, Rum. *rásufia* (whence sb. *rásufiare*), fr. new cpd. parallel to Lat. *respirāre*. REW 8430. Pușcariu 1447.

Sp. *huelgo* (Port. *folego*), back-formation to Sp. *holgar* (Port. *folgar*) 'rest, cease from labor', orig. 'stop for breath' from 'pant', fr. VLat. *follicāre* 'swell or move as a bellows', deriv. of Lat. *foliis* 'bellows'. REW 3417.

4. Ir. *do-beirid* and lit. 'give breath'; for *anál*, etc., see above, 1.

5. Goth. *anan*, OE *orþian*, etc., above, 1.

OE *ǣpm*, Du. *adem*, OHG *átum*, MHG, NHG *atem*, whence the vbs. OE *ǣþian*, Du. *ademen*, OHG *átumōn*, etc. : Skt. *átman-* 'breath, soul, life', root connection? Walde-P. 1.118.

ME *breth*, *breeth*, NE *breath* (whence vb. ME *brethe*, NE *breathe*), fr. OE *brǣþ* 'odor, smell, scent' : OHG *brādam* 'exhalation, heat' (fr. the root in ON *brǣðr* 'heated', OE *brǣdan*, OHG *brātan* 'bake', etc.). The meaning 'breath' comes by specialization, either of 'exhalation' (the sense 'exhalation, vapor, steam' common in ME). Walde-P. 2.158. NED s.v. *breath*.

NHG *hauch*, fr. *hauchen*, MHG *hüchen* 'blow the breath, breathe out', of imitative orig. Weigand-H. 1.820.

6. Lith. *kvėpuoti*, *kvapas* : *kvėpti* 'blow the breath', *kvėpti* 'smell, emit an odor', Lett. *kvēpt* 'steam, smoke', Grk. *καπνός* 'smoke', Lat. *vapor* 'steam', etc. Specialization of 'exhalation'. Walde-P. 1.380.

Lett. *dvašoti*, *dvaša* (Lith. *dusti* 'get out of breath', *dvesti* 'expire, die', *dvesti* 'pant', *dvasia* 'spirit' also 'breath'), ChSl. *dychati* (*duchati* 'blow') with sbbs., *dychanije*, *duchā*, etc., general Slavic, fr. IE \**dhwes-*, \**dhus-*, extension of

\**dhew-* in Skt. *dhu-* 'shake, agitate', Grk. *thū* 'rage, seethe', etc. Walde-P. 1.846. Berneker 234 ff., 249.

Lett. *elpēt*, fr. the noun *elpe*, this prob. through 'weak breath' or 'pant' (cf. also Lett. *alpa* 'moment of time') : Lith. *alpti* 'faint', *alpnas* 'weak', this perh. : Skt. *alpa-* 'small'. Mühl.-Endz. 1.568.

7. Skt. *an-*, *ana-*, Av. *ānti-*, *parānti-*, above, 1.

Skt. *gvas-*, *gvasā-* : Av. *suši-* 'the lungs', Lat. *queri* 'lament, bewail', ON *hvasa*, OE *hwēsan* 'pant', etc. Walde-P. 1.474.

Skt. *átman-* : OE *ǣpm*, etc., above, 5.

## 4.52 YAWN, GAPE

|      |                        |       |                            |       |                 |
|------|------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | χάσσω, χασμάμαι        | Goth. | ...                        | Lith. | žiotauti, žioti |
| NG   | χάσσω, χασμουρούμαι    | ON    | gīna, gapa                 | Lett. | žāvdities       |
| Lat. | hiāre                  | Dan.  | gabe                       | ChSl. | zínati, zījati  |
| It.  | sbadiolare             | Sw.   | gapa                       | SCr.  | žijevati        |
| Fr.  | bâiller, bayer         | OE    | gīnan, gīnian, gānian      | Boh.  | zievati         |
| Sp.  | bostezar               | ME    | zone, yane, gape           | Pol.  | ziewać          |
| Rum. | căsa                   | NE    | yawn, gape                 | Russ. | zevat           |
| Ir.  | mēnaigim               | Du.   | gāpen, geeuwen             | Skt.  | jṛmbh-          |
| Nir. | doghnm mēanfadhach     | OHG   | gīnēn, gīēn, giwēn, etc.   | Av.   | ....            |
| W.   | dyllyfu gen            | MHG   | gīnen, geinen, geuen, etc. |       |                 |
| Br.  | dislewi gen, bazailhat | NHG   | gāhnen, gaffen             |       |                 |

The primary notion of the words listed here is 'open the mouth wide'. Many of them may be extended to 'open wide' in general (of the earth, etc.). Nearly all of them show secondary associations with mental attitudes of which the action is indicative, namely wonder, stupidity, or fatigue. In such secondary associations they may be differentiated, as NE *yawn* (with fatigue) and *gape* (indicating wonder or stupidity; hence also 'stare at' with open mouth, as usually *NHG gaffen*; but *gape* formerly and still locally 'yawn'), or be restricted to one or another of these notions.

1. IE \**ǵhē(i)-*, \**ǵhī-*, \**ǵhīā-*. Walde-P. 1.548 ff. Ernout-M. 453 f. Walde-H. 1.648.

Grk. *χάσσω* (late *χαίνω*), *χασμάω*, -άομαι (through *χάσμα* 'open mouth, yawning space, chasm', or \**χασμός*), NG *χάσσω* now 'gape', *χασμούμαι* (lit.) or *χασμουρούμαι* (as if from a \**χασμούρα*, like *κλεισούρα* 'gorge', etc.) now 'yawn'; Lat. *hiāre*; ON *gīna*, OE *gīnan*, *gīnian*, *gānian*, ME *zone*, *yane*, *gane*, NE *yawn* (NED s.v. *gane*, vb. and *yawn*, vb.), Du. *geeuwen*, OHG *gīnēn*, *geimōn*, *giēn*, *giwēn*, etc., MHG *gīnen*, *geinen*, *geuen*, etc., NHG *gāhnen*; Lith. *žiotauti*, in cpds. -*žioti*, Lett. *žāvdities*; ChSl. *zínati*, *zījati* (pres. *zējā* and *zījāja*), etc., general Slavic; Toch. A *šew* (G. S. Lane, *Language* 21.21).

Here prob. also ON, Sw. *gapa*, Dan. *gabe* (ME, NE *gape* fr. Norse), Du. *gāpen*, MHG, NHG *gaffen*, fr. an extension of the same root, as if IE \**ǵhā-b-* (\**ǵhā-* as in Grk. *χάσσω*). Walde-P. 2.552. Falk-Torp 293 f.

2. OFr. *baaillier*, Fr. *bâiller*, fr. a late Lat. *bataclāre* (gl.), also It. *sbadiolare*, with different formation, but both derivs. of VLat. \**batāre* (> OFr. *baer*, beer, Fr. *bayer* 'gape', etc.) fr. an imitative *ba*. REW 986, 988. Wartburg 1.281 ff., 287.

Sp. *bostezar*, a differentiated form (with unexplained *st*, Cuervo, s.v.; perh. by a blend with a VLat. \**osticāre* by transposition fr. Lat. *oscitāre* 'yawn'), of *bocēzar* formerly 'yawn' (now 'move the lips', of animals eating), Port. *bocējar* 'yawn' : It. *boccheggiare* 'gasp' (of fish out of water), dial. *boccheare* 'yawn', all derivs. of *bo(c)ca* 'mouth' (4.24).

Rum. *căsa*, fr. Grk. *χάσσω* (above, 1). Tiktin 305.

3. Ir. *mēnaigim*, Nl. *mēanfuihim* (not used; rather *doghnm mēanfadhach* 'make a yawn'), deriv. of *mēn*, Nir. *mēan* 'mouth' (4.24).

W. *dyllyfu gen*, Br. *dislewi gen*, phrases with *gen* 'jaw, chin' (4.207), the verbs, used only in these phrases, being cpds. with prefix *W. dy-*, Br. *di(s)-*, but second

The majority of the words for 'sweat' belong to an inherited group pointing to an IE word for this notion. In most of the others 'sweat' is a specialization of 'heat'. Noun and verb are regularly parallel, and in this case it is the nouns that are listed.

1. Derivs. of IE \**sweid-* (in part with *r*-suffix). Walde-P. 2.521. Ernout-M. 997.

Grk. *ἰδρώς*, NG *īdōras* (for accent, cf. Hatzidakis, *Mez.* 1.190, 2.91); Lat. *sūdor* (> It. *sudore*, Fr. *sueur*, Sp. *sudor*, Rum. *sudoare*); W. *chwys*, Br. *c'houez*; ON *sveiti*, OE *swāt*, etc., general Gmc. (ME *swet*, NE *sweat* fr. the vb. ME *seathen*, OE *swēthan*); Lett. *sviedri* (pl.); Skt. *sveda-*, Av. *x'wāda-*; Arm. *k'irtin*, Alb. *dirse*, *djersē*.

2. Rum. *nădușeală*, fr. *năduși* 'make sweat, sweat', fr. *năduf* 'sultriness,

closeness, asthma', this a loanword fr. Slavic, SCr. *neduh* 'asthma', etc. (neg. *ne + duh* beside *dah* 'breath', 4.51). Tiktin 774, 1030.

3. Ir. *allas*, Nir. *allus*, etym.? (Mac-bain 162 as \**yas-l-* : W. *ias* 'boiling, seething', Grk. *ζέω* 'boil', etc.; not in Walde-P. 1.208, Stokes 223).

4. Lith. *prakaitas* : *kaisti*, Lett. *kaist* 'become hot', etc., OHG *heiz*, ON *heitr*, OE *hāt* 'hot' (parallel *t-* and *d-* extensions of an IE \**kāi-*). Walde-P. 1.327.

5. ChSl. *potū*, etc., general Slavic, (but SCr. only dial.) fr. \**poktū* : ChSl. *pekū* 'heat', *pešti*, *pekā* 'bake', Lat. *coquere*, Skt. *pac-* 'cook', etc. Walde-P. 2.18. Brückner 432.

SCr. *znoj* = ChSl., Boh., Russ. *znoj*, Pol. *znoj* 'sultry heat, etc.'. Brückner 655.

## 4.56 SPIT (vb.)

|      |             |       |                          |       |              |
|------|-------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|--------------|
| Grk. | πτίω        | Goth. | speiwan                  | Lith. | spiauti      |
| NG   | πτίω        | ON    | hrakja, spjta            | Lett. | spī'aud      |
| Lat. | spuere      | Dan.  | spytte                   | ChSl. | pljivati     |
| It.  | sputare     | Sw.   | spotta                   | SCr.  | pljuvati     |
| Fr.  | cracher     | OE    | spātian, hræcan, spytlan | Boh.  | plivati      |
| Sp.  | escupir     | ME    | spele, spitte (reche)    | Pol.  | pluć         |
| Rum. | scuipa      | NE    | spit                     | Russ. | plevat       |
| Ir.  | saile (sb.) | Du.   | spuuen                   | Skt.  | šhiv-        |
| Nir. | sailighim   | OHG   | spitcan                  | Av.   | spāma- (sb.) |
| W.   | poeri       | MHG   | spī(w)en                 |       |              |
| Br.  | skopa, tufa | NHG   | spieien, spucken         |       |              |

The majority of the words for 'spit' are of imitative origin, and most of these belong to an inherited group, which, though partly affected by new imitative associations, clearly reflect an IE expression.

1. IE \**spēu-*, *spyū-*, etc. Most of the forms included here are derivable by regular phonetic processes from init. \**spy-*, but some owe their form to new associations. Walde-P. 2.683. Ernout-M. 969.

Grk. *πτίω*, NG pop. *πτίω*, *πτύω*, *πτύω*; Lat. *spuere*, frequent. *spūtāre* (> It. *sputare*, OFr. *espuer*); Goth. *speiwan*, Du. *spuuen*, OHG *spīwan*, *spīan*, MHG *spī(w)en*, *spūen*, NHG *speien* (in the older language also 'spew, vomit', as chiefly OE *spīwan*, ON *spjja*, cf. 4.57), ON *spjta*, Dan. *spytte*, Sw. *spotta*, OE *spytlan*, ME *spitte*, NE *spit*, OE *spātlan*, ME *spete*, NHG *spucken* (Weigand-H. 2.936, Falk-Torp 1137, 1138); Lith. *spiauti*, Lett. *spī'aud*; ChSl. *pljivati*, etc., general

Slavic; Skt. *śhiv-*, *śhīw-* (Av. *spāma-* 'spittle, slime'); Arm. *t'k'anem*.

2. Fr. *cracher*, fr. an imitative \**krak*, but prob. blended with a Gmc. form belonging with OE *hræcan*, etc. (below, 4). REW 4752.

Sp. *escupir*, OFr. *escopir* (> Br. *skopa*), Rum. *scuipa* (Maced.-Rum. *ascupir*), history much disputed, but prob. fr. some VLat. deformation (with metathesis of *c-sp* to *sc-p*) of Lat. *conspuere* (cf. Port. *cuspir*). REW 8014. Pușcariu 1566.

3. Ir. *saile*, Nir. *seile* 'spittle', fr. Lat. *saliva* 'spittle'. Pedersen 1.211. Hence denom. Nir. *seilighim*, but in older language vb. 'spit' rendered by locutions

as *do-biur* (*fo-cerdim*, *lāim*, etc.) *mo saile*, and commonly also Nir. *gabhaim* (*cuirim*, *caithim*) *mo sheile* lit. 'put (cast, etc.) my spit'.

W. *poeri* (*poer* sb.), orig.? Br. *skopa*, fr. OFr. *escopir* (above, 2). Henry 243.

Br. *tuſa*, prob. of imitative orig. Henry 274.

4. ON *hrækja*, OE *hræcan*, ME *reche* (NE *retch*, *reach*), also 'hawk, clear the throat' (as mostly OHG *rachisōn*, MHG *rächsenen*) : OE *hræca*, OHG *raho* 'throat', etc., all of imitative orig. (cf. Skt. *kharj-* 'creak', etc.). Walde-P. 2.415. Falk-Torp 381, 867.

## 4.57 VOMIT (vb.)

|      |                    |       |                          |       |                 |
|------|--------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | ἐμέω               | Goth. | ...                      | Lith. | vemti           |
| NG   | ἐμεῶν              | ON    | spjja                    | Lett. | vemt            |
| Lat. | vomere             | Dan.  | brække sig               | ChSl. | bljivati        |
| It.  | vomitare, recere   | Sw.   | kräkas                   | SCr.  | bljuvati        |
| Fr.  | vomir              | OE    | spīwan                   | Boh.  | dáviti, bliti   |
| Sp.  | vomitir            | ME    | speue (pomyte)           | Pol.  | vomitowac       |
| Rum. | vărsa, vomita      | NE    | vomit, speu              | Russ. | blevat, izrygat |
| Ir.  | scéim              | Du.   | braken                   | Skt.  | vam-, chrd-vam- |
| Nir. | scéilhim           | OHG   | (ar)spīwan               | Av.   |                 |
| W.   | cijfogi, chwydu    | MHG   | spituen, (stich brechen) |       |                 |
| Br.  | c'houeda, dislonka | NHG   | sich (er)brechen         |       |                 |

Beside the usual word for 'vomit', generally avoided in polite speech, there are in most of the modern languages a number of euphemistic expressions corresponding to NE *throw up*, as Dan. *kaste op*, Sw. *kasta upp*, NHG *auswerfen*, Boh. *vrhnouti*, Pol. *vomitowac*, etc., or 'reject, give back, return' as Fr. *rejeter*, *rendre* (la gorge), Nir. *árlacaim*, and especially in Slavic 'turn back, return', SCr. *powraćiti*, Boh. *zvrátiti*, etc., and 'tear, pull out' as Russ. *rvat'*, *vyrvat'*. Such locutions (except some that have lost all association with the older literal meaning and are used only for 'vomit', like It. *recere* in contrast to Fr. *rejeter*), are not included in the list.

1. IE \**uem-*. Walde-P. 1.262 f. Ernout-M. 1133 f.

Grk. *ἐμέω*; Lat. *vomere* (> Fr. *vomir*; Lat. frequent. *vomitāre* > It. *vomitare*, Sp. *vomitir*, Rum. *vomita*); Lith. *vemti*, Lett. *vemt*; Skt., Av. *vam-*.

2. NG *ἐμεῶν*, fr. Grk. *ἐξ-εμέω* 'evacuate (by purge or vomit)', 'disgorge' (-*εμέω* only in cpds., cf. *ἀν-εμέω* 'pour out a fluid', etc.), fr. the root in Skt. *rasa-* 'sap, fluid', Lat. *rōs* 'dew', etc. Walde-P. 1.149. Hatzidakis, *Mez.* 1.292.

3. It. *recere*, fr. Lat. *reicere* 'throw back' (*iacere* 'throw'). REW 7183.

Rum. *vărsa* (and refl. *se vărsa*), lit. 'pour' (= Fr. *verser*, etc.), fr. Lat. *ver-sāre* 'turn'. REW 9242. Pușcariu 1861.

part obscure (: W. *llyfu* 'lick' and so first used of animals licking their jaws?). Henry 101.

Br. *bazailhat*, fr. some Romance form of *bataclāre* (above, 2), cf. OProv. *badal-*

*har*, Gascon *badatar*, etc. Ernault, *Glossaire* 225.

4. Skt. *jṛmbh-*, etym.? (Uhlenbeck 102 : ChSl. *glābokū* 'deep', but cf. Berneker 307).

## 4.53 COUGH (vb.)

|      |                  |       |             |       |                |
|------|------------------|-------|-------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | βήσω             | Goth. | ...         | Lith. | kosėti         |
| NG   | βήσω             | ON    | hōde        | Lett. | kāsti, klepuot |
| Lat. | tussire          | Dan.  | høde        | ChSl. | kašljati       |
| It.  | tossire          | Sw.   | hosta       | SCr.  | kašljati       |
| Fr.  | toussier         | OE    | hwoetan     | Boh.  | kašlati        |
| Sp.  | toser            | ME    | coghe, host | Pol.  | kaszlać        |
| Rum. | tuși             | NE    | cough       | Russ. | kašlat         |
| Ir.  | casachtach (sb.) | Du.   | hoesten     | Skt.  | kās-           |
| Nir. | casachtach (sb.) | OHG   | huostin     | Av.   | ....           |
| W.   | pesychu          | MHG   | huosten     |       |                |
| Br.  | pasaat           | NHG   | husten      |       |                |

Some of the words for 'cough' are clearly of imitative origin, and so probably several of the others in which the appropriateness is less apparent (in some cases 'cough' may be a secondary specialization of an imitative expression applied to various sudden involuntary actions). Noun and verb are regularly parallel, in most cases the verb being derived from the noun. Only the verbal forms are listed, except for Irish, where the verbal notion is expressed only by a phrase containing the noun.

1. IE \**kʷs-*, prob. of imitative orig. Walde-P. 1.506.

Ir. *casachtach* 'a cough' (Nir. *doghnm casachtach* 'cough', lit. 'make a cough'), W. *pesychu* beside *pesuch* 'a cough' (derivs. of arch. *pas* id.), Br. *pasaat* (fr. sb. *pas*); ON *hōsta*, Dan. *hoste*, Sw. *hosta*, OE *hwōstan*, ME *host* (NE *hoast*), Du. *hoesten*, OHG *huostēn*, MHG *huosten*, NHG *husten*; Lith. *kosėti*, Lett. *kāsti*, late ChSl. *kašljati* (fr. sb. \**kašlī*, *kašlī*), SCr. *kašljati*, etc., general Slavic; Skt. *kās-*.

2. Grk. *βήσω* (with sb. *βήξ*, gen. *βήξος*), NG *βήσω* (new pres. to aor. *βήξα*, with sb. *βήξας*, perh. of imitative orig., though only the *x* seems appropriate).

3. Lat. *tussire* (> It. *tossire*, OFr. *toussir*, Sp. *toser*, Rum. *tuși*; Fr. *toussier* fr. the sb.; REW 9015-16) deriv. of *tussis* 'a cough', prob. : Lat. *tundere* 'pound, beat', Skt. *tud-* 'pound, thrust, prick', Goth. *staulan*, OHG *stōzan*, etc. 'thrust'. Cf. the use of NE *hack* (NED s.v. *hack*, sb. 5) and *cough*. Walde-P. 2.618.

4. ME *co(u)ghe*, *conve*, NE *cough* : Du. *kuchen*, MDu. *kuchen*, *kichen* 'cough slightly', NHG *keuchen*, MHG *kichen* 'breathe with difficulty, pant', MHG *kūchen* 'blow (the breath) hard', Sw. *kikna* 'choke'; all prob. of imitative orig. NED s.v. Weigand-H. 1.1028.

5. Lett. *klepnot* (sb. *klepus*), prob. : *klapstēt* 'clatter', Lith. *klepterėti* 'clap', ChSl. *klepati* 'knock', etc., all of imitative orig.

daintily', fr. a parallel root form with initial *s-*. Falk-Torp 1063.

Here also It. *leccare*, Fr. *lécher*, either as deriv. of a VLat. \**līgicāre* intensive to *lingere*, or else fr. the Gmc., OHG *lēcōn*, etc. REW 5027. Gamillscheg 555.

2. Sp. *lamer*, Port. *lamber* fr. Lat.

## 4.61 SLEEP (vb.; sb.)

|      |                                     |       |                                |       |                                 |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|
| Grk. | καθεύδω, κοιμάμαι;<br>εγνος         | Goth. | slēpan; slēps                  | Lith. | miegoti; miegas                 |
| NG   | κοιμώμαι (-άμαι);<br>εγνος          | ON    | sofa; svefn                    | Lett. | miegoti; miegs                  |
| Lat. | dormire; somnus                     | Dan.  | søve; søm                      | ChSl. | sūpati; sūnā                    |
| It.  | dormire; sonno                      | Sw.   | söva; sömn                     | SCR.  | spavati; san, spavanje          |
| Fr.  | dormir; sommeil                     | OE    | slēpan; svefan; slæp;<br>suefn | Boh.  | spáti; spaní, spánek            |
| Sp.  | dormir; sueño                       | ME    | sleep; slepe                   | Pol.  | spać; sen, spanie               |
| Rum. | dormi; somn                         | NE    | sleep; sleep                   | Russ. | spat'; son, span'e              |
| Ir.  | con-tulim (foaim);<br>sūan, cotladh | Du.   | slapen; zlaap                  | Skt.  | svap-; drā-; svapna-;<br>nidrā- |
| Nlr. | codlaime; codladh,<br>suan          | OHG   | slafen; sláf, sweep            | Av.   | z'ap-; z'afna-                  |
| W.   | cysgu, huno; hun,<br>cwyg           | MHG   | slafen; sláf, sweep            |       |                                 |
| Br.  | kousket, huni; kousk,<br>hun        | NHG   | schlafen; schlof               |       |                                 |

Many of the words for 'sleep' belong to an inherited group reflecting an IE verbal root and an established substantive form for 'sleep'. Others are cognate with words meaning 'lie, rest, quiet, slack, blank'. Verb and noun are generally parallel, but not in Greek or Latin, and both forms are listed. The verbal forms listed are those that mean 'be asleep', beside which there are distinctive types for 'fall asleep' and 'put to sleep'. Several of the nouns are used also for 'dream' (4.62).

1. IE \**sweep-*, sb. \**sweep-no-s*, \**swop-no-s*, \**sup-no-s*. Walde-P. 2.523 f. Ernout-M. 954 f. Falk-Torp 1109 f.

ON *sofa*, Dan. *søve*, Sw. *söve*, OE *suefan*; ChSl. *sūpati*, etc., general Slavic verbs; Skt. *svap-*, Av. *x'ap-*; beside forms for 'put to sleep', as Lat. *sleepire*, ON *svefja*, OE *suebban*, OHG *antsweb-*

*jan*, -*suebban*, MHG *entsweben*; or 'fall asleep', as ON *sofna*, ChSl. *usūnati*, etc.

Grk. *εγνος*; Lat. *sonnus* (> It. *sonno*, Sp. *sueño*, Rum. *somn*, OFr. *somme* [now 'nap']; Fr. *sommeil* fr. dim. \**som-niculus*); Ir. *sūan*, W., Br. *hun* (denom. vbs. W. *hunio*, Br. *huni*, *hun(i)a*); ON *svefn*, Dan. *søm*, Sw. *sömn*, OE *svefn*; (Lith. *sapnas*, Lett. *sapnis*, *sapns* 'dream'); ChSl. *sūnā*, Scr. *san*, Pol. *sen*, Russ. *son* (all these also, and Boh. *sen* only, 'dream'); Skt. *svapna-*, Av. *x'afna-* (also Iran. \**x'āpa-*, NPers. *x'āp*, cf. Beneveniste, BSL 30.75 ff.); Arm. *k'un*; Alb. *gjum*; Toch. A *spām*, *spān*, *sāpn*.

Lat. *sopor*, of different formation (\**sweepōs*, like *amor*, etc.), mostly poet. and esp. 'overpowering sleep', sometimes personified.

ChSl. (late) *sūpani'je*, SCR. *spavanje*, Boh. *spaní*, *spánek*, Pol. *spanie*, Russ.

*span'e*, vbl. nouns 'sleeping', fr. the vbs. ChSl. *sūpati*, etc.

2. Grk. *εἰδω*, *καθεύδω*, etym.? Boisacq 293. Otrębski, KZ 66.248.

Grk. *κοιμάμαι* (mostly in aor. 'fall asleep'; act. 'put to sleep'), NG *κοιμώμαι* (or -άμαι) : Grk. *κείμαι* 'lie', Skt. *ç-* 'lie, rest', also 'sleep, fall asleep', Av. *šdy-* 'rest', etc. Walde-P. 1.358 f.

3. Lat. *dormire* (> Romance vbs.) : ChSl. *drēmati* 'slumber, drowse', Skt. *drā-* 'sleep', Hom. aor. *ἐδραβον* 'sleep', late pres. *δραβάνω*, etc. Walde-P. 1.821. Ernout-M. 283 f. Walde-H. 1.372.

4. OIr. *con-tulim*, Mlr. *collaim*, Nlr. *collaim*, vbl. n. OIr. *collud*, Nlr. *colladh*, also rarely uncompounded e.g. 3 sg. pret. *toilis*, etc. : ChSl. *toliti* 'pacify, quiet, still (hunger, thirst)', Lith. *tilti* 'become quiet, silent'. Walde-P. 1.740 f. Pedersen 2.655 f.

## 4.62 DREAM (sb.)

|      |                    |       |                      |       |               |
|------|--------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|---------------|
| Grk. | δνειρος, ἐνπνιον   | Goth. | ....                 | Lith. | sapnas        |
| NG   | δνειρο             | ON    | svefn, draumr        | Lett. | sapnis, sapns |
| Lat. | somnium, insomnium | Dan.  | drøm                 | ChSl. | sūnā          |
| It.  | sogno              | Sw.   | dröm                 | SCR.  | san           |
| Fr.  | rêve, songe        | OE    | svefn, mating        | Boh.  | sen           |
| Sp.  | ensueño, sueño     | ME    | sweven, drem(e), me- | Pol.  | sen           |
| Rum. | vise               |       | ting                 | Russ. | son           |
| Ir.  | aisling            | NE    | dream                | Skt.  | svapna-       |
| Nlr. | brionglōid, laidh- | Du.   | dream                | Av.   | ....          |
|      | bhreachd, aisling  | OHG   | troum                |       |               |
| W.   | breuddwyd          | MHG   | troum                |       |               |
| Br.  | hũure              | NHG   | troum                |       |               |

Many of the nouns for 'dream' are the same as, or derived from, those for 'sleep'. Other sources are notions like 'sight, appearance, revelation', or 'deceit'.

1. IE \**sweep-no-s*, etc. 'sleep' (4.61) or derivs. of it.

Grk. *ἐνπνιον*; Lat. *somnium* (> It. *sogno*, Fr. *songe*, Sp. *sueño*), later also *insomnium* (> Sp. *ensueño*, etc.) modeled on Grk. *ἐνπνιον*; Br. *hũure* (fr. *hun* 'sleep'); OE *svefn* (also

'sleep'), ME *sweven*; Lith. *sapnas*, Lett. *sapnis*, *sapns*; ChSl. *sūnā*, SCR. *san*, etc. (also 'sleep', except Boh. *sen*); Skt. *svapna-* (also 'sleep'); Toch. A *spām* (also 'sleep').

2. Grk. *δνειρος* and *δνap* (nom.-acc. only), NG *δνειρο* : Arm. *anurj*, Alb. *andër* 'dream', root connection? Walde-P. 1.180.

3. Fr. *rêve*, beside vb. *rêver* 'dream' also 'be delirious, mad', etym. much disputed. Derivation fr. VLat. \**rabia*,

ciation with *pergere*) Walde-P. 1.599. Ernout-M. 315.

It. *svegliare*, Fr. *éveiller* (more commonly deriv. *réveiller*), VLat. \**exvigilāre*, cpd. of Lat. *vigilāre* 'stay awake, keep watch' (> Fr. *veiller*, etc.), deriv. of *vigil* 'awake, lively' : *vigēre* 'be lively, vigorous', etc. (cf. the Gmc. group, below, 6). REW 3114. Ernout-M. 1064 f. Sp., Port. *despertar*, fr. Sp. *despierto*, Port. (*desperto* 'awake', deriv. of Lat. *expergisci* (above, 1). REW 3043.

5. Ir. *do-fūsicim* (e.g. 3 sg. *do-fūsici, nī diuschí*, etc.), Nlr. *dūsighim, dūsīm* fr. *di-*, *od-*, and *sech-* (cpds. only e.g. *dofar-siged* 'significatum est') : Grk. *ἐντεω* 'tell, relate', Lat. *insueque* imperat. 'tell', W. *heb* 'says', etc. Semantic development fr. 'call up' or the like to 'wake' (trans., then also intr.). Walde-P. 2.477 ff. Pedersen 2.620. Here also (\**imm-od-sc-al-*) Nlr. *mūsclaim*, Gael. *mosgail*. Macbain 254.

W. *dihuno*, Br. *dihuna, dihuni*, lit. 'un-sleep', neg. *di-* and *huno*, etc. 'sleep' (4.62).

W. *deffroi*, older *effroi*, fr. adj. *effroi* 'awake', etym.? (Morris Jones, by dissim. fr. \**eks-pro-gr*, with root as above, 1; but cf. Loth, RC 36, 168 f.).

6. Goth. *us-wakjan*, etc. all the Gmc. words : Lat. *vigēre* 'be lively, vigorous', *vegēre* 'move, excite', Skt. *vāja-* 'strength, vigor', etc., IE \**weğ-*. Walde-P. 1.246 f. Falk-Torp 1338 f.

The original distribution of the Gmc. forms is seen in Goth. *wakan*, ON *vaka* 'be awake, watch', inchoative Goth. *gavaknan*, ON *vakna* 'become awake, wake up', caus. Goth. *uswakjan*, ON *vekja* 'cause to wake', and similarly in OE (where there are also a number of cpds. with *on-*, *a-* not given in the list); but the simple inchoative OE *wacnan*, *wacnian* means 'come into being', and only the cpd. *onwacnan* is regularly 'be-

come awake'. In ME the forms of the strong OE (*wacnan*), *wōc*, *wōcon* coalesced with the weak OE *wacian* and ME

(a) *wake*, (a) *wakene* are used indiscriminately for 'be awake, become awake', and also with causative sense superseding ME (a) *wecche*, OE *weccan*. Hence NE *wake*, *awake*, *waken*, *awaken* trans. and intr., but in common use *wake* 'become awake', *awake* only adj., whence *be awake* for the state. Cf. NED s.v.v. *wake*, vb. and *waken*, vb.

7. Lett. *muodināt*, *muodēt*, *muost* : *muodrs* 'lively, gay', Lith. *mandrus*,

*mundrus* 'lively, arrogant', OHG *muntar* 'zealous, lively' (NHG *munter*), etc. Walde-P. 2.270 f.

8. Pol. *czuwać* (only 'be awake') : ChSl. *čuti* 'feel, notice', Russ. *čujat'* 'experience, feel', Slov. *čuti* 'hear, wake', etc., Grk. *κοῖω* 'notice', Lat. *cavēre* 'take heed', Goth. *hausjan*, etc. 'hear', etc., IE \**keu-*. Walde-P. 1.368 ff. Berneker 162.

Russ. *prosnut'sja* (refl.), apparently new formation after *usnut'* 'fall asleep', ChSl. *usūnati*, etc. id. : Russ. *son*, ChSl. *sūnū* 'sleep', etc. (4.62).

## 4.64 BREAK WIND, FART (vb.)

|      |                  |       |                        |       |                  |
|------|------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | πέρδωμαι, βέβω   | Goth. | ....                   | Lith. | persti; bezdėti  |
| NG   | κλάνω, πορδίζω   | ON    | freta; fisa            | Lett. | pirst, bezdēt    |
| Lat. | pēdere (vissire) | Dan.  | fjerle; fise           | ChSl. | ....             |
| It.  | spezzare         | Sw.   | fjerta; fisa           | SCR.  | prāiti           |
| Fr.  | péter, vesser    | OE    | ferian, sb. fisting    | Boh.  | prāiti, boditi   |
| Sp.  | peer             | ME    | ferle, fyste           | Pol.  | pierdzić, bzdzić |
| Rum. | băși             | NE    | fart                   | Russ. | perdel', bedel'  |
| Ir.  | braigim          | Du.   | ferzen                 | Skt.  | prd-             |
| Nlr. | broimnighim      | OHG   | ferzan                 | Av.   | prad-            |
| W.   | bramu, rhechain  | MHG   | ferzen; visten         |       |                  |
| Br.  | bramma           | NHG   | ferzen, furzen; fisten |       |                  |

The majority of the words belong to one of the two inherited groups, both prob. of imitative origin. The others are either likewise of imitative origin or from the notion of 'break'.

Phrases with the noun, like It. *tirar peti*, Rum. *da băgini*, etc., are omitted, though these are more or less popular in all languages and in some are in more common use than the verbs listed.

1. IE \**perd-*. Walde-P. 2.49.

Grk. *πέρδωμαι*, aor. *ἐπαρδον* (sb. *πορδή*, hence NG *πορδίζω*); W. *rhechain* (denom. of *rhech* fr. \**prd-kā-*); ON *freta*, Dan. *fjerle*, Sw. *fjarta*, OE *feortan*, ME *ferle*, NE *fert*, OHG *ferzan*, MHG *verzen*, late MHG *varzen*, and denom. *varzen*, NHG *farzen*, *furzen*; Lith. *persti*, Lett. *pirst*, SCR. *prāiti*, Boh. *prđiti*, Pol. *pierdzić*,

Russ. *perdel'*; Skt. *prd-* (Dhātup.; now quotable *pardate*), Av. *parad-* (3 pl. *paradan*); Alb. *pjërth* (sb. *pordhë* fr. NG *πορδή*).

2. IE \**pezd-*, \**bzd-*, of imitative orig., but prob. through 'blow' (as in words pointing to IE \**pes-* 'blow'). Walde-P. 2.68 f. Ernout-M. 748. Brückner 54.

Grk. *βέβω*; Lat. *pēdere* (> Olt. *pedere*, OFr. *poire*, Sp. *peer*; It. *spezzare*, Fr. *péter*, derivs. of the nouns *pelo*, *pet*, Lat. *peditum*; REW 6345, 6358); Lith. *bezdėti*, Lett. *bezdēt* (*bezd-* for *pezd-* by assim. or by blend with \**bzd-*), Slov. *pezdeti*, Boh. *bzditi*, Pol. *bzdzić*, Russ. *bzdel'*.

3. NG *κλάνω* = Byz. *κλάνω* 'break', fr. Grk. *κλάνω* id. Cf. NE *break wind*.

4. Ir. *mūnaim*, *mūnigim*, Nlr. *mūnaim*, with Ir. *mūn* 'urine' : Skt. *mūtrā-* id. (whence denom. *mūtraya-*, but usually *mūtram kr-* lit. 'make urine'), Av. *mūtra-* 'filth, dung', MLG *modder*, NE *mud*, etc., also Lith. *maudyti* 'bathe', ChSl. *myti* 'wash', fr. IE \**mew-*, \**mew-d-*, etc. Walde-P. 2.249 f.

Ir. *fūal*, Nlr. *fual* 'urine', perh. with prefix *wo-* : W. *eulon* 'dung', this : Goth. *fūls*, OE *fūl* 'foul', Lat. *pūs* 'pus', Skt. *pū-* 'stink', etc. Loth, RC 45.190 f. (vs. Stokes 266).

W. *troethi*, Br. *troaza*, fr. W. *troeth* 'lye, urine, wash', Br. *troaz* 'urine' ('not fully relevé', Vallée) : W. *trunc* 'urine, lye', perh. Lat. *stercus* 'dung', etc. Walde-P. 2.641. But Pedersen 1.124 as 'lessive, lye' (for washing) : MBr. *gou-zronequet* 'bathe', Ir. *fo-thrucud* id., Lith. *trinkti* 'wash'.

W. *piss*, with sb. *pis*, fr. ME *pisse*, NE *piss*. Parry-Williams 141.

Br. *staola*, deriv. of *staot*, MBr. *staut* 'urine' (esp. of animals, but also of men), loanword fr. Gmc., Dan. *stalle*, Sw. *stalla*, MLG, NHG *stallen* (OFr. *estaler*), NE *stale*, all 'urinate' (of horses, NHG *stallen* dial. also of men), these perh. (with special application to horses in-

fluenced by the words for 'stall, stable') : Grk. *σταλάσσω* 'drip'. Walde-P. 2.642. Henry 252. Loth, Rom. 19, 593.

5. OHG *seichan*, MHG *seichen* (NHG dial. id.), LG *sēken* (sbs. OHG *seih*, MHG *seich*), fr. IE \**seig-*, beside \**seik-* in ChSl. *sīcati*, Boh. *scáti*, Pol. *szczać*, Russ. *scat'* : OE *seōn*, OHG *sihan*, NHG *seihen* 'strain, filter', Skt. *si-* 'pour out, shed', Lat. *siat* : *οἶπεῖ ἐπὶ βρόχους* (gl.). Walde-P. 2.466 f. Weigand-H. 2.835. Brückner 545.

MHG *harmen*, *hermen*, NHG *harnen*, fr. sbs. NHG *harn*, MHG *harm*, *harn*, OHG *haran*, 'urine' cf. MHG vb. *hurmen* 'manure', prob. : Lith. *šarmas* 'lye from ashes', Lett. *sarms*, OPruss. *sirmes* 'lye'. Walde-P. 1.463.

6. Lith. *myži* etc., above, 1. Lith. *šlapumas* 'wetness' (: *šlapias* 'wet', 15.83) and, esp. pl., *šlapumai*, 'urine'.

7. ChSl. *sīcati*, etc. : OHG *seichan*, etc. (above, 5).

SCR. *mokriti*, Boh. *močiti*, etc., with sbs. SCR. *mokrača*, Boh. *moč*, etc. : ChSl. *mokrū* 'wet' (15.83).

8. Skt. *mih-*, Av. *miz-*, etc., above, 1. Skt. *mūtraya-*, *mūtra-* : Ir. *mūn*, 'urine', etc., above, 4.

4. Lat. *vissire*, sb. *vi(s)id*, *vissium* (all only in glosses), prob. of imitative orig., like ON *fisa*, etc. (below, 6). Hence Rum. *băși*, Fr. sb. *vesse*, vb. *vesser*. Ernout-M. 1116. REW 9382.

5. Ir. *braigim*, Nlr. *broimnighim* (fr. sb. *broimn*), W. *bramu*, Br. *bramma* (fr. sb. W. *bram*, Br. *bramm*) : Lat. *frangere* 'break', *fragor* 'breaking, crash, din',

ON *braka* 'creak', etc. Walde-P. 2.193. Walde-H. 1.539.

6. ON *fisa*, Dan. *fise*, Sw. *fisa*, OE sb. *fisting*, ME vb. *fyste* (cf. NED s.v. *fist*, sb.), vb.?, etc.), Du. *veesten*, MHG *visten*, *visten*, NHG *fisten*, of imitative orig., prob. through 'blow' (cf. also Lat. *spirāre* 'breathe', ChSl. *piskati* 'whistle'). Walde-P. 2.11. Falk-Torp 220 f.

## 4.65 URINATE; URINE

|      |                              |       |                               |       |                               |
|------|------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| Grk. | οὐρία, οὐρέω; οὐρον, οὐρία   | Goth. | ....                          | Lith. | myži; myzalai (pl.), šlapumas |
| NG   | κατοῦρα; κάτρουρο            | ON    | mīga                          | Lett. | mīst; mīzali (pl.)            |
| Lat. | mingere, meiere; ūrina       | Dan.  | pisse; urin                   | ChSl. | slcati; slēt                  |
| It.  | urinar, pisciare; orina      | Sw.   | pissa; urin                   | SCR.  | mokriti, pīskati; mokrača     |
| Fr.  | uriner, pisser; urine        | OE    | mīgan; mīgoþa, mīþa           | Boh.  | scáti, močiti; moč            |
| Sp.  | orinar, mear; orina          | ME    | pisse; piss; urine            | Pol.  | szczać, moczyć; mocz          |
| Rum. | urina, pișă; urina           | NE    | urinate, piss; urine, piss    | Russ. | scat', močiti'sja; moča       |
| Ir.  | mūnaim; fūal, mūn            | Du.   | pissen; urine                 | Skt.  | mih-, mūtraya-                |
| Nlr. | mūnaim; fūal                 | OHG   | seichan; haran, seich         | Av.   | miz-; mašma-, mizra-, metra-  |
| W.   | piso, troethi; pis, troeth   | MHG   | harmen, seichen; harn, seiche |       |                               |
| Br.  | staola, troaza; staot, troaz | NHG   | harnen, pissen; harn          |       |                               |

Several of the more respectable verbs, like NE *urinate*, etc., are derived from Lat. *ūrīna* 'urine'. Among the more euphemistic but still common terms, many (though not entered in the list) are parallel to NE *make water*, as Fr. *faire de l'eau*, Rum. *lăsa udul*, Dan. *lade vandel*, OHG *kāwa* (dial. *χίωα*) *tō vepō mu*.

Among those listed there is a widely distributed inherited group reflecting an IE root with this meaning. Another group, widespread through loanwords, is of imitative origin. Other words are connected with such notions as 'wet, pour, drip' or 'filth'. In several cases there are cognates meaning 'filth', 'lye', or 'wash', reflecting the common notions of either 'filth' or 'acidity', esp. the primitive use of urine as acid in washing.

1. IE \**meigh-*. Walde-P. 2.245 f. Ernout-M. 602, 616.

Grk. *οὐρέω* (so prob. for *οὐρέω*, etc.).

codd.; cf. Solmsen, IF 31.468), with sbs. *οὐρον*, NG *károupo* 'urine'; Lat. *ūrīna* 'urine'. Among the more euphemistic but still common terms, many (though not entered in the list) are parallel to NE *make water*, as Fr. *faire de l'eau*, Rum. *lăsa udul*, Dan. *lade vandel*, OHG *kāwa* (dial. *χίωα*) *tō vepō mu*.

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1. IE \**meigh-*. Walde-P. 2.245 f. Ernout-M. 602, 616. Grk. *οὐρέω* (so prob. for *οὐρέω*, etc.).

Lat. *rabies* 'madness', with some, orig. local, differentiation from *rage* (so Diez 669; cf. also NED s.v. *rave*, vb.), is semantically the most attractive, but is now generally rejected. REW 4210. Gamillscheg 762.

Rum. *vis*, fr. Lat. *visum* 'sight, appearance, vision'. REW 9383.

Torp). Re-formed to the original type apparently *W. caca* (vb. and sb.) like It. *cacca*, Fr. *caca*, etc.

2. IE \**ghed-*. Walde-P. 1.571.

Grk., NG *χέω* (also *χέειν* 'apo-*παρεῖν* 'retire to ease oneself', Hesych.); Skt. *had-*, Alb. *dhjes* 'cacare'; Av. *zadah-* 'rump', Grk. *χόδαρον* 'τήν ὄραν' Hesych. etc.

3. IE \**hek-*. Walde-P. 1.381.

Grk. *κόπος* (NG *κόπαρα*, pl., medical term), Lith. *šikti*, Skt. *chakti* (gen. *chaknas*).

4. IE \**g<sup>ou</sup>-*, \**g<sup>u</sup>-* in words for 'excrement, dung, filth' (orig. 'cow dung': IE \**g<sup>ou</sup>-* 'ox, cow?'). Walde-P. 1.694 ff. Falk-Torp 600. Berneker 339.

ChSl. *gorno* (\**gorino*), etc., general Slavic word for 'excrement'; Skt. *gūtha-*, Av. *gūba-*, Arm. *ku*, *koy* 'dung', with d-extension OE *cwēad*, OHG *quāt*, MHG *quāt*, *kōt*, *kāt*, NHG *kot*.

5. Derivs. of IE *sker-* partly neut. *r/n* stem (or, with separation of Slavic and Av. forms, \**sker-*, same as in vbs. for 'cut, cut off, separate', etc.?) OE *sceran*, Lat. *cernere*, Lith. *skirti*, etc.?). Walde-P. 2.587. Falk-Torp 986. Benveniste, Origines de la formation des noms 9.

Grk. *σκαρ*, gen. *σκαρός*, hence NG *σκαρό*, usually pl. *σκαρά*; Lat. *mūscerda* 'mouse dung', *sucarda* 'swine dung', etc.; OE *searn*, ON *skarn*; Slavic vbs., SCr. *srati*, etc.; Av. *sairya-* (Barth. 1567); Hitt. *sakkar*, gen. *saknas* (Sturtevant, Hitt. Gloss. 128).

6. Lat. *stercus* (> It. *sterco*; Sp. *estiércol* 'dung, manure', back-formation to *estercolar* fr. Lat. *stercorare* 'to dung, manure'), perh.: *W. trwnc* 'urine, lye' (but Br. *strok* 'excrement': *strinka* 'spurt out'), Lith. *teršti* 'to soil, dirty', also Grk. *στεργάσος*, MHG *drec*, etc. (below, 8), but all doubtful combinations. Walde-P. 2.641 f.

Lat. *merda* (> It. *merda*, Fr. *merde*, Sp. *mierda*), prob.: Lith. *smirdėti*, Lett.

ON *skita*, OE *scitan*, etc., the reg. Gmc. vb., and the corresponding sbs., ON *skitr*, etc., orig. 'separate' (as in Lat. *excrementum*, above): Lith. *skėisti*, Lett. *škėist* 'separate, divide', Lat. *scindere*, Grk. *σχίζω* 'split', etc., fr. IE \**skei-d-* beside \**skei-t-* in Ir. *scéithim* 'vomit' (4.57), Goth. *skaidan* 'separate', etc. Walde-P. 2.544. Falk-Torp 992.

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ON *drita*, Norw. *drite*, OE *gedritan* (rare), ME *drite* (NE *drite* obs., NED s.v.), Du. *drijten*, LG *driten*, sbs. ON *drit*, ME *drit*, *dytle* (NE *dirt*), Du. *dreet*, etc.: Russ. dial. *dristal'*, SCr. *driskati*, Boh. *dřístati* 'have diarrhoea', fr. IE \**dhreid-*, prob. extension of \**dher-* in Lat. *foria* pl. 'diarrhoea'. Walde-P. 1.861 f. Falk-Torp 156.

ON *myki*, *mykr* (ME *muk* 'dung, manure', NE *muck*), Dan. *møg*, prob. (from the notion of 'soft, damp'): ON *mjúkr*, Dan. *myg*, etc. 'soft', ON *mugga* 'fine rain'. Walde-P. 2.253. Falk-Torp 748.

Sw. *träck* (but also 'filth, mire' as mostly ON *þrekkr*), Du. *drek*, late OHG, MHG *drec*, NHG *dreck*: Grk. *στεργάσος* *κοπῶν* Hesych., *τρίξ*, *τρυγός* 'must, dregs', etc., IE \**sterg-* (cf. \**sterk-* in Lat. *stercus*, above, 6). Walde-P. 2.642. Falk-Torp 159 f. On the dialectal distribution of NHG *kot* and *dreck* in this sense (vs. 'mud, filth'), cf. Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 178 f.

OE-NE dung, Sw. *dynga* (Dan. *dyngje* 'heap'), OHG *tunga* ('manuring'), MHG *tunge*, NHG *dünger* (ON *dyngja*, OHG, MHG *tunc* 'underground room'): Lith. *dengti* cover', *danga* 'a cover', IE \**dhengh-*. Development fr. 'covering' to 'dung' as fertilizer, and also (independently or through 'dung') to 'heap, underground room'. Walde-P. 1.854. Falk-Torp 171.

For the development of 'dung' through its aspect as fertilizer, cf. NE sb. *manure*, fr. the verb, this fr. Anglo-Fr. *maynoverer* = OFr. *manourer* 'work with the hands', hence 'till, cultivate' and 'fertilize' (NED s.v.). Also Dan. *gødsel*, Sw. *gödsel* 'manure', fr. vbs. *göde*, *göda* 'manure' = ON *gæða* 'improve', fr. *gōð* 'good'.

OE *cwēad*, OHG *quāt*, etc., above, 4. OE *searn*, etc., above, 5.

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OE, ME *tord*, NE *turd*, ON *torð* in *torð-yfill* 'dung beetle', MHG *zurch* 'dung': Lett. *dirsti* 'void excrement', fr. the root in Lith. *dirti*, Grk. *δίρω* 'flay', OE *teran* 'tear', etc., with development through the notion of 'cast off, separate'. Walde-P. 1.798. Falk-Torp 1273. Mühl-Endz. 1.470.

9. Lith. *šikti*, above, 3. Lett. *dirsti*: OE *tord*, etc. (above, 8). Lith. *mėsas*, Lett. *mēšas*, beside vbs. Lith. *mėži*, Lett. *mēzi* 'manure', etym.? Mühl-Endz. 2.621-22.

Lith. *šudas*, Lett. *sūds*, perh.: Grk. (Hesych.) *ὄσ-κῶδ᾽* *ὄδ᾽ ἀφόδευμα* and *κῶδ᾽* *δεὸς δνοσάμου*. Walde-P. 1.467. Boisacq 530.

10. ChSl. *gnojiti* ('κοπία'; also \**σῆψις*, putrefaction), SCr. *gnój*, Pol. *gnój*, Boh. *hnáj* (also 'pus, matter, etc.', as Russ. *gnoj*, dial. also 'dung'): ChSl. etc. *gniti* 'rot', ChSl. *gnest* 'dirt, filth', outside connections obscure. Berneker 314. ChSl. *gorno*, etc., above, 4.

ChSl. (late) *lajino* (pl. *lajina* 'bricks'), SCr. dial. *lajno*, Boh. *lejno*, Pol. *lajno*: Skt. *li-* 'cling to, adhere, lie upon', Grk. *ἀλίσω* 'anoint', Lat. *linere* 'daub, smear', *limus* 'slime, mud, mire', etc. Berneker 687. Brückner 306.

SCr. *balega* 'dung', fr. Rum. *baligar* 'horse or cow dung', Alb. *bagele* id., fr. It. *bagola* 'bilberry', in North It. dial. also used for the berry-like excrement of certain animals (sheep, goats, etc.). G. Meyer, IF 6.116. Berneker 41.

Russ. *kal* = SCr. *kao* 'mud, excrement' (not popular), ChSl. *kalū* 'mud, mire', prob.: Grk. *κῆλτις* 'spot', Ir. *caile* id., Skt. *kāla* 'blue-black'. Walde-P. 1.441.

Russ. *pomel*, back-formation to *po-metati* 'throw away'. Cf. for sense NE droppings.

11. Skt. *had-*, above, 2.

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W. *beichio*, arch. also in literal sense 'burdened', fr. *baich* 'burden, load'.  
Br. *brazee*, fr. *bras* 'big, large'.  
Br. *dougeaz*, fem. of *douger* 'bearer', fr. *dougen* 'bear'.

4. Goth. *inkilþō* ('*ἐγκύος*'), fr. *kilþei* 'womb' (4.47).  
Goth. *gīþuhaftō* ('*ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα*'), cpd. of *gīþus* 'belly, womb' (4.47) and *haft* 'bound'.

ON *þungað*, lit. 'loaded', pple. of *þunga* 'load', fr. *þungr* 'heavy' (fr. the same root as Boh., Pol. words, below, 6).

ON *alētt*, lit. 'not light' ('*lēttr* 'light'), cf. *verða lēttari* 'give birth' lit. 'become lighter'.

ON *hafandi*, Sw. *havande*, fem. pple. of *hafa*, *hava* 'have', hence lit. 'having' (i.e. a child in the womb). Cf. Grk. *ἐχουσα* Hdt. 5.41 beside the full *ἐχουσα ἐν γαστρὶ* id. 3.32. Hellquist 341.

ON *með barni*, OE *med cilde*, ME with *cilde*, with *barne*, NE with *child* are also usual. In ME no other expression quotable, and still common in NE, regular in Nlcel.

ON frequently *ekki heil*, lit. 'not well'.  
Dan. *frugtsommeligt* extended from ODan. *frugtsom* 'fruitful' (fr. LG *vrucht-sam*). Falk-Torp 278.

OE *geācanod* pple. of (*ge*)*æcanian* 'conceive', lit. 'increase': *æcan* 'increase, augment' (pple. *æcan* 'increased' with *beorn* 'child', in *beorn-æcan* 'pregnant'), Goth. *aukan*, ON *auka* 'increase', etc.

NE *pregnant*, above, 2.

Du. *zwanger*, OHG *swanger*, MHG *swanger*, NHG *schwanger* (> Dan. *svanger*) = OE *swanger* 'heavy, slow': Lith. *sunkus* 'heavy', *sunkti* 'become heavy', older Lith. *sunkinga* 'pregnant'. Walde-P. 2.525. Falk-Torp 1210.

Du. *drachtig*, LG *drechtig* (> Dan. *drægtig*, Sw. *dräktig*), MHG *trehtec*, NHG *trächtig* (of animals, MHG also of women), fr. MHG *trah*, MLG *dracht* 'burden': OHG *tragen*, etc. 'carry'. Weigand-H. 2.1057. Falk-Torp 159.

MHG *swere* sometimes 'pregnant' (as also MLG *swār*), lit. 'heavy' (NHG *schwer*, etc.).

5. Lith. *neštiā*, fr. *nešti* 'carry'.  
Lett. *grūta* lit. 'heavy'.

ChSl. *neprazdnā* (cf. Jagić, Ent-stehungsgesch. 369), lit. 'not empty', cpd. of neg. *ne-* and *prazdnū* (see 13.22). So also Bulg. *neprazdna*.

SCR. *trudna*, fem. of *trudan* 'tired, feeble': ChSl. *trudā* 'labor, toil'.

SCR. *brēda*, late ChSl. *brēda*, Russ. *berežaja* (of the mare), Slov. *breja*, Boh. *březi* (of animals), prob. fr. the root

\**bher-* 'carry' in ChSl. *bera*, *birati* 'gather, take', etc. Cf. fr. this root, Lat. *forda* in *bos forda quae fert in ventre*, Varro LL 6.15, etc. Walde-P. 2.157. Berneker 49.

SCR. *nosēca*, fr. *nostiti* 'carry'.  
Boh. *těhotná*, Pol. *ciężarna*, derivs. of *tihota*, *ciężar* 'burden': ChSl. *tegota*, *tegotst* 'burden', *težikū* 'heavy', Lith. *tingus* 'lazy', ON *þungr* 'heavy' (cf. above, 4), etc. Walde-P. 1.726 f. Brückner 64.

Pol. *brzienna*, Russ. *beremennaja*, fr. Pol. *brzemię*, older Russ. *beremja*, ChSl. *brēme* 'load, burden': ChSl. *birati* 'gather, take', etc. (cf. above SCR. *brēda*). Berneker 50.

7. Skt. *garbhāñi*, *garbhavati*- fr. *garbha-* 'womb' (4.47).

Av. *puṛā-*, deriv. of *puṛā-* 'son'.  
Barth. 910.

4.732. Verbs for 'conceive' or 'be pregnant' are in part derivatives of the same root as 'pregnant', as for example Grk. *κύω*, OE (*ge*)*æcanian*. But more commonly they are expressions for 're-ceive, take' like Grk. *συνλαμβάνω*, Lat. *concipere* which served as models for the greater part of the European terms, Nlr. *gabhaim*, Goth. *ganiman*, OHG *infāhen*, NHG *empfangen*, Du. *ontvangen*, Dan. *undfange* (from MLG), Lett. *ienēmt*, etc. Others mean essentially 'begin', Lith. *pradėti*, ChSl. *zāčēti*, Russ. *zāčal*, etc.

NE *pregnant*, above, 2.  
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Du. *drachtig*, LG *drechtig* (> Dan. *drægtig*, Sw. *dräktig*), MHG *trehtec*, NHG *trächtig* (of animals, MHG also of women), fr. MHG *trah*, MLG *dracht* 'burden': OHG *tragen*, etc. 'carry'. Weigand-H. 2.1057. Falk-Torp 159.

by phrases 'in, on life'), generally and satisfactorily explained (though disputed by some who set up an independent IE \**leibh-* 'live' for which there is no good outside evidence) as 'live' from 'remain, be left' (perh. through 'be left alive after battle'), with the same root as Goth. *bileiban*, OE *belifan*, OHG *biliban* 'be left, remain', ON *leifa* 'leave' and *lifa* 'be left' as well as 'live', etc. (12.16,

12.18). Walde-P. 2.403. Falk-Torp 638, 648. Feist 330.

ON *fjör*, OE *feorh* 'life': OS, OHG *ferh*, *ferah* 'soul, spirit, life', Goth. *fairhvis* 'world', OE *firas*, ON *firar* pl., OHG *firahim*, OS *firihun* dat. pl. 'men', outside connections? Walde-P. 2.45. Feist 139.

6. Skt. *asu-*, Av. *ašhu-* 'life', fr. *as-*, Av. *as-*, IE \**es-* 'be'.

## 4.75 DIE; DEAD; DEATH

|      |   |       |   |       |   |
|------|---|-------|---|-------|---|
| Grk. | (ἀπο)θνήσκει; τεθνήκας; θάνατος           | Goth. | (ga)swiltan, gadauþnan; dauþs; dauþus         | Lith. | mirti; numir̃s; mir̃tis                             |
| NG   | πεθαίνω; πεθαιμένος; θάνατος              | ON    | deyja, swella; dauðr, dainn; dauði            | Lett. | mirt; numir̃is; nāve (mira, mīrte)                  |
| Lat. | mori; mortuus; mors, nec                  | Dan.  | dø; død; død                                  | ChSl. | (u)mrti; mrtāu; smārtā                              |
| It.  | morire; morto; morte                      | Sw.   | dö; död; död                                  | SCR.  | umir̃ti; mrtan; smrt                                |
| Fr.  | mourir; mort; mort                        | OE    | swellan, steofan, cwe-llan; dēad; dēaþ; swyll | Boh.  | (u)mirtī; mrtj; smrt                                |
| Rum. | muri; mort; moarte                        | ME    | deye, swelle, sterve, quele; dead; deeth      | Pol.  | umiérac; umrzec; umorty; śmierć                     |
| Ir.  | at-báim, bá-; marb; bás, ec, báth         | NE    | die; dead; death                              | Russ. | umir̃at; umerel'; mertuj; smert'                    |
| Nlr. | do-ghelbhim bás, ēa-gaim; marbh; bás, ēag | Du.   | sterven; dood; dood                           | Skt.  | mṛ-; mṛta-; mṛti-, ma-ṛaṇa-, mṛtyu-                 |
| W.   | maru; maru; angew                         | OHG   | sterban, touwen; tōt; tōt                     | Av.   | mar-, mṛ-; mṛta-, mṛta-, mṛta-, mṛta-, mṛta-, mṛta- |
| Br.  | mervel; maro; maro                        | MHG   | sterben, touwen; tōt; tōt                     |       |   |

The plain bald words for 'die' are listed, with omission of the numerous euphemistic expressions like NE *pass away*, *depart*, *expire*, *perish*, Grk. (*βίω*) *τελευτάω* lit. 'end one's life, come to an end', Lat. *ex-*, *inter-*, *per-ire*, lit. 'go from, etc.', *dē-ex-cēdere* lit. 'depart', etc., and likewise of vulgar expressions like NE *croak*, with the parallel Fr. *crever*, It. *crepare* (from Lat. *crepare* 'crack, creak, rattle') and NG *φωφώ* (Grk. *φωφώ* 'make a noise, knock, rattle').

Most of the common words, except in Greek and Germanic, belong to an inherited group, reflecting an IE root for 'die', whatever its ultimate semantic source. Others are originally euphemistic substitutes, cognate with words

meaning 'be extinguished, endure pain', 'burn slowly, become stiff', etc.

1. IE \**mer-* 'die', perh. ultimately the same as \**mer-* in words for 'rub, crush'. Walde-P. 2.276. Ernout-M. 631 f.

Lat. *mori*, adj. *mortuus*, sb. *mors* (hence all the Romance forms); Ir. *marb*, Nlr. *marbh* 'dead', W. *maru* 'die', Br. *maro* 'dead, death' (hence *mervel* 'die'); Lith. *mirti*, pple. (perfect.) *numir̃s*, sb. *mirtis*, Lett. *mirt*, pple. *numir̃is*, sb. *mira*, *mīrte* (but both rare); ChSl. *mrti*, *umrēti*, adj. *mrtāu*, sb. *smārtā*, and the other Slavic words (chiefly perfect. forms for the verb); Skt. *mṛ-* (3 sg. pres. *mṛiyate*, and *marate*), Av. 3 sg. pres. *mairiyeti*, etc., OPers 3 sg. imperf. *amariyatā*, pples.

## 4.74 LIVE (= BE ALIVE); LIVING, ALIVE; LIFE

|      |  |       |   |       |   |
|------|--|-------|---|-------|---|
| Grk. | ζῶω, ζῶος, ζῆλον; ζῶω, ζῶος, ζῶω           | Goth. | liban; gius; libains                      | Lith. | gyvas buti, gyventi; gyvas; gyvastis, gyvenimas, etc. |
| NG   | ζῶω; ζῶωντος; ζῶω                          | ON    | lifja; krīkr, lifandi, lifs; lif, fjor    | Let.  | dziuot; dzīvs; dzīvība                                |
| Lat. | vivere; vivus; vita                        | Dan.  | leve; levende, i live; liv                | ChSl. | žiti; žiti; životū, žiend                             |
| It.  | vivere, campare; vivo, vivente; vita       | Sw.   | leva; levande, i livet; liv               | SCR.  | žijeti; živ; život, žide                              |
| Fr.  | vivre; vivant, vif; vie                    | OE    | libban, lifan; cwicu, lebbede; lif, feorh | Boh.  | žiti; živj, životu; život                             |
| Sp.  | vivir; vivo; vida                          | ME    | live; living, on live, quik; lif          | Pol.  | żyć; żywy, żyjący; życie, żywo                        |
| Rum. | trăi (vie(u)); viu, în viață; viață        | NE    | live; living, (a)live; life               | Russ. | žit'; živaj; žien'                                    |
| Ir.  | am beo, maraim; beo, tīm-bethu; bethu, beo | Du.   | leven; levend, in leven; life             | Av.   | živa-, živā-, živā-, etc.; asu-                       |
| Nlr. | tāim beo, mairim; beo; beatha              |       |   |       |   |
| W.   | byu; byu; byued                            | OHG   | leben; lebentig, lebenti, quac; lib       |       |   |
| Br.  | beva; beo; buhez                           | MHG   | leben; lebendic, lebend; quac; lip        |       |   |
|      |  | NHG   | leben; lebend, lebend; leben              |       |   |

In some languages the verb 'live' is expressed preferably by 'is living, alive', and in fact there are few languages where it may not be so expressed. But this locution is entered in the list only in case the language has a decided preference for it, as against the simple verb forms (as notably in Irish and Lithuanian). Likewise in many cases the original adjective forms are superseded by participial forms of the verb or by phrases 'in life' (so notably in Germanic). These are also omitted from the list where their competition with the adjective is not strong.

Most of the words belong to an inherited group reflecting IE words for 'live, alive', etc. The few others are from the notion of 'remain', or 'be', or are obscure.

In many languages the verbs for 'live, be alive' are also those commonly used for 'live, dwell' (7.11).

1. IE \**gʷei-* (*gʷeyā-*, *gʷeyā-/ō-*, etc.), adj. \**gʷeyō-*. Walde-P. 1.668 f. Ernout-M. 1118 f.

Grk. ζῶω (Att. ζῶ, ζῆ, pple. ζῶν), dial.

also ζῶω, adj. ζῶος, sb. ζῶή, and βίος (but the latter mostly 'mode of life', cf. βίω 'pass one's life' as opposed to ζῶ 'be alive'); Lat. *vivere*, *vīvus*, *vita* (and the derived Romance group); Ir. *beo*, *bethu*, Nlr. *beo*, *beatha*, and the W., Br. forms; in Gmc. only as adjs. in the earliest dialects, Goth. *gius*, ON *krīkr*, OE *cwicu(u)*, ME *quik*, OHG, MHG *quac*; all the Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian words; Toch. A *so-*, B *šau-*, *šai-*.

2. Grk. ἐμψύχω 'alive, animate', fr. ἐν 'in' and ψύχῃ 'breath of life, soul'.

3. Rum. *trăi* 'live', fr. the Slavic, cf. SCR. *trajati* 'last, continue', Bulg. *traja* 'last', etc. Tiktin 1634.

This replaced ORum. *vie* (fr. Lat. *vivere*), homonymous with *vie* 'come', also *viēti* (fr. sb. *viāta*), the latter revived by modern writers. Tiktin 1734, 1738.

4. Ir. *maraim*, Nlr. *mairim* 'remain' (12.16), also 'live'.

5. Goth. *liban*, *libains*, etc., the regular Gmc. group (the old adj. forms from IE \**gʷei-* being replaced by participles and forms derived from participles and

forms derived from participles and

Skt. *mṛta-*, Av. *mṛta-*, *maša-*; sbs. Skt. *mṛti-*, *marāṇa-*, *mṛtyu-*, Av. (*ava-*) *mṛati-*, *mṛaṇu-*; Arm. *meṛanim* 'die'; Grk. *βροτός* 'mortal', *ἀμρτορος* 'immortal'; OHG *mord*, OE, ON *morð* 'murder', etc.

2. Grk. θνήσκει, ἀποθνήσκει, perf. pple. *τεθνήκας*, *τεθνήκας* 'dead', sb. *θάνατος*, NG (ἀποθνήσκει, *τεθνήκας* lit.) *πέθαινω* (new pres. to aor. ἀπέθανε), pple. *πέθαιμένος* 'dead' prob. (cf. NG σκοτώνω 'kill', 4.76): Skt. *dhvan-* 'be extinguished', pple. *dhvānta-* 'dark' and 'darkness', pointing to an IE \**dhwena-*, but further root connections uncertain. Walde-P. 1.841. Otherwise (cf. *θίω* 'strike', etc.) Kent, Language 11.207 ff.

3. Lat. *nez* 'violent death' (vs. *mors*, above, 1), late sometimes also for natural 'death': Grk. *νεκρός*, *νεκός* Av. *nasu-* 'corpse' (4.77), Skt. *naç-*, Av. *nas-* 'vanish, perish', Ir. *ēc*, etc. (below, 4) 'death'. Walde-P. 2.326. Ernout-M. 669 f.

4. Ir. *at-báim* (e.g. 3 sg. *at-bail*) = \**as-l-bal-* (with infixed pronoun, cf. Thurneysen, Gram. 267), OE *cweclan*, ME *quele* : W. *aballu* 'fail, perish', OHG, OS *quellan* 'endure torment', Lith. *gelti* 'sting, cause violent pain', *gelia* 'it hurts', *galas* 'end', OPruss. *gallan* 'death', etc., IE \**gʷel-*. Walde-P. 1.690. Pedersen 2.459 f. Vendryes, RC 40.433 ff.

Ir. *bā-* 'die' (forms in Lewis-Pedersen 339, Thurneysen Gram. 461), vbl. n. *bās* 'death', also Mlr. *bath* 'death', etym. disputed. As orig. 'go (forth)'. Grk. *ἐθνή*, Skt. *agāt* 'went', IE \**gʷā-* 'go', Pedersen 2.458. Otherwise, as a Celtic root *bās-* (with separation of Mlr. *bath*), Thurneysen, KZ 37.112, 120 (Gram. 450, 461), Walde-P. 1.677 (with added suggestion of \**bās-* : ChSl. *gasiti* 'extinguish', etc.).

Nlr. *do-ghelbhim bás* reg. for 'die', lit. 'get death'.

Ir. *ēc*, Nlr. *ēag* (hence vb. *ēagaim*), W. *angeu*, Corn. *ancou* 'death' (Br. *ankou* 'death' personified) : Lat. *nez* 'violent death', etc. (above, 3). Pedersen 1.46. Thurneysen, Gram. 127.

5. Goth. (*ga*)*swiltan*, ON *swelta* poet. (esp. 'die of hunger, starve', so Nlcel., Dan., Sw.), OE *sweltan*, ME *swelte* 'die' (ME also 'be oppressed with heat', as NE *swelter*), OE *swylt* 'death' (ON *stlir* 'hunger'), cf. OHG *swelzan*, MHG *swelzen* 'burn up (with hot love), dissolve in fire', Crim. Goth. *schuallt* 'death', all with *d*-extension of \**swel-* in OE *swelan* 'burn slowly', Lith. *suilti* 'be scorched', etc. Walde-P. 1.531 f. Falk-Torp 1204, 1208. Feist 468.

Goth. *gadauþnan*, *dauþs*, *dauþus*, ON *deyja* (pple. *dainn*), *dauðr*, *dauði*, and the Dan. and Sw. words, OE *dēad*, *dēaþ* (vb. lacking in OE, hence ME *deye* prob. fr. Norse), Du. *dood*, OHG *touwen*, *tōt*, *tōd*, etc. : Goth. *diuans* 'mortal', fr. an IE \**dheu-*, perh. connected further with \**dhwena-* in Grk. *thánatos*, etc. (above, 2), but ultimate relations of the various \**dheu*-groups uncertain. Walde-P. 1.835 f. Falk-Torp 175. Feist 118.

OE *steorfan*, ME *sterve* (NE *starve*), Du. *sterven*, OHG *sterban*, MHG, NHG *sterben* : ON *starfa* 'work, tire', *stjarfi* 'tetanus', LG *starfen* 'become stiff, coagulate', Lat. *torpere* 'be stiff, numb', Lith. *tirpti* 'be numb', etc., labial extensions of IE \**ster-* in Grk. *στερεός* 'stiff, firm', etc. Walde-P. 2.632. Falk-Torp 1159.

6. Lett. *nāve* 'death' : *nāvēt* 'kill', ChSl. *navi*, Goth. *naus*, ON *nār* 'corpse' (4.77), Lith. *novyti* 'torture, kill', ChSl., Boh. *naviti* 'tire', etc. Walde-P. 2.316. Mühl-Endz. 2.703 f.

7. Av. *riθ-* (3 sg. pres. *irithiyeti*), pple. *irista-*, euphemistic terms for 'die, dead' always used of good beings (leaving forms of the inherited root, above, 1, for

evil beings) : Goth. *-leiþan*, ON *liða*, etc. 'go, pass', cf. ON pple. *liðinn* 'dead', *leiði* 'burial place', IE \**lei(h)-* 'go away'. Walde-P. 2.401 f. Barth. 1480 f.

Av. *mahrka-* 'destruction, death' (NPers. *marg* 'death') : *mərəč-* 'destroy, kill' (4.76), Skt. *mṛc-* 'hurt, injure', *marka-* 'eclipse', etc. Walde-P. 2.278. Barth. 1146.

## 4.76 KILL

|      |                               |       |                               |       |                              |
|------|-------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| Grk. | (ἀπο)κτείνω (ἐκτείνω)         | Goth. | usqiman, -dauþjan, afslahan   | Lith. | užmušti, žudyti              |
| NG   | ἀποκτείνω, ἀποκτείνω          | ON    | deyða, drepa, slā, vega       | Let.  | nuokaut, nuonāvēt            |
| Lat. | interficere, occidere, necare | Dan.  | dræbe                         | ChSl. | ubiti, umoriti               |
| It.  | uccidere, ammazzare           | Sw.   | döda (dräpa)                  | Boh.  | ubiti, usmrtili              |
| Fr.  | tuer                          | OE    | cwellan, slēan, (a)dǣ-dan     | Pol.  | zabić, uśmiercić             |
| Rum. | matar                         | ME    | sley, culle, quelle           | Russ. | han-, vadh-                  |
| Sp.  | morir, ucidre                 | NE    | kill (slay)                   | Skt.  | jan-, fra-kuš-, mərəč-, etc. |
| Ir.  | marbaim, gonim, or-gim        | Du.   | dooden                        | Av.   |                              |
| Nlr. | marbhaime                     | OHG   | tōtan, (ir)slahan             |       |                              |
| W.   | lladd                         | MHG   | teten, (er)slān               |       |                              |
| Br.  | laza                          | NHG   | töten, erschlagen, um-bringen |       |                              |

Words for 'kill' are often originally the same as, or derived from, words for 'strike' (9.21). Frequently, as in Balto-Slavic, the perfective form of 'strike' is 'kill'. Some are derivatives of words for 'dead, death', or causatives of those for 'die'. Some are originally euphemistic expressions from such diverse sources as

1. Grk. ἀποκτείνω, less frequently (Hom., poet.) κτείνω : Skt. *kṣan-* 'hurt, wound'. Walde-P. 1.505.

Hom. aor. ἐπέφονον, perf. pass. πέφαται (pres. θείνω 'strike', sb. φόνος 'slaughter, murder', with vb. φονέω mostly 'murder') : Ir. *gonim* 'wound, kill', Skt. *han-* 'strike, kill' (esp. with *ni-*, *abhi-*, etc.), Av., OPers. *jan-* 'strike, kill' (esp. with *awa-*), Hitt. *kuen-*, *kun-* 'strike, kill'; Arm. *ganem* 'strike, beat', Lat. *dē-fendere* 'ward off', *of-fendere* 'strike', etc., IE \**gʷhen-* 'strike'. Walde-P. 1.679 f. Ernout-M. 344. Walde-H. 1.332 f.

Grk. σφάζω, mostly 'slaughter' (in Hom. only of animals), beside σφαγῇ

'slaughter, throat', root connection? See 4.29.

NG σκοτώνω, fr. class. Grk. σκοτώ 'make dark', Byz. 'kill', deriv. of σκότος 'darkness' (1.62).

2. Lat. *interficere*, cpd. of *inter* 'between' (but here in secondary use seen in *interire* 'perish, die', *interimere* 'take away, destroy, kill' and *facere* 'do, make', hence 'do away with, take away' (Plautus, Merc. 832 f. *usus, fructus, victus, cultus iam mihi harunc aedium inter-emptust, interfectust, alienatust*), 'de-prive of' (Plautus, Truc. 518 *salve qui me interfecisti paene vita et lumine*), then specialized to 'deprive of life, kill' (also in Plautus). Ernout-M. 324 f., 481. Walde-H. 1.409.443. Thierfelder, Glotta 20.172.

Lat. *occidere*



as 'bury with ceremony', is used in scientific writings as a convenient general term to cover burial, cremation, etc.

Many of the words for 'bury' are from those for 'dig' (8.22), in part differentiated from the latter by prepositional compounds with perfective sense. Some are from the notion of 'cover, hide' (12.26, 12.27), and some are derivatives of words for 'earth', 'grave', or 'corpse'.

1. Grk. *θάπρω*, with sbs. *τάφος* 'burial, grave', *τάφῃ* mostly 'burial', *τάφος* 'ditch': Arm. *damban*, *dambaran* 'grave, tomb', further connections dub. Walde-P. 1.852. Boisacq 334.

2. Lat. *sepelire* (> It. *seppellire*, OFr. *sevelir*, OSp. *sebellir*; Fr. *ensevelir* generic 'bury' in literary use, but commonly 'prepare the corpse for burial'; Sp. *sepultar* new deriv. of *sepulto* 'buried', Lat. *sepultus*), generally combined on the basis of a \**sepelyo-* with Skt. (Ved.) *saparyati* 'honors', which clearly belongs with Skt. *sap-* 'serve, honor, love', Grk. *ἰστω* in *ἰστέτω*, *ἀστέτω* 'be busy with, honor', *ἰστέω* 'follow', etc. Walde-P. 2.487. Ernout-M. 925. But since Lat. *sepelire* is expressly 'bury' (cf. *ne sepelito neve urito*, etc. quoted above), a more probable analysis is *se-pelire* (see as in *solvere* fr. \**se-luere*) with a root \**pel-* 'cover' inferred fr. Lat. *pellis*, OE *fell*, etc. 'skin, hide' and Goth. *filhan* 'hide, bury' (see below, 4).

Lat. *humare* (not common), fr. *humus* 'earth'. Still less common *tumulare* fr. *tumulus* 'mound, tomb'.

It. *sotterrare* (Sp. *soterrar* 'bury, hide' in wide sense), deriv. of phrase Lat. *sub terrā*.

Fr. *enterrer* (> ME *enter*, NE *inter*), Sp. *enterrar* (It. *interrare* 'put in the earth, cover with earth', not used for 'bury the dead'), late Lat. *interrāre*, deriv. of phrase in *terā*.

Rum. *înmormînta*, fr. *mormînt* 'grave' (4.79).  
Rum. *îngropa*, fr. *groapă* 'pit, grave' (4.79).

3. Ir. *ad-naicim* (for OIr. \**ad-anagim*, but re-formed in Mir. after vbl. n. *adnacul*, cf. OIr. *co adanastais* gl. 'ut mandarentur terrae'), also 'accompany', NlR. *adhlaicim* for *adhnaicim* (fr. the vbl. n. *adhnacal*, OIr. *adnacul*, above), cpd. of *ad-* and *anagim* 'protect' (root connection dub., Pedersen 2.457, 558 n. 3). The senses 'bury' and also 'protect' are prob. fr. 'accompany', in the former case applied to attending the corpse to the burial place.

NlR. *cuirim* 'put' (12.12), elliptical for 'put away, put in the earth', now the reg. current term for 'bury'.

W. *claddu*, lit. 'dig': Ir. *cladi m*, Br. *klaza* 'dig'.

W. *daearu*, Br. *douara*, fr. W. *daear*, Br. *douar* 'earth'.

Br. *bezia*, fr. *bez* 'grave' = W. *bedd* (4.79).

4. Goth. *ga-*, *us-filhan*, cpds. of *filhan* 'hide' (also 'bury' Mt. 8.22), OHG *felahhan* 'hide, bury', usually *bijel(a)han*, MHG *bevelhen* 'give up, yield, intrust', and 'bury' (chiefly in the latter sense MHG *der erde bevelhen*), OS *bijehlan* 'yield, bury', ON *fela* 'hide, cover', OE *befēolan* 'commit, deliver, grant', semantic relations peculiar and outside connections dub., but prob. as orig. 'cover', fr. an extension of a root to be seen also in Lat. *pellis*, OE *fell*, etc. 'skin, hide' (4.12). Walde-P. 2.59 (adversely to above). Falk-Torp 227. Feist 151. Weigand-H. 1.178.

Goth. *ganavistrōn*, fr. *naus* 'corpse' (4.77).

ON *jarða*, Dan. *jorde*, Sw. *jorda*, fr. ON *jörð*, Dan. *jord* 'earth' (cf. early Sc. to earth in same sense, NED s.v.).

ON *heygja* fr. *haugr* 'mound, burial mound, cairn'.

ON *grefta*, fr. *gröft* 'burial, grave' (4.71) = *grafa* (below).

ON *grafa* 'dig', also 'bury', Dan. *begrave*, Sw. *begrava* (be- after the German forms), Du. *begraven*, OHG *bigraban*, MHG *NHG begraben* (but Goth. *bigraban* 'dig around'), cpds. of the Gmc. word for 'dig', Goth., OHG *graban*, etc.: ChSl. *greba*, *greti* 'scrape', *po-greti* 'bury' (below, 6).

OE *byrgan*, *byrg(e)an*, etc., ME *burie*, NE *bury* (also OE *byrgels*, OS *burgisli* 'burial'): Goth. *baigran*, ON *bjarga*, OE *beorgan*, OHG *bergen* 'save, keep'. Walde-P. 2.172. NED s.v. *bury*.

NHG *beerdigen*, first 17th. cent., fr. *erde* 'earth'.

NHG *bestatten*, MHG *bestaten* 'put in (the correct) place' also 'permit, equip, prepare for marriage, bury', fr. *statt* 'place, room'. Weigand-H. 1.219.

5. Lith. *laidoti*, *palaidoti* (as orig. 'commit to earth?'): *pa-laidas* 'loose', *leidži*, *leisti* 'let, let loose': Goth. *lētan*, etc. 'let, leave'. Leskien, Ablaut 276 f. Walde-P. 2.395.

Lith. *pakasti*, fr. *kasti* 'dig'.

Lett. *apbedīt*, fr. *bedīt* 'dig' also 'bury': best, Lith. *besti* 'dig', Lat. *fodere* 'dig', etc. Walde-P. 2.188.

Lett. *aprakt*, fr. *rakt* 'dig': Lith.

## 4.79 GRAVE

|      |                          |       |               |       |               |
|------|--------------------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|
| Grk. | τάφος, σήμα              | Goth. | hlaiw         | Lith. | kapas         |
| NG   | τάφος                    | ON    | grōf, grōft   | Lett. | kaps          |
| Lat. | sepulcrum                | Dan.  | grav          | ChSl. | grobā         |
| It.  | sepultura, fossa (tomba) | Sw.   | grav          | Scr.  | grob          |
| Fr.  | tombe (tombeau)          | OE    | byrgen, grāf  | Boh.  | hrob          |
| Sp.  | sepultura                | ME    | grave, tumber | Pol.  | grób          |
| Rum. | mormint (groapă)         | NE    | grave (tomb)  | Russ. | mogila (grob) |
| Ir.  | feri, lecht              | Du.   | grāf          | Skt.  | (gmacāna-)    |
| NlR. | uaign                    | OHG   | grab          | Av.   | (uzdāna-)     |
| Br.  | bedd                     | MHG   | grāp          |       |               |
|      | bez                      | NHG   | grab          |       |               |

The words listed are those commonly employed for the burial place of the dead without necessary implication of its precise form. Most of them are cognate with those for 'bury' (4.78) or meant originally 'ditch, trench' or 'mound'. Words for 'memorial, monument' are often used for 'burial monument, tomb', but in most cases are not among the common words for 'grave'.

1. Grk. *τάφος* 'burial, funeral' (Hom. +), later the usual word for 'grave' (*ταφῇ* mostly 'burial', rarely 'burial place'): *θάπρω* 'bury', *τάφος* 'ditch', etc. (4.78).

Grk. *σημα* 'sign, mark' (12.94), hence also 'burial mound' (so in Hom., where *τάφος* is only 'burial'), 'grave, tomb' (Hdt., Thuc., etc., freq. in inscriptions, e.g. Ditt. Syll. 1218).

Grk. *θῆκη* 'box, chest', also 'tomb, vault' for the dead (Aesch. +): *τήθημι* 'place, put'.

2. Lat. *sepulcrum* (> It. *sepulcro*, OFr., ME, NE *sepulcre*, Sp. *sepulcro*, not popular words): *sepelire* 'bury'.

It. *sepultura*, Sp. *sepultura* (also 'burial' as Fr. *sepulture*), fr. Lat. *sepultūra* 'burial': *sepelire* 'bury'.

Fr. *tombe* (> ME *tumbe*, NE *tomb*, formerly more generic than now) beside the less generic *tombeau* 'tomb', It. *tomba* 'tomb', fr. late Lat. *tumba*, this fr. Grk. *τύμβης* 'burial mound': Lat. *tumulus* 'mound, burial mound', *tumēre* 'be swollen', Ir. *tomm* 'hillock', etc. Walde-P. 1.708. Ernout-M. 1063, -64. REW 8977.

Rum. *mormint* fr. Lat. *monumentum*, *monimentum* 'memorial, monument' sometimes 'tomb', prob. influenced by *mort* 'dead'. REW 5672. Pușcariu 1109. Cf. the similar occasional use of Grk. *μνήμα*, and of Lat. *memoria* in late times (Peregrinatio).

Rum. *groapă* 'ditch' and 'excavation for burial', 'grave' in narrower sense than *mormint*, prob. through Alb. *gropë* 'grave, hole in the earth' fr. Slavic *grobŭ* (below). G. Meyer, Alb. Etym. Wtb. 131. Tiktin 703.

It. *fossa*, 'ditch' and pop. for 'grave' (as formerly Sp. *fosa* now obs. for 'grave'; Fr. *fosse* used only in the original narrow sense, the excavation, cf. *tombe de fosse*), fr. Lat. *fossa* 'ditch, trench', late 'grave': *fodere* 'dig'.

3. Ir. *fert*, prob. (either as 'covering' or 'protected inclosure'): *fern* 'shield', Goth. *warjan*, ON *verja* 'protect', Skt. *vr-* 'cover', etc., cf. Alb. *vorr* 'grave' (\**uornd*), IE \**wer-*. Walde-P. 1.282. Stokes 271.

Ir. *lecht* (NlR. *leacht* 'grave, cairn, monument'), prob. fr. Lat. *lectus* 'bed, couch' also 'funeral couch, bier'. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 150. Walde-P. 2.424. (Otherwise, as cognate, Stokes 245).

NlR. *uaigh*, also 'den, cave', Mir. *uag* 'hole, grave' (rare), outside connections? Walde-P. 1.171.

W. *bedd*, Br. *bez*, Corn. *bedh*: Lett. *bedīt* 'dig, bury' (4.78), Lith. *besti* 'dig', Lat. *fodere* 'dig'. Walde-P. 2.188.

4. Goth. *hlaiw* = OE *hlāw*, *hlēw* 'mound, burial mound', OHG *hlēo* 'burial mound': Lat. *clivus* 'hill, slope', fr. the root of OE *hlinian*, Lat. *clivāre* 'lean', etc. Walde-P. 1.491. Feist 261.

ON *grōf*, *grōft*, OE *grāf*, OHG *grab*, etc., general Gmc. (but Goth. *graba* only 'trench'): ON *grafa* 'dig, bury', OHG *graban* 'dig', *begraban* 'bury', etc.

OE *byrgan*: *byrgan*, NE *bury*, etc.

ME *tumbe*, NE *tomb*, fr. Fr. *tombe* above, 2.

5. Lith. *kapas*, Lett. *kaps*: OPruss.

*enkoptis* 'buried', Lett. *kapāt*, Lith. *kapoti* 'hew, chop', ChSl. *kopati* 'dig' (8.22), SCR. *pokopati* 'bury', etc. Mühl.-Endz. 2.159. Walde-P. 2.561.

6. ChSl. *grobŭ*, etc., general Slavic: ChSl. *greti* 'scrape', *po-greti* 'bury', Goth. *graban*, ON *grafa* 'dig', etc. (cf. above ON *grōf*). Berneker 353.

Russ. *mogila* (replaces *grob* in popular use) = ChSl. *mogyla*, Pol. *mogila* 'burial mound', Bulg. *mogila*, Alb. *ma-*

*gulë* 'hill', source unknown. Berneker 2.68 f.

7. The nearest approach to a Skt. word for 'grave' is *gmacāna-* 'place for burning the corpse and collecting the bones', etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.387. Charpentier, IF 28.157 ff.

The nearest approach to an Av. word for 'grave' is *uzdāna-* 'place for deposit of the bones' (Vd. 6.50), fr. *uz-* 'up' and *dā-* 'place'.

## 4.81 STRONG, MIGHTY, POWERFUL

|      |  |       |  |       |                             |
|------|--|-------|--|-------|-----------------------------|
| Grk. | ἰσχυρός, κρατρός, δυνατός              | Goth. | swinþs, mahteigs, abrs                             | Lith. | stiprus, galingas           |
| NG   | δυνατός (ἰσχυρός, κρατρός)             | ON    | sterk, styrkr, mǫttugr                             | Lett. | stiprs, spēlgs              |
| Lat. | validus, valens, fortis, potius        | Dan.  | stark, mǫgtig, kraftig                             | ChSl. | krépiki, silnŭ              |
| It.  | forte, potente                         | Sw.   | stark, mǫgtig, kraftig                             | Scr.  | jak, anažan, silan          |
| Fr.  | forte, puissant                        | OE    | swiþ, strang, mahtig                               | Boh.  | silný, mocný                |
| Sp.  | fuerte, potente                        | ME    | strong, stark, myhty                               | Pol.  | silny, mocny                |
| Rum. | tare, puternic                         | NE    | strong, powerful                                   | Russ. | sil'nyj, mošnyj             |
| Ir.  | trēn, láidir, adbol                    | Du.   | mighty   | Skt.  | balin-, śūra-, ojas-        |
| NlR. | trēn, láidir, nearth-                  | OHG   | starki, mahtig, kraftig, givaltig                  | Av.   | śūra-, aōjahvant-, amavant- |
| W.   | cruf, cadarn, nerthol, galluog, grymus | MHG   | stare, str-nge, swint, mehtec, kreftece, ge-waltic |       |                             |
| Br.  | kréñs, nerzek, gal-loudek              | NHG   | stark, mächtig, kralftig, gewaltig                 |       |                             |

'Strong' is understood here in its application to bodily strength. But such words have a much wider range, being used also of mind, feelings, etc., and of inanimate things. Furthermore there is no sharp line between 'strong' and 'powerful, mighty', which are applied to bodily strength with more emphasis on the active quality.

While only the adjectives are listed, the nouns for 'strength' are mostly parallel, either the sources of or derived from the adjectives, and so are covered in the comments—where are added a few important nouns not so related.

Among the semantic sources are notions such as 'stiff, hard', 'hold', 'be able, have power', and various others.

1. Grk. *ἰσχυρός*, fr. *ἰσχύς* 'strength', Lac. acc. sg. *βίσχυον* and *γίσχυον* *ἰσχύς* (Hesych.), fr. \**fi-schy-*, first part: Skt. *vi-* 'apart' (or possibly: *is*, \**is*, Lat. *vis* 'strength') and the second from the weak grade of IE \**seh₂-* in Skt. *sah-* 'vanquish, overcome, be able' (cf. *vi-sah-* 'overcome, have in one's power'), Grk. *éxw* 'have, hold', etc. Walde-P. 2.482. Boisacq 386. Brugmann, IF 16.494.

Grk. *κρατρός*, *κρατρός* (Hom. also *κρατός*) with sb. *κράτος*, *κάρπος* 'strength', etc.: Goth. *hardus*, ON *harðr*, etc. 'hard', prob. also Skt. *karkara-* 'rough, hard', etc. Walde-P. 1.354. Boisacq 510 f.

Grk. *δυνατός*, properly 'able, powerful' but also 'strong' in body, in NG the

common word for 'strong': *δύναμις* 'be able', *δύναμις* 'power', etym. obscure. Boisacq 204.

Grk. *σθένος* 'strength', perh. *σθ-ivos* fr. the weak grade of the root in Skt. *sagha-* 'be a match for', etc. IE \**seh₂-* beside \**seh₂-* in *éxw*, etc. Walde-P. 2.482 f. Bolling, AJPh. 21.316.

Grk. *βίωσις* 'strength': *βίωσις* *πόρρωσις*, fr. SCR. *hraniti* 'keep, nourish', Russ. *choronit* 'hide, conceal', also in simplex 'bury': ChSl. *chrana*, *chraniiti* 'watch, guard', etc. Berneker 397 f.

Boh. *pochováti*, Pol. *pochować*, fr. Boh. *chovati*, Pol. *chować* 'keep, take care of' (11.24).

7. Skt. *ni-khan-*, cpd. of *ni-* 'down' and *khan-* 'dig'; used of 'burying' any object (treasure, etc.) but also of the dead (e.g. AV 18.2.34 quoted above), though burial in India was only an occasional practice beside the usual cremation (Oldenberg, Religion des Veda 570).

Av. *nasu-spaya-*, *nasu-spā-* 'burial, burial of corpses', cpds. of *nasu-* 'corpse' (4.77) and the root of *spayeiti*, etc. 'take away, remove'. These words occur only with reference to a sin, a violation of the prescribed Zoroastrian practice of exposing the corpse. Cf. Vd. 3.41 *dāna mazdayasniš* . . . *spayeiti nasuspaēm* 'the Mazdayasni law removes the (sin of) corpse-burial'. Barth. 1059 f., 1615.

Lat. *valens* pple. of *valere* 'be strong', whence also *validus*: Ir. *faln-*, *foln-* 'rule', *flaith* 'sovereignty, prince', OHG *wallan*, ON *valda*, ChSl. *vlasti* 'rule', etc. (19.31). Walde-P. 1.219. Ernout-M. 1071.

Lat. *robustus*, orig. 'oaken, of oak', fr. *robur*, old *robūs* 'oak' (: *ruber*, dial. *robūs* 'red'). Ernout-M. 867.

Lat. *fortis* (more commonly of mental strength, 'brave', but also and orig. used of physical strength and in this sense > It. *forte*, Fr. *fort*, Sp. *fuerte*), fr. *fortis* (Festus), prob.: Av. *dražaitē* 'holds', ChSl. *držati* 'hold', guttural extensions of IE \**dher-* in Skt. *dhr-* 'hold, support', etc. Walde-P. 1.859. Ernout-M. 382 f. Otherwise (fr. \**bergh-* in Skt. *brhant-* 'great, mighty, high', Av. *brazant-* 'high', etc.) Walde-H. 1.535 ff.

Lat. *potens* (> It., Sp. *potente*) pple. of \**potere* (= *posse* 'be able', 9.95), whence OFr. *poer*, *pouvoir*, Fr. *pouvoir* vb. and sb. (> sb. ME, NE *power*, whence adj. NE *powerful*), Rum. *putere* 'power', whence adj. *puternic*; Fr. adj. *puissant* fr. OFr. *puis* 1 sg. of vb. Ernout-M. 796. REW 6682. Gamill-scheg 725.

Rum. *tare*, fr. Lat. *tālis* 'such' in the pregnant use as *tālis vir* 'such a man'.

Boh. *mocný*, Pol. *mocny*, Russ. *mošt-nyj*, fr. sbs. for 'might', Boh. *moc*, etc. = ChSl. *mošti*, fr. vbs. for 'be able' ChSl. *mošti*, *moq*, etc.: Goth. *magan* 'be able', etc. (above, 4). Walde-P. 2.227. Berneker 2.67 f., 70.

7. Skt. *balin-*, fr. *bala-* 'strength': ChSl. *boljiti* 'larger', *bolje* 'more', Lat. *dē-bilis* 'weak', Grk. *βέλτω* 'better', etc. Walde-H. 1.327. Walde-P. 2.119 f. Berneker 72.

Skt. *śūra*, Av. *śūra*, also Skt. *śavas* 'strength': Grk. *ἀσχυρος* 'without authority', *ἀδύος* 'lord, ruler', prob. fr.

the root \**heu-* 'swell' in Skt. *śvayate*, etc. Walde-P. 1.365 f.

Skt. *ojasvant-*, Av. *oajah-*, *oajahvant-*, fr. Skt. *ojas-*, Av. *oajah-* 'strength': Skt. *vakṣ-*, *ukṣ-*, Av. *vaxṣ-*, *uxṣ-* 'grow, make grow', Goth. *wahsjan* 'grow', Lat. *augere* 'increase', etc. Walde-P. 1.22 f.

Av. *amavant-*, fr. *ama-* 'strength, power': Skt. *ama-* 'onset', *am-* 'press on, injure', ON *ama* 'vex, annoy', etc. Walde-P. 1.178. Barth. 141.

Av. *zavah-*, *zavar-* 'strength, power' (NPers. *zōr* > Turk. *zor* > NG *ζόρ* 'force, violence'): Skt. *javas-* 'speed', *jā-* 'be swift', etc. Walde-P. 1.555. Barth. 1690.

## 4.82 WEAK

|      |                               |       |                    |       |                    |
|------|-------------------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | ἀσθενής, ἀρρωστος             | Goth. | lasius             | Lith. | silpnas            |
| NG   | ἀδύνατος                      | ON    | veikr              | Lett. | vājš, nestiprs     |
| Lat. | dēbilis, invalidus, in-firmus | Dan.  | svag               | ChSl. | slabŭ              |
| It.  | debile                        | Sw.   | svag               | Scr.  | slab               |
| Fr.  | faible                        | OE    | wac                | Boh.  | slabý              |
| Sp.  | débil                         | ME    | woke, waice        | Pol.  | slaby              |
| Rum. | slab                          | NE    | weak               | Russ. | slabij             |
| Ir.  | lobur, lacc, fand             | D     | weak               | Skt.  | durbala-, ni-bala- |
| NlR. | lag, fann                     | OHG   | weich, kümig       | Av.   | abala-             |
| W.   | gwan                          | MHG   | weich, swach, kume |       | asūra-             |
| Br.  | gwan                          | NHG   | schwach            |       |                    |

'Weak' as the opposite of 'strong' is often expressed simply as 'not strong', with negative compounds of words for 'strong' or 'strength'. The other words are from diverse notions such as 'loose, slack', 'pliant', 'yielding', 'lamentable or plaintive', etc.

1. Grk. *ἀσθενής*, neg. cpd. of *σθένος* 'strength' (4.81).

Grk. *ἀρρωστος*, neg. cpd. of \**ῥωστος*, vbl. adj. of *ῥώννυμι* 'strengthen' (4.81).

NG *ādūnatos* (in class. Grk. 'unable, weakly'), neg. of *δυνατός* 'able, strong' (4.81).

2. Lat. *dēbilis* (> It. *debile*, Sp. *débil*), cpd. of *dē-* here 'without' (as in *dēmēns*, *dēformis*, etc.), second part: Skt. *bala-*



'physician'), early Slavic borrowing from the Gmc. group in Goth. *lêkinôn*, Av. (above, 4). Berneker 710. Stender-Petersen 330 f.

Boh. *hojiti*, Pol. *goić* = SCR. *gōjiti* 'care for, rear', caus. to ChSl. *žiti*, etc. 'live', (4.74). Walde-P. 2.668. Berneker 319.

## 4.87 PHYSICIAN

|      |                       |       |                          |       |                                   |
|------|-----------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>ἰατρός</i>         | Goth. | <i>lêkeis</i>            | Lith. | <i>gydytojas</i>                  |
| NG   | <i>ἰατρός</i>         | ON    | <i>lêknir</i>            | Lett. | <i>ārsts</i>                      |
| Lat. | <i>medicus</i>        | Dan.  | <i>læge</i>              | ChSl. | <i>bal'ji, vrač, lékař</i>        |
| It.  | <i>medico</i>         | Sw.   | <i>läkare</i>            | SCR.  | <i>lěčnik, lěčkar</i>             |
| Fr.  | <i>médicin</i>        | OE    | <i>læce</i>              | Boh.  | <i>lékař</i>                      |
| Sp.  | <i>médico</i>         | ME    | <i>leche, fisicien</i>   | Pol.  | <i>lekarz</i>                     |
| Rum. | <i>medic</i>          | NE    | <i>physician, doctor</i> | Russ. | <i>vrač, lekar'</i>               |
| Ir.  | <i>līaig (midach)</i> | Du.   | <i>arts</i>              | Skt.  | <i>bhīṣaj, vāidyā, cikitsaka-</i> |
| Nlr. | <i>līaigh</i>         | OHG   | <i>lāchi, arzāt</i>      | Av.   | <i>vīmad-</i>                     |
| W.   | <i>meddyg</i>         | MHG   | <i>arz(e)</i>            |       |                                   |
| Br.  | <i>medesin</i>        | NHG   | <i>arz</i>               |       |                                   |

The majority of the words for 'physician' are connected with the verbs for 'cure', discussed in 4.86. Some are words for 'teacher' or 'learned person' used in specialized sense. Several, according to their probable etymological connections (cf. below, 3, on Ir. *līaig*, etc., and 6 on ChSl. *bal'ji* and *vrač*), reflect the primitive antecedent of the physician, the 'conjurer' or 'medicine man'. Cf. also under 'medicine' (4.88), and Schrader, Reallex. 1.58 f.

1. Grk. *ἰατρός*, Hom. and dial. *ἰάρηρ* : *ἰάσθαι* 'cure' (4.86).  
2. Lat. *medicus* (> It. *medico*, OFr. *mīe, mīege*; and learned borrowings Sp. *médico*, Rum. *medic*; Fr. *médicin*, back formation to *médecine* 'medicine', 4.88), also poet. and late Lat. *medēs* pple. : *medēri* 'cure' (4.86).

3. Ir. *līaig*, Nlr. *līaigh*, prob. fr. *\*lēp-agi-* 'conjurer' : W. *llef* 'voice', MW *llefin* 'cry', Br. *leñ* 'groan', Skt. *lap-* 'chatter, talk, whisper', etc. Hence prob. (though also disputed) the Gmc.

7. Skt. *bhīṣaj-* (only RV 8.79.1), and *bhīṣajya-* (fr. *bhīṣaj-* 'physician'), Av. *bišaz-*, etym.? Walde-P. 2.449. Barth. 966 f.

Skt. *cikitsa-* 'aim at, care for, etc.', then also 'treat medically, cure' (cf. also *cikitsā-* 'medical practice'), desiderative of *cil-* 'perceive, intend, attend to, etc.'

group, Goth. *lêkeis*, OE *læce* (> ODan. *læke*, Dan. *læge*), ME *leche* (NE *leech* arch.), OHG *lāchi*, and (re-formed after the verbs) ON *lêknir*, Sw. *läkare*; fr. Gmc. the Slavic group, late ChSl. *lěčnik*, SCR. *lěčkar* (reformed *lěčnik*), Boh. *lékař*, Pol. *lekarz*, Russ. *lekar'*, 2.429. Falk-Torp 673. Feist 329. Pedersen 1.311. Stokes 251. Berneker 710. Otherwise for Gmc. group (: Grk. *ἰατρός* 'speak', etc.) Holthausen, IF 39.71, Stender-Petersen 330.

W. *meddyg*, Br. *mezec* (obs.), also (rare) Ir. *midach*, fr. Lat. *medicus* (above, 2). Pedersen 1.239.

Br. *medesin* fr. Fr. *médicin*.  
4. Goth. *lêkeis*, etc., above, 3.

ME *fiscien*, NE *physician* (also ME and earlier NE 'student of physics') fr. OFr. *fiscien* 'médecin' (Godefroi), deriv. of Lat. *physica* 'physics' (fr. Grk. *φυσικός* 'natural'), but which came to be used extensively in medieval Latin for *medicina* (Du Cange). NED s.v.

NE *doctor*, the usual term in common

use, found also in ME in the special sense (cf. Chaucer's *Doctor of Pheike*), fr. OFr. *doctor*, Lat. *doctor* 'teacher'. Similar usage is found more or less colloquially in all the European languages : It. *dottore*, Fr. *docteur*, etc., Dan., Sw., NHG (esp. northern dials.) *doktor* (and hence Lith. *daktaras*, Lett. *dakteris*), and in the modern Slavic languages.

OHG *arzāt*, MHG *arzel*, *arzt*, NHG *arzt*, MLG *arste*, Du. *arts*, fr. late Lat. *archiater*, Grk. *ἀρχι-ἰατρός* (both frequent in late inscr.) 'chief, (and hence court) physician'. Weigand-H. 1.90. Kluge-G. 25.

5. Lith. *gydytojas* : *gydyti* 'heal' (4.86).

Lett. *ārsts*, *ārste* fr. MLG *arste* (above, 4).

6. ChSl. *bal'ji* (cf. *balistvo* 'medicine', *balovati* 'cure'), as orig. 'conjurer' : late ChSl. *bajati* 'relate, conjure, heal',

SCR. *bajati* 'enchant, conjure', etc., fr. the root in Grk. *φαίω* 'say', etc. Berneker 42.

ChSl. *vračī*, Russ. *vrač* = SCR. *vrač* 'sorcerer, fortuneteller', etc., orig. 'conjurer' : Russ. *vorčat'* 'growl, grumble, mutter', *vrača* 'nonsense, idle talk', etc., fr. the root *\*wer-* in Grk. *εἶπω* 'say', Skt. *vrata-* 'command, vow', etc. Walde-P. 1.283. Solmsen, Unters. 263.

ChSl. (late) *lěkarī*, SCR. *lěčkar*, *lěčnik*, etc., fr. the Gmc. (above, 3).

7. Skt. *bhīṣaj-* : *bhīṣaj-*, *bhīṣajya-* 'cure' (4.86).

Skt. *vāidyā-*, lit. 'one versed in science (*vidyā-* : *vid-* 'know'), learned', then, like the current European adoption of Lat. *doctor*, (above, 4), 'one skilled in medical science, doctor'.

Skt. *cikitsaka-*, fr. *cikitsa-* 'heal, cure' (4.86).

Av. *vīmad-* : Lat. *medēri* 'cure', etc. (4.86). Earth. 1450.

## 4.88 MEDICINE, DRUG

|      |                                   |       |  |       |                                    |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------|--|-------|------------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>φάρμακον</i>                   | Goth. | <i>(lubja-)</i>                        | Lith. | <i>vaistas, gydyklas</i>           |
| NG   | <i>φάρμακον</i>                   | ON    | <i>lyf, lēkninjarlyf, lēknis-</i>      | Lett. | <i>zāles</i>                       |
| Lat. | <i>medicāmen(tum), re-</i>        | ChSl. | <i>niedōmr</i>                         | ChSl. | <i>balistvo, lēkū</i>              |
|      | <i>mediūm</i>                     | Dan.  | <i>medicin, lægemiddel</i>             | SCR.  | <i>lějek, lěčkarje</i>             |
| It.  | <i>medicina, droga</i>            | Sw.   | <i>medicin, läkemedel</i>              | Boh.  | <i>lěk</i>                         |
| Fr.  | <i>médicament, drogue</i>         | OE    | <i>lybb, læcedōm, etc.</i>             | Pol.  | <i>lekarstwo, lek</i>              |
| Sp.  | <i>médicamento, droga</i>         | ME    | <i>medicine, drogges</i>               | Russ. | <i>lekarstvo</i>                   |
| Rum. | <i>médicament, leac, doctorie</i> | NE    | <i>medicine, drug</i>                  | Skt.  | <i>auśadhā-, bheṣaja-, baśāza-</i> |
|      |                                   | Du.   | <i>arsenij, geneesmiddel, drogerij</i> | Av.   |                                    |
| Ir.  | <i>leiges</i>                     | OHG   | <i>lāchin, lāchintuom, etc.</i>        |       |                                    |
| Nlr. | <i>leigheas, ioc</i>              | MHG   | <i>arsenie, arzātie, lā-</i>           |       |                                    |
| W.   | <i>meddyginieth, cyffur</i>       | NHG   | <i>arznei, heilmittel, me-</i>         |       |                                    |
| Br.  | <i>louzou</i>                     |       | <i>dizin, droge</i>                    |       |                                    |

The words listed cover the wider 'medicine', as any medicinal substance or preparation, and the narrower 'drug', as a simple medicinal substance or ingredient. The majority are connected with those for 'cure' or 'physician', dis-

cussed 4.86, 4.87. Some are the result of specialization, as from 'herb' through 'healing herb', from 'substance' to 'medicinal substance', from 'dry wares' (?) to 'drugs', from 'knowledge' through 'magic'.

ME *venim*, NE *venom* (now mostly restricted to poison of snakes, etc.), fr. OFr. *venim* (above, 3).

ME, NE *poison* fr. OFr. *poison* (above, 3).

6. Lith. *nuodai* (pl.) : OLith. *nuodžia* 'sin', both epds. of *nuo-* 'down, from', second part : *dėti* 'put'. Trautmann 47. Semantic development 'put away' through 'injure' to 'poison' and 'sin'(?). Lett. *nāveklis*, fr. *nāve* 'death' (4.75); likewise *nāves zāles* 'drugs of death'.

Lett. *g'ipte, g'ifts*, pop. (not in Mühl-Endz.), fr. NHG *gift*. Sehwers, Lehnwörter 148.

7. ChSl. *jadū*, SCR., Boh. *jed*, Pol.,

Russ. *jad* (but SCR. now mostly 'bile, anger') prob. : ON *eitr*, etc. (above, 5). Berneker 271 f.

ChSl. *otrava*, etc. (late, but deriv. in Supr.), SCR. *otroa*, Boh. *otrava*, Pol. *trucizna*, Russ. *otrava* : vbs. ChSl. *otrutī*, Pol. *otruć*, Russ. (iter.) *otranit'* 'poison', epds. of ChSl. *truti* 'spend, consume', Pol. *truć* 'waste, poison', etc.; Grk. *τραύμα* 'wound', etc. (4.85). Trautmann 327. Brückner 577.

8. Skt. *viṣa-*, Av. *viš-*, above, 1.

Skt. *gara-* 'drink, fluid, poison', hence *garala-* 'poison' : *gr-* 'swallow', Lith. *gerti* 'drink', etc. Uhlenbeck 77. Walde-P. 1.682 f.

## 4.91 TIRED, WEARY

|      |                                |       |                     |       |                                   |
|------|--------------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>(ἀρο)καμῶν</i> , etc.       | Goth. | <i>afmauþs</i>      | Lith. | <i>pailses, pavarges</i>          |
| NG   | <i>κατακαμῶν</i>               | ON    | <i>mōðr</i>         | Lett. | <i>piekusis, nuoguris, gurdas</i> |
| Lat. | <i>fatigātus, fessus, las-</i> | Dan.  | <i>træt</i>         | ChSl. | <i>trudžū sę, trudnū</i>          |
|      |                                | Sw.   | <i>trött</i>        | SCR.  | <i>umoran</i>                     |
| It.  | <i>stanco</i>                  | OE    | <i>wērig, mēpe</i>  | Boh.  | <i>unavený, mdlý</i>              |
| Fr.  | <i>las, fatigué</i>            | ME    | <i>weri, tyred</i>  | Pol.  | <i>zmęczony, strudzony</i>        |
| Sp.  | <i>cansado (fatigado, la-</i>  | NE    | <i>tired, weary</i> | Russ. | <i>ustavšij, utomljennij</i>      |
|      | <i>so)</i>                     | Du.   | <i>moede</i>        | Skt.  | <i>grāmā-, khinna-</i>            |
| Rum. | <i>obosit</i>                  | OHG   | <i>muodi</i>        | Av.   |                                   |
| Ir.  | <i>scith</i>                   | MHG   | <i>muede</i>        |       |                                   |
| Nlr. | <i>tuirreath, cortha</i>       | NHG   | <i>müde</i>         |       |                                   |
| W.   | <i>blin, lluddedig</i>         |       |                     |       |                                   |
| Br.  | <i>skuis</i>                   |       |                     |       |                                   |

Several of the words for 'tired' are based upon the causal action 'work, toil', as one who has toiled hard and is therefore 'tired'. Some are based upon various actions or conditions which may be associated with weariness, as 'rest, keep still, leave off, cease', or 'weak, faint, slow, wretched, sad'. Some are from a transitive 'tire', which itself may be from 'vex, torment, oppress' (these again from 'press, beat, shave, etc.'), 'break' or even 'kill'.

1. Grk. *(ἀρο)καμῶν*, *κεκαμῶς*, Hom. *κατακαμῶν*, aor. and perf. ppls. of Grk. *καμῶν* 'work, toil, be weary', *ἀποκαμῶν* 'be weary' : Skt. *çam-* 'toil, labor', etc. Walde-P. 1.387.

Grk. *κοπῖω* 'be tired' (hence perf. pple. *κεκοπῖός* 'tired' as NT, Jn. 4.6), fr. *κόρος* 'toil, trouble, weariness', orig. 'beating' : *κόπτω* 'strike, beat'.

NG *κατακαμῶν*, pple. of *καμῶν* 'tire, fatigue', attested in Byz., meaning prob. 'punish' (cf. also *kuradzo* 'beat, flog' in dial. Bova), prob. fr. *κοῦρά* 'a shearing, tonsure', with semantic development similar to that in NHG *scheren* 'cut, shear' and 'vex, torment', *schererei* 'vexation, annoyance'. Kretschmer, Byz. Zt. 7.403. Hatzidakis, *Mez.* 2.513.

Psaltes, Gram. d. Byz. Chron. 42. Cf. Fr. *raser* 'shave', also 'demolish' (cf. NE *rase*), and colloq. 'tire, bore'.

2. Lat. *fatigātus* (> Fr. *fatigué*, Sp.

OE *wērig*, ME *weri*, NE *weary* : OS *wōrig*, *wōrig* id., OHG *wuorig* 'drunken', OE *wōrian* 'wander, totter', ON *ðrar* pl. 'stupor', root connections dub.

Walde-P. 1.316 (also 1.20). Falk-Torp 1420.

ME *tyred*, NE *tired*, pple. of ME *tyre*, OE *teorian* 'fail, give out, become weak, exhausted', perh. as Gmc. *\*teuz-*, IE *\*teus-* : Skt. *doṣa-* 'fault, lack', Grk. *δω-*, Hom. *δω-* 'lack', etc. Holthausen, IF 20.324. Walde-P. 1.782.

5. Lith. *pailses*, pple. of *pa-ilsti*, perfect. of *ilsti* 'get tired', beside *alsas* 'fatigue', *ilsētis* 'rest', perh. : Skt. *il-* 'keep still, be quiet', Grk. *ἐλνύν* 'keep quiet, take a rest', IE *\*el-* (?). Persson, Beiträge 743. Walde-P. 1.152.

Lith. *pavarges*, pple. of *pavargti*, perfect. of *vargti* 'exhaust oneself, suffer want' : *vargas* 'distress, want, misery', OPruss. *wargs* 'bad', ChSl. *vragū*, etc. 'enemy'. Walde-P. 1.320. Trautmann 342.

Lett. *piekusis*, pple. of *piekusti*, perfect. of *kust* 'become tired' : ChSl. *kūšnēti* 'delay', *kūšnū* 'slow, sluggish', etc., further connections dub. Mühl-Endz. 2.328. Berneker 672. Walde-P. 1.468 (further combination with Slavic *kysētū* 'sour', cf. NHG *faul* 'foul' and 'lazy').

Lett. *nuoguris*, pple. of *nuogurt* 'tire', cpd. of *gurt* 'weaken, decrease' : *gurdas* 'exhausted, tired', Lith. *gursti* 'die' (of animals), perh. Goth. *gairrus* 'gentle', ON *kviir* 'still, quiet'. Mühl-Endz. 1.684. Walde-P. 1.685 (further root connection with Grk. *βαρῖς* 'heavy', etc.).

6. ChSl. *trudžū sę* 'κεκοπῖός' (Gospels, Jn. 4.6), pple. of *trudžati* sę 'exhaust oneself', iter. of *truditi* 'toil', also adj. ChSl. (later attested) *trudnū*, Pol. *strudzony* (SCR. *trudan* now mostly 'fee-

ble' or 'pregnant'), all derivs. of ChSl. *trudū*, SCR., Pol. *trud* 'toil, exertion', etc. (see under Dan. *træt*, above, 4).

SC. *umoran*, fr. *umoriti* 'tire, kill' = ChSl. *umoriti* 'kill' (4.76). Berneker 2.80.

Boh. *unavený* fr. *unaviti* 'tire, fatigue', cpd. of *naviti* id., fr. *nýti* 'waste away, languish' : ChSl. *-nyti* 'be sluggish', Lith. *novyti* 'torment, oppress', apparently from the same root as Lett. *nave* 'death', etc. (4.75). Walde-P. 2.316. Miklosich 218.

Boh. *mdlý*, also 'faint' : Pol. *mdły* 'faint, weak', ChSl. *muđlū* 'slow', Pol. *muđzić* 'delay, pass the time', ChSl. *muđiti* 'loiter', etc.: outside connections? Brückner 347 f.

Pol. *zmęczony*, fr. *zmęczyć* 'exhaust, fatigue', cpd. of *męczyć* 'torment, harass' : Pol. *męka*, ChSl. *męka*, etc. 'torture', ChSl. *mękūki* 'soft', Lith. *minkyti* 'knead', Grk. *μάσσω* 'press, knead', OE *mengan* 'mix', etc. Walde-P. 2.268. Berneker 2.43. Brückner 328.

Russ. *ustavšij*, perf. act. pple. of *ustavai* 'get tired' : Boh. *ustati* 'get tired, cease', Pol. *ustać* 'cease' (also sometimes 'get tired'), ChSl. *ustati*, *ustaviti* 'cease' (14.28). Brückner 596.

Russ. *utomljennij* perf. pass. pple. of *utomljat'* 'fatigue, tire', cpd. of *tomit'* 'oppress, make weary, overcome', Russ.-ChSl. *tomiti* 'torment', prob. fr. the root in Skt. *tam-* 'faint, be exhausted, lose the breath', Lat. *tētmum* 'intoxicating drink', Mir. *tām* 'death'. Walde-P. 1.720.

7. Skt. *grām-* 'get tired', pple. *grāmā-* 'tired', also *klam-*, *klāmā-* id. : Ir. *clam* 'leprous', W. *claf*, Br. *clāw* 'sick' (4.84). Walde-P. 1.498.

Skt. *khid-* 'tear, press', pple. *khinna-* 'oppressed, exhausted, tired', perh. : Lat. *caedere* 'cut, beat, strike down' (4.70).

*fatigado*), pple. of *fatigare* 'tire' (trans.), 'vex', deriv. of *fatīs* in *ad fatim* 'sufficiently, enough', whence also *fatiscere* 'fall apart, become weak, faint', adj. *fessus* 'weak, weary', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.829. Ernout-M. 336. Walde-H. 1.463.

Lat. *lassus* (> Fr. *las*, Sp. *laso*), fr. *\*lād-lo-* : Grk. *λῆθω* 'be tired', Goth. *lētan* 'leave, let', *lats*, ON *latr*, OHG *laz* 'lazy', etc. (4.92). Walde-P. 2.395. Ernout-M. 525 (with uncalled-for doubt), Walde-H. 1.767 f.

It. *stanco*, cf. Rum. *sting* 'left', OFr. *estanc* 'weak, dry', etc., orig. dub. REW 8225. Gamillscheg 390.

Sp. *cansado*, pple. of *cansar* 'tire' (now trans.; refl. 'get tired'), this (not : Fr. *casser* 'break', fr. Lat. *quassāre* 'shake', as Diez 91, REW 6939, but) = It. *cansare* 'avoid', fr. Lat. *campāre* 'turn aside from', fr. Grk. *κάμνω* aor. of *καμῶν* 'tire', prob. : ON *lāta*, OE *lutan* 'bow, stoop', OHG *luzeda* 'infirmatio', Lith. *liusti* 'become sad, grieve', etc., with common notion of 'bend down, be downcast'. Walde-P. 2.415 f. (with much wider grouping). Falk-Torp 658 f.

W. *blin*, cf. OBr. pl. *blinion* 'inert', Gael. *blian* 'lean, insipid' etym. dub., perh. (fr. IE *\*mlēno-* or *\*mlino-*) : Skt. *mlāna-* 'faded, withered, exhausted, languid', pple. of *mlā-* 'fade, wither, grow weary', SCR. *mlīta-* 'tepid, listless', etc. fr. extensions of IE *\*mel-* 'rub, grind' (Walde-P. 2.284 ff.). G. S. Lane, Language 13.21 f.

4. ON *mōðr*, OE *mēpe*, OS *mōði*, Du. *moede*, OHG *muodi*, MHG *muede*, NHG *müde* : Goth. *af-mauþs* (only nom. pl. *afmauidai* 'exhausted, wearied', pple. of *\*afmōjan*), OHG *muojan*, *muojan* 'dis-

turb, torment', Russ. *majal* 'fatigue, harass', prob. Grk. *μάωλος* 'toil, toil', Lat. *moles* 'large mass', *molestus* 'troublesome'. Walde-P. 2.302. Feist 9. Weigand-H. 2.225, 227.

Dan. *træt*, Sw. *trött* = (Nicol. *prey-tur* also 'tired') ON *preytr* 'exhausted, worn out', pple. of *preyta* 'strive, struggle, exert one's strength', denom. of *prautil* 'struggle, exertion' : ChSl. *trudū* 'toil, exertion, hardship', *truditi* 'labor, become tired' (etc., below, 6), Lat. *trudere* 'thrust, press', IE *\*treud-* prob. extension of *\*ter-* in Grk. *τεῖπω*, etc. 'rub'. Walde-P. 1.755. Falk-Torp 1294. Hellquist 1238.

## 4.92 LAZY

|      |                    |       |          |
|------|--------------------|-------|----------|
| Grk. | ἀργός, ἄργος       | Goth. | lats     |
| NG   | ρεπῆλης, (ἀσπρός)  | ON    | lāt      |
| Lat. | piger, ignāvus     | Dan.  | dove     |
| It.  | pigro, infingardo  | Sw.   | lat      |
| Fr.  | pareseux, fainéant | OE    | slāw     |
| Sp.  | perezoso           | ME    | slow     |
| Rum. | leneș, trîndav     | NE    | lazy     |
| Ir.  | lesc               | Du.   | lūt, lāt |
| NIr. | leisceamhail       | OHG   | lāt      |
| W.   | diog               | MHG   | laz, lāt |
| Br.  | diek, lezirek      | NHG   | faul     |



Dan. *doven* = ON *dofinn* 'dull, drowsy': ON *dofna* 'become dull, lose strength', OE *dofian* 'be silly, stupid', OHG *tobēn*, NHG *toben* 'rage', prob. fr. the root \**dheubh-* in Goth. *daufs* 'deaf', etc. (4.95). Walde-P. 1.840. Falk-Torp 149 f.

OE *slāw* 'dull, sluggish' and 'slothful' (= 'lazy', so Mt. 25.26), ME *slow* partly in this sense, hence *slouthe* 'sloth' and adj. *slouthful*, NE *slothful* (now commonly replaced by *lazy*): ON *sljör*, *slær* 'dull', OHG *sleo* 'exhausted, dull, weak', etc., outside connections dub. Walde-P. 2.378. Falk-Torp 1075. NED s.v.v. *sloth*, etc.

OE *slæc*, ME *slak* (NE *slack*) = ON *slakr*, OHG *slah* 'loose, slack', etc.: Ir. *locc* 'weak' (4.82). Walde-P. 2.712.

NE *lazy*, orig. dub., but prob. fr. MLG *lasich*, *losich* 'lazy, loose', cf. early Du. *leuzig* 'idle', fr. the root in Goth. *lastius*, OE *lesue* 'weak' (4.82). Falk-Torp 625. NED s.v.

Du. *traag*, OS *trāg*, OHG *trāgi*, etc. = OE *trāg* 'evil, bad', fr. a lengthened grade of the root in Goth. *trigō* 'grief, repugnance', ON *tregi* 'grief, hindrance', perh.: Skt. *drāgh-* 'be tired', Av. *dragu-* 'poor, needy, weak'. Walde-P. 1.821. Falk-Torp 1291 f.

NHG *faul*, fr. MHG *vāl* 'rotten, weak' (also 'lazy'), OHG *fāl* 'rotten' = Goth. *fāls*, OE *fāl*, ON *fáll* 'foul, rotten' (: Lat. *pūtere* 'stink, rot'). Walde-P. 2.82. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v., assumes development from 'rotten' through 'physically incapacitated, weak' to 'lazy'. But perh. rather through the well-attested secondary sense 'worthless', applied as an opprobrious epithet to the 'lazy'.

Du. *lui* = MLG *loi*, *loie* id., etym.

dub., perh. as Gmc. \**hlu-ja-*: \**hlēw-a-* in Du. *lauw*, OHG *lāo*, NHG *lau* 'tepid', etc., fr. IE \**klew-*, extension of \**kel-* in Lat. *calidus* 'warm', etc. Franck-v. W. 400 f. (372). Walde-P. 2.709 (1.430). Otherwise Falk-Torp 680.

5. Lith. *tingus*: ChSl. *težikū* 'heavy', *tegoti* (deriv. of \**tegiū*) 'weight', ON *þungr* 'heavy', etc. Walde-P. 1.726. Lith. *vangus*: *vengti* 'shun', OHG *winchen*, MHG *winken* 'move aside, waver', OHG *wankōn*, NHG *wanken* 'rock, waver', etc. Walde-P. 1.218, 260. Mühl-Endz. 3.470.

Lett. *kūtrs*: *kavēt* 'delay, tarry', this possibly ('reflect, ponder' > 'hesitate, delay'): Lat. *cavēre* 'heed, take care', Grk. *κοῦω* 'notice', etc. Walde-P. 1.370. Mühl-Endz. 2.338.

Lett. *laisks*: *laist* 'let go', etc., Lith. *leisti* 'let, permit' (: Goth. *lētan*, etc., above, 4; see 19.47). Mühl-Endz. 2.411. Lith. *slinkas* (Buga, KZ 52.296; not in Kurschat, Lalis, but cf. *slinka* 'slug-gard', *slankus* 'slow, lazy' in Busch-Chowskas), Lett. *slinkis*: Lith. *slinkti* 'crawl, slink', OE *slingan* 'wind, crawl', etc. Walde-P. 2.714. Mühl-Endz. 3.933.

6. ChSl. *lěnū*, etc. general Slavic: Goth. *lats*, etc. (above, 4). Berneker 711.

7. Skt. *alasa-*: *il-* 'keep still, be quiet', Lith. *ilsti* 'become tired', cf. *pailsēs* 'tired, weary' (4.91). Walde-P. 1.152.

Skt. *manda-*: ChSl. *mađiti* 'delay, linger', *mađnū* 'slow', etc. Walde-P. 2.305. Meillet, MSL 14.372.

Av. *a-ərəzaka-*, lit. 'not working', fr. *varaz-* 'work, do, make' (9.13). Barth. 347.

## 4.93 BALD

|      |              |       |                |       |                           |
|------|--------------|-------|----------------|-------|---------------------------|
| Grk. | φαλακρός     | Goth. | ...            | Lith. | plikas                    |
| NG   | φαλακρός     | ON    | skollōtr       | Lett. | plēšis, kails             |
| Lat. | calvus       | Dan.  | skaldet        | ChSl. | vialysis, plēšivū         |
| It.  | calvo        | Sw.   | skallig, kal   | Scr.  | čelas, plešiv             |
| Fr.  | chauve       | OE    | calu           | Boh.  | lysýj, plēšivýj, plēšatýj |
| Sp.  | calvo, pelón | ME    | balled, calouh | Pol.  | lysýj                     |
| Rum. | chel, pleșuv | NE    | bald           | Russ. | lysýj, plēšivýj           |
| Ir.  | mael         | Du.   | kaal           | Skt.  | khalati-, munda-          |
| Nlr. | moel         | OHG   | kalo           | Av.   | kaurva-                   |
| W.   | moel         | MHG   | kal            |       |                           |
| Br.  | moal         | NHG   | kahl           |       |                           |

Most of the words listed may be used either of the head or of the person having a bald head (NE *his head is bald* or *he is bald*), though the latter may also be called 'bald-headed', and so usually NHG *kahlköpfig*.

The words for 'bald' seldom have any connection with those for 'hair', words meaning literally 'hairless' being used otherwise. The commonest source, where this is clear, is the notion of 'bright, shiny' or 'smooth'.

1. Grk. *φαλακρός* (NG pop. also, with metathesis, *φακαλός*): *φαλός* *λευκός* Hesych., *φαλιός*, *φαλαρός* 'having a white spot', Ir. *ball* 'spot', Lith. *baltas* 'white', Skt. *bhāla-* 'splendor, forehead' (cf. also ME *balled*, below, 4). Walde-P. 2.175 f.

2. Lat. *calvus* (> It., Sp. *calvo*, Fr. *chauve*): Av. *kaurva-*, NPers. *kal* 'bald', Skt. *ati-kūlva-*, *-kūlva-* 'entirely bald', prob. also, Skt. *khalati-*, *khalvāta-* 'bald-headed'. Walde-P. 1.447. Ernout-M. 137. Walde-H. 1.144.

Sp. *pelón*, fr. *pelo* 'hair' (4.14), through ironical use of 'hairy' for the opposite, or through a derogatory sense common alike to 'hairy' and 'bald'(?).

Rum. *chel*, fr. Turk. *kel* 'bald'. Lo-kotsch 1152.

Rum. *pleșuv*, fr. the Slavic, cf. ChSl. *plēšivū*, etc. (below, 6).

3. Ir. *mael* (also 'dull, without horns'), Nlr. *moel*, W. *moel* (OW *mail* 'mutilum'), Br. *moal*, perh. (as \**mai-*los) fr.

the root \**mai-* 'cut off, hew', in Goth. *mailan* 'hew, cut', ON *meila* 'cut', etc. Walde-P. 2.222. Otherwise Stokes 204.

4. ON *skalli* (sb. 'a baldhead'), adj. *skollōtr*, Dan. *skaldet*, Sw. *skallig*, perh. fr. s-form of the root in Lat. *calvus*, etc. (above, 2). Ernout-M. 137. Falk-Torp 980 (but combined with the following).

OE *calu*, ME *calouh* (NE *callow*), Du. *kaal* (LG *kal* > Sw. *kal*), OHG *kalo*, MHG *kal*, NHG *kahl*: ChSl. *golū* 'naked', etc. (4.99). Walde-P. 1.537 f. Berneker 325 f. Combined by some with Lat. *calvus*, etc. (above, 2) on the basis of IE variant initial *k/g*, or even as loanword from it (cf. Walde-P. 1.538).

ME *balled*, NE *bald* (cf. also Dan. *baldet* 'bald, callow', of birds), prob. fr. *ball* 'white spot' on the forehead (in spite of the fact that this is not quotable as early as *balled*), this (whether or not through Celtic): Grk. *φαλαρός*, etc. (above, 1). Walde-P. 2.175. Falk-Torp 123. NED s.v.

5. Lith. *plikas*, Lett. *pliks* (also 'naked'), ChSl. *plēšivū*, Scr. *plešiv*, Boh. *plešivýj*, *plešatýj*, Russ. *plēšivýj* (also Lith. *pleikas* 'bald spot', Lett. *plaiakums* 'spot'): Lith. *plynas* 'plain, even, smooth', *plynė* 'plain, open field', Norw. dial. *flein* 'bald, naked', Sw. dial. *flein* 'naked', but further root connection dub.

Walde-P. 2.93. Mühl-Endz. 3.344. Falk-Torp 235.

Lett. *kails* 'bald, naked, bare': Ir. *cōil* 'thin, slender', W., Corn. *cūl* 'lean, narrow'. Walde-P. 1.455.

6. ChSl. *vāz-lysý*, Boh. *lysýj*, Pol. *lyszj*, Russ. *lysýj*: Skt. *rucant-* 'bright, shining', IE \**leuk-*, beside \**leuk-* in Lat. *lūx* 'light', etc. Walde-P. 2.411. Berneker 752.

ChSl. *plēšivū*, above, 5. Scr. *čelas*, fr. Turk. *kel* id. (cf. above, 2, Rum. *chel*).

7. Skt. *khalati-*, Av. *kaurva-*: Lat. *calvus*, above, 2.

Skt. *munda-* 'with shaven head' (also 'hornless, blunt'), perh.: Skt. *myd-* 'crush, rub', etc. Walde-P. 2.288 (287).

## 4.94 LAME

|      |              |       |                     |           |                     |
|------|--------------|-------|---------------------|-----------|---------------------|
| Grk. | χαλός        | Goth. | halts               | Lith.     | raišas, šlubas      |
| NG   | κουστός      | ON    | haltr (lami)        | Lett.     | tizls, klēbs, slums |
| Lat. | claudus      | Dan.  | halt, lam           | ChSl.     | chromā              |
| It.  | zoppo, ranco | Sw.   | halt, lam           | Scr.      | hrom, šepav         |
| Fr.  | boiteux      | OE    | healt (lama)        | Boh.      | chromýj, kulhavýj   |
| Sp.  | cojo         | ME    | halt, lame          | Pol.      | chromy, kulawy      |
| Rum. | șchiop       | NE    | lame (halt)         | Russ.     | chromoj             |
| Ir.  | bacach, lose | Du.   | kreupel, lam, mank  | Skt.      | grōṇa-, śrāma-, pa- |
| Nlr. | bacach       | OHG   | halz (lam)          | gu-, etc. |                     |
| W.   | cloff        | MHG   | lam, halt, hinkende | Av.       | ...                 |
| Br.  | kamm         | NHG   | lahm, hinkent       |           |                     |

The words listed are those used primarily for 'lame' in the leg or foot (as in NE *he is lame*), but most of them are or were also used for 'lame' in wider sense, 'crippled' in any limb.

They are from diverse notions such as 'break, bend, twist', some from the name of a part affected (as 'hip'), some probably of imitative origin (from the clumping sound of a lame person), several quite obscure.

1. Grk. *χαλός*, etym.? Boisacq 1072. NG *κουστός*, Byz. *κουστός* (*κουστός* Chron. Mor.), orig. 'crippled' as in cpds. *κουστόδακτύλος* 'stump-fingered' (Byz.), *κουστόμήτης* 'snub-nosed', *κουστόσχηρος* 'with crippled hand', *κουστόσχητος* 'crippled', etc. (G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 2.97 ff.), now plausibly explained as fr. *κοῦω*- (*κόπτω* 'cut') in cpds., the change of *π* to *σ* perh. first by dissim. in cases like *κοῦω-πόδης* > *κοτοσ-πόδης*. Amantos, *Ἀρχ. Ὑμν.* 28, παραρτ. 124 f. Georgacas, *Ἀρχ. Ὑμν.* 14.227, n. 4. The Slavic words, Bulg. *kuc* 'lame', etc. (Berneker 636), are then loan words.

2. Lat. *claudus*, history obscure, but prob. connected in some way with *claudere* 'shut'—either directly through 'shut off, prevent' (as *fugam claudere*) and hence 'hamper', or more remotely through the underlying root of *claudere* and *clāvis* 'key', with the notion of 'bend, hook'. Walde-P. 1.492. Walde-H. 1.231.

It. *zoppo*, blend of *zanca* 'leg' and VLat. *cloppus* 'lame' (see below). REW 9598.

It. *ranco*, through Cat. or Prov. *ranc* fr. Frank. \**rank* (= MLG *rank* 'twisted'): NHG *renken*, NE *wrench*, etc. REW 7044. Weigand-H. 2.570.

Fr. *boiteux* (beside *boiter* 'limp'), OFr. *boiteuz*, apparently a deriv. of OFr. *boiste*, Fr. *botte* 'box', also 'bone-socket' (fr. MLat. *buzida*, Grk. *πῆξις*, *-ida* 'box'), hence orig. 'club-footed' (perh., but not necessarily, influenced by *bot* 'club-footed'). REW 6892. Gamillscheg 119.

Sp. *cojo* (Cat. *coiz*, Port. *coza*), fr. VLat. *cozus* 'claudus' (gl.), fr. Lat.

coza 'hip, hipbone'. REW 2292a. Ernout-M. 226.

Rum. *șchiop* fr. VLat. *cloppus* 'lame' (gl.), cf. \**cloppicāre* in Fr. *clocher*, Prov. *clopehar* 'limp', Alb. *shqep* 'lame', prob. of imitative orig. Ernout-M. 199. Walde-H. 1.237. REW 1997. Pușcariu 1550.

3. Ir. *lose*, etym. dub., perh.: Grk. *λοξός* 'slanting, oblique', etc. Stokes 244. (Walde-P. 1.157 with query.)

Ir. *bacach* (= W. *bachog* 'hooked, crooked'), fr. Ir. *bacc*, W. *bach* 'hook' (orig. dub. Walde-P. 2.105).

W. *cloff*, fr. VLat. *cloppus* (cf. above, 2, Rum. *șchiop*). Pedersen 1.238. Loth, Mots lat. 150.

Br. *kamm* 'crooked' (12.74), also 'lame'.

4. Goth. *halts*, ON *haltr*, OE *healt* etc. the old Gmc. group for 'lame' (NE *halt* arch.): Ir. *coll* 'destruction, loss, ruin', W. *coll* 'loss, damage', prob. fr. *d-*formations of the root \**kel-* in Grk. *κλέω* 'break', Lat. *per-cellere* 'strike, beat, destroy' (cf. *clādes* 'destruction'), Lith. *kalti* 'beat, hammer', etc. Walde-P. 1.439. Falk-Torp 375. Feist 242 f.

ON *lami*, OE *lama*, OHG *lam*, etc., in the older periods 'maimed, crippled' and esp. 'paralytic, palsied' (so still commonly in Dan., Sw., Du.): OHG *lemmian*, OE *lemian* 'lame', ON *lemja* 'strike, hit', ChSl. *lomiti*, OPruss. *limtwei* 'break', etc., IE \**lem-*. Walde-P. 2.434. Falk-Torp 621.

Du. *kreupel*, MLG *kröpel* (> MHG, NHG *krüppel*) = OE *crypel* 'a cripple', etc., fr. the root of OE *creopan*, MLG *kräpen* 'creep, crawl': Grk. *γρυπός* 'crooked', etc. (extensions of IE \**ger-* 'twist, turn'). Walde-P. 1.598. Franck-v. W. 348.

Du. *mank* (MDu. *manc*, MLG *mank*) fr. Lat. *mancus* 'maimed, infirm, defective' orig. 'crippled in the hand': *manus*

'hand'. Ernout-M. 585, Walde-H. 2.23. Franck-v. W. 413. Falk-Torp 694.

MHG *hinkende*, NHG *hinkend*, pphe. of *hinken* 'limp' (= ON *hinka*, etc.): Skt. *khañj-* 'limp', *khañja-* 'lame', Grk. *σκάζω* 'limp', ON *skakkr* 'awry, twisted', IE \*(s) *keng-*. Walde-P. 2.564. Falk-Torp 406.

5. Lith. *raišas*: Grk. *ροικός* 'crooked, bent', Av. *urvaša-* 'turning, whirl', *urvisyeiti* 'turns', etc., IE \**wreik-*, extension of \**wer-* 'turn'. Walde-P. 1.279.

Lith. *šlubas* (whence *šlubuoti* 'limp'), *šlumas*, Lett. *slums*, history dub. Not directly: Skt. (RV) *grōṇa-* 'lame' (so W. Schulze, Berl. Sitzungsber. 1910 p. 801, Mühl-Endz. 3.941), since this is rather a deriv. of *grōṇi-* 'hip, buttock' (name of the defect from the part of the body affected, cf. VLat. *cozus* 'lame', above, 2). The Baltic words may be independent derivatives of a root \**klew-* 'crack, break' (?) assumed as underlying the words for 'hip', Skt. *grōṇi-*, Lith. *šlaunis*, W. *clun*, etc. Walde-P. 1.499 f.

Lett. *tizls*, etym.? Mühl-Endz. 4.199.

Lett. *klēbs*, cf. Lith. *klēbas* 'bowlegged, tottering': Lith. *klēbėti* 'shake, totter', Lith. *klēbėti*, Lett. *klabāt* 'shake, rattle', outside root connection? Mühl-Endz. 2.225.

6. ChSl. *chromā*, etc., general Slavic: Skt. (Ved.) *śrāma-* 'crippled, lame', root connection? Walde-P. 2.706. Berneker 403.

Scr. *šepav*, cf. *šepati* 'limp, hobble', Ukr. *šepast* 'lame', etc., outside connections? Miklosich 338.

Boh. *kulhavýj*, Pol. *kulawy*, with vbs. Boh. *kulhati*, Pol. *kulać* 'limp', history difficult. Brückner 281 derives Pol. *kulawy* fr. *kula* 'staff, crutch' (this fr. NHG dial. *küle* = *keule* 'club'),—attractive for the Polish, but not for group as a whole, for which cf. Berneker 642 f.

7. Skt. *grōṇa-*, see under Lith. *šlubas* (above, 5).

Skt. *śrāma-*: ChSl. *chromā*, etc. (above, 6).

Skt. *paṅgu-*, etym.? Uhlenbeck 152.

Skt. *khañja-*: MHG *hinken* 'limp', etc. (above, 4).

Skt. *khora-* (also *khoḍa-*, *kholā-*), perh.: Lat. *scavrus* 'clubfooted' (cf. *Scavrus*). Ernout-M. 904. Walde-P. 2.538.

## 4.95 DEAF

|      |         |       |             |       |                       |
|------|---------|-------|-------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | κωφός   | Goth. | daups       | Lith. | kurčias, kurtinas     |
| NG   | κουφός  | ON    | dauf        | Lett. | kurls, kurns          |
| Lat. | surdius | Dan.  | dø          | ChSl. | gluchū                |
| It.  | sordo   | Sw.   | dov         | Scr.  | gluh                  |
| Fr.  | sourd   | OE    | deaf        | Boh.  | hluchýj               |
| Sp.  | sordo   | ME    | deaf        | Pol.  | gluchy                |
| Rum. | surd    | NE    | deaf        | Russ. | gluchoj               |
| Ir.  | bodhar  | Du.   | doof        | Skt.  | badhira-              |
| Nlr. | bodhar  | OHG   | toub (tumb) | Av.   | karəna-, asruj-gaoša- |
| W.   | byddar  | MHG   | toup        |       |                       |
| Br.  | bouzar  | NHG   | toub        |       |                       |

The common words for 'deaf' are not from such a logical source as 'not hearing', but rather from more general notions such as 'dull' or 'mutilated', as are likewise several of the words for 'dumb' or even 'blind'. 'Deaf' and 'dumb' were expressed by the same word in Greek, and OHG *tumb* was sometimes used in both senses.

1. Grk. *κωφός*, in Hom. 'dull, blunt' (*κωφόν βέλος* 'blunt missile') and 'mute, noiseless' (*κῆματι κωφῷ* 'with noiseless wave'), later both 'dumb' and 'deaf' (so still in NT), but NG *κωφός* only 'deaf', prob.: *κηφάω* 'drone', ChSl. *chabiti* 'spoil', *pochabū* 'foolish', Boh. *ochabiti* 'make loose, weak'. Walde-P. 1.348. Boisacq 452.

2. Lat. *surdius* (> Romance words) also 'dull (of sound), indistinct (also of smell and color), inaudible', prob. (as orig. 'indistinct' of sound) fr. the root in *susurrus* 'muttering, whisper', *susurrāre* 'hum, mutter, whisper', Skt. *svar-* 'sound', ON *svarra* 'roar'. Walde-P. 2.528. Ernout-M. 1007.

3. Ir. *bodhar*, Nlr. *bodhar*, W. *byddar*, Br. *bouzar*, prob. (with IE *o*) : Skt.

*badhira-* 'deaf'. Stokes 176. Pedersen 1.111, 363. Thurneysen, Gram. 74. Otherwise Walde-P. 2.190, with attempt to combine with Goth. *baups*.

4. Goth. *baups*, etym. dub. Possibly as orig. 'blunt': MDu. *bot* 'dull, stupid', LG *butt* 'blunt, coarse', Norw. dial. *butt* 'blunt', cf. also Arm. *bot* 'blunt'. Pers.-son, Beiträge 256. Feist 86. Otherwise Walde-P. 2.190 (cf. above, 3).

ON *dauf*, OE *deaf*, OHG *toub*, etc., general Gmc. (in most cases also in the sense of 'dull, slow' of mind or body; Goth. only in this sense, *daubata hairtō* 'dulled heart', Mk. 8.17): ON *deyfa* 'blunt, stupefy', *dofinn* 'dull, drowsy' (Dan. *doven* 'lazy' 4.92), MHG *touben* 'stupefy', etc., Grk. *τίφω* 'raise a smoke, stupefy with smoke', *τυφλός* 'blind' (4.97), etc., here also Goth. *dumbōs* 'dumb', etc., OHG *tumb* 'stupid, dumb, deaf' (4.96), fr. \**deu-bh-* extension of IE \**dheu-* in Skt. *dhū-* 'shake', *dhūma-* 'vapor, smoke', Grk. *θῶω* 'rush, rage' and numerous other formations, with a common notion of 'whirling, rapid, dizzy motion', applied to various physical and mental phenomena, and including some

etc., 'deaf' (4.95). Walde-P. 1.



*borracha* 'leather wine flask' (= It. *borraccia*, of dub. orig., REW 1411).

Sp. *beodo*, Rum. *beat*, fr. Lat. *bibitus* 'drunk' pple. of *bibere* 'drink'. REW 1080.

3. Ir. *mesc*, Nlr. *meisceamhail* (cpd. with *amhail* 'like'), W. *meddw*, Br. *mezo*, see above, 1.

4. Goth. *drugans* (I Cor. 11.21), OE *druncan* etc., the regular Gmc. expression, pples. of Goth. *drigkan*, OE *drincan*, etc. 'drink'.

ON *plr*, later *plvaðr*, fr. *pl* 'ale, beer' (5.92).

Dan. *fuld*, Sw. *full* (so also Nlcel. *fullur*, Scotch *fou*, and NE slang *full*), lit. 'full (of strong drink)'.

5. Lith. *girtas* (old pple., Leskien, Ablaut 326), *pasigėręs*, Lett. *piedzērišs* (pples. of refl. perfect. forms) : Lith. *gerti*, Lett. *dzert* 'drink'.

Lett. *pilns*, lit. 'full', but also 'drunk' (like Dan. *fuld*, etc., above). Mühl.-Endz. 3.216.

6. ChSl. *pījanū* (deriv. *pījanica* δ μεθ-ωσν, Mt. 24.49), SCr. *pījan*, OE *pījany*, Russ. *p'janyj* (old mid. pple.? Cf. Meil-

let, Études, 438), Boh. *opilyj*, *zpilyj* (pples.) : ChSl. *piti*, etc. 'drink'.

7. Skt. *matta*- 'drunk', pple. of *mad-* 'be drunk, rejoice' = Av. *maδ-* 'get drunk' (pple. *masta*- happens not to be quotable in this sense, but cf. NPers. *mast* 'drunk') : Lat. *madēre* 'be wet', also 'be drunk' (whence *madidus* 'wet, soaked, drunk'; *mattus*, Petr. Sat. 41 and in glosses 'drunk' fr. *\*maditus*), Grk. *μαδῶ* 'be moist, flaccid' (of a disease of fig trees), 'fall out' (of hair), *μαδαρός* 'wet'. Walde-P. 2.230 f. Walde-H. 2.6 f.

Ernout-M. 578 reject the connection between the Latin (and Greek) and the Indo-Iranian forms, on formal and semantic grounds. But the Skt. *mand-* forms make no serious difficulty, and on the semantic side, the secondary sense of 'be drunk' which appears in Latin (cf. also U.S. slang *soaked*) may well have developed in part in the IE period, and prevailed to the exclusion of 'be wet' in the Indo-Iranian period, with some new extension in Sanskrit ('be exhilarated, glad'). Separation seems entirely uncalled for.

| Grk. | γυμνός          | Goth. | naƿaþs                    | Lith. | nuogas |
|------|-----------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|--------|
| NG   | γυμνός, γδυμνός | ON    | Let. <i>pīks, kails</i>   |       |        |
| Lat. | nūdus           | Dan.  | ChSl. <i>naģis; golū</i>  |       |        |
| It.  | nudo, ignudo    | Sw.   | SCr. <i>go, nag</i>       |       |        |
| Fr.  | nu              | OE    | Boh. <i>nahij; holij</i>  |       |        |
| Sp.  | desnudo         | ME    | Pol. <i>nagi; goti</i>    |       |        |
| Rum. | gol             | NE    | Russ. <i>nagoj; golyj</i> |       |        |
| Ir.  | nocht; lom      | Du.   | Skt. <i>nagna-</i>        |       |        |
| Nlr. | nocht; lom      | OHG   | Av. <i>maγna-</i>         |       |        |
| W.   | noeth; llum     | MHG   |                           |       |        |
| Br.  | noaz            | NHG   |                           |       |        |

A distinction of usage between the common word for a wholly 'naked' person or body, and one that applies more commonly to some 'bare' part of the body (and objects quite apart from the body) exists in some languages and is indicated by a semicolon in the table,

| 4.99 NAKED, BARE                     |                     |
|--------------------------------------|---------------------|
| Goth. <i>naƿaþs</i>                  | Lith. <i>nuogas</i> |
| ON <i>Let. <i>pīks, kails</i></i>    |                     |
| Dan. <i>ChSl. <i>naģis; golū</i></i> |                     |
| Sw. <i>SCr. <i>go, nag</i></i>       |                     |
| OE <i>Boh. <i>nahij; holij</i></i>   |                     |
| ME <i>Pol. <i>nagi; goti</i></i>     |                     |
| NE <i>Russ. <i>nagoj; golyj</i></i>  |                     |
| Du. <i>Skt. <i>nagna-</i></i>        |                     |
| OHG <i>Av. <i>maγna-</i></i>         |                     |
| MHG <i></i>                          |                     |
| NHG <i></i>                          |                     |

but even in these is not strictly observed and in others is wholly absent.

The majority of the words for 'naked' belong to an inherited group.

1. IE *\*nag-*, with various suffixes. Walde-P. 2.339. Ernout-M. 684.

Grk. *γυμνός* (cf. Sturtevant, Language

6.222); Lat. *nūdus*, whence (or fr. de-riv.) It. *nudo*, *ignudo*, Fr. *nu*, Sp. *desnudo*; Ir. *nocht*, Nlr. *nocht*, *nochttha*, W. *noeth*, Br. *noaz*; Goth. *naƿaþs* ON *nǫkviðr*, *nǫktr*, rarely (but reg. Nlcel.) *nakiinn*, Dan. *någen*, Sw. *naken*, OE *nacod*, ME, NE *naked*, OHG *nachut*, MHG *nackel*, *nackent*, NHG *nackt*; Lith. *nuogas*, ChSl. *naģis*, SCr. *nag*, Boh. *nahý*, Pol. *nagi*, Russ. *nagoj*; Skt. *nagna*, Av. *maγna-* (for *m-*, cf. Barth. 1112); cf. Hitt. *nekumanz* 'naked', *nekuzi* 'goes to bed', *nekus* 'evening' (Sturtevant, Hitt. Gram. 122 f.).

2. NG *γδυμνός*, fr. *γυμνός* by association with *γδύνω* 'undress'.

3. Rum. *gol*, fr. Slavic (below, 7).

4. Ir. *lomm*, Nlr. *lom* (also frequently cpd. *lomnocht* with *nocht*, above, 1), W. *llum* 'bare' : OIr. *lommar* 'callow, bare', Mlr. *lommraim* 'strip, peel', prob. fr. the root *\*leu-bh-* in Russ. *lub* 'bast', Lith. *luobas* 'tree bark', etc., beside

5. ON *berr*, Dan., Sw. *bar*, OE *bar*, ME, NE *bare*, OHG, MHG *bar* (NHG *bar* in old sense in cpds. *barfuss*, *barhaupt* and readopted in the modern lit. language) : Lith. *basas*, Lett. *bass*, ChSl. *basā* 'barefoot', with guttural suffix Arm. *bok* id. Walde-P. 2.189.

Du. *bloot*, MHG *blōz*, NHG *bloss* (OHG *blōz* 'proud', fr. 'empty, vain') : OE *blēat* 'miserable', ON *blautr* 'soft', also OE *blēap*, ON *blauðr* 'timid', prob. from extensions of *\*hlau-* seen in Grk. *φλαῦρος* 'petty, trivial'. Walde-P. 2.208. Falk-Torp 85 f.

6. Lett. *pīks* and *kails*, both also 'bald' (4.93).

7. ChSl. *golū*, SCr. *go*, Boh. *holý*, Pol. *goli*, Russ. *golyj* : OE *calu*, OHG *kalo*, etc. 'bald' (4.93). Walde-P. 1.537 f. Berneker 325 f.

*\*leu-p* in Skt. *lup-* 'break, injure, plunder', Lith. *lupti* 'peel'. Walde-P. 2.418.

5. ON *berr*, Dan., Sw. *bar*, OE *bar*, ME, NE *bare*, OHG, MHG *bar* (NHG *bar* in old sense in cpds. *barfuss*, *barhaupt* and readopted in the modern lit. language) : Lith. *basas*, Lett. *bass*, ChSl. *basā* 'barefoot', with guttural suffix Arm. *bok* id. Walde-P. 2.189.

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7. ChSl. *golū*, SCr. *go*, Boh. *holý*, Pol. *goli*, Russ. *golyj* : OE *calu*, OHG *kalo*, etc. 'bald' (4.93). Walde-P. 1.537 f. Berneker 325 f.

## 5.11 EAT

| Grk. | ἐσθίω, ἔσθω, αορ. ἐφαγον | Goth. | maƿjan, ilan                       | Lith. | valgyti (ėsti) |
|------|--------------------------|-------|------------------------------------|-------|----------------|
| NG   | τρώγω, αορ. ἐφαγα        | ON    | Let. <i>ēst</i>                    |       |                |
| Lat. | ēsse, edere              | Dan.  | ChSl. <i>jasti</i>                 |       |                |
| It.  | mangiare                 | Sw.   | SCr. <i>jesti</i>                  |       |                |
| Fr.  | manger                   | OE    | Boh. <i>jisti</i>                  |       |                |
| Sp.  | comer                    | ME    | Pol. <i>jeść</i>                   |       |                |
| Rum. | mīnca                    | NE    | Russ. <i>jest' (kušat')</i>        |       |                |
| Ir.  | ithim                    | Du.   | Skt. <i>ad-, aṣ-, bhuj-, ghas-</i> |       |                |
| Nlr. | ithim                    | OHG   | Av. <i>z'ar-, gah-</i>             |       |                |
| W.   | bugya                    | MHG   |                                    |       |                |
| Br.  | diðri                    | NHG   |                                    |       |                |

A majority of the words for 'eat' belong to an inherited group representing an IE *\*ed-*. A few of these survive only as homely words used of animals 'feeding' or vulgarly of men. The substitutes are partly words meaning originally 'chew, nibble, swallow', etc., which were used of animals 'feeding' and also as colloquial or slang expressions with reference to men (cf. NE *where'll we feed?*), until they finally become the standard words for 'eat'. Others are derivatives of nouns meaning 'food, meal' (these of various sources discussed under 'food', etc.), that is, 'take food, a meal', or again from the notion of 'partake of', with specialization to 'partake of food', as frequently in NE.

1. IE *\*ed-*. Walde-P. 1.118. Ernout-M. 294 f. Walde-H. 1.392 f.

Grk. *ἔσθω* (poet.), Att. *ἐσθίω*; Lat. *ēsse*, late *edere*, Osc. *edum*; Ir. subj. *estar*, pple. pass. *eisse*, etc. (supplying parts of *ithim*; cf. Pedersen 2.559; Thurneysen, Gram. 471), W. *ysu* 'devour'; Goth. *ilan*, etc. general Gmc.; Lith. *ėsti*, Lett. *ēst*, OPr. *īst*; ChSl. *jasti*, etc., general Slavic; Skt. *ad-*; Arm. *utem*; Hitt. *et-*. But Dan. *æde* (regular for 'eat' in Dan. Bible) and Lith. *ėsti* are now used only of animals (or vulgarly of men). Falk-Torp 1411. NSB s.v.

Cf. cpd. Goth. *fra-itan* (for *κατεσθίω* 'eat up, devour'), OE *fretan*, OHG *frezan* 'devour', whence NHG *fressen*, used

of animals, etc. (NE *fret* with total loss of any relation to food).

2. Grk. *τρώγω* 'gnaw, nibble, feed on' (perh. : Lat. *tergere* 'rub off', *terere* 'rub', etc. Walde-P. 1.732), used mostly of animals, but also of men, and in late times simply 'eat'. In the NT, while less common than *ἐσθίω*, it is usual in the Fourth Gospel and must have there a fully respectable standing, for it is put in the mouth of Jesus (Jn. 13.18, etc.). For other examples in pap., cf. Moulton-Milligan s.v. NG *τρώγω* is the reg. word for 'eat' in the present.

Grk. aor. *ἐφαγον*, still persisting in NG *ἐφαγα*, fut. *θὰ φάγ(ω)*, etc. : Skt. *bhāj-* 'give or receive a portion', *bhaks-* 'partake of, eat or drink'. Loc. *καμαρδαγίσσας* 'have one's property confiscated' is a relic of the more general meaning. Walde-P. 2.127.

Grk. *βιβρώσκω* 'devour, eat up' and simply 'eat', *βέβρωκα*, *ἐβρώσθη* being used in Hellenistic Greek as tenses of *ἐσθίω*, fr. IE *\*g<sup>er</sup>-* 'swallow, devour' (cf. Grk. *βάραιον* 'pit') in Skt. *gr-*, Lat. *vorāre*, ChSl. *žrěti*, etc. Walde-P. 1.682 f.

3. Lat. *comedere* (> Sp., Port. *comer*) cpd. of *edere*.

Lat. *manducāre* 'chew' (beside older *mandere*), used colloq. for 'eat' and freq. in this sense from Varro on (esp. Petronius, Peregrinatio, Italia, etc.). Hence OIt. *manicare*, Fr. *manger* (> It.

*mangiare*), Rum. *mīnca*, etc. Ernout-M. 585. Walde-H. 2.24. REW 5292.

4. Ir. *ithim* : Skt. *pitru* 'food, drink', ChSl. *piłiti* 'feed', etc. (5.12). Pedersen 2.559.

W. *bwyta*, fr. *bwyd* 'food' (5.12).

Br. *diðri*, MBr. *diðriff*, OBr. sb. *diðrim* 'food', Corn. *diðry*, prob. fr. a cpd. *\*di-prim-* : Nlr. *creimim* 'gnaw, chew' (Ir. vbl. n. *creim*, K. Meyer, Contrib. 511). Henry 95. Loth, Vocab. vieux-breton 105. (Otherwise, but to be rejected, Pedersen 1.111).

5. Goth. *maƿjan* (more common than *itan*), fr. *mats* 'food' (5.12).

Dan. *spise*, fr. sb. *spise*, loanword fr. MLG *spise* 'food' (5.12). As the polite term this has displaced the old *æde* (above, 1), as NHG *speisen* has encroached on *essen*, but without displacing it (Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 469).

## 5.12 FOOD

| Grk. | τροφή, βρώμα, ἐσθία, σίτια | Goth. | mats, fōdeins                     | Lith. | valgis, maistas                    |
|------|----------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|------------------------------------|
| NG   | τροφή, φαγί                | ON    | Let. <i>matr, fōda, āt, vist</i>  | Let.  | bariba                             |
| Lat. | cibus, ēsca, penus, etc.   | Dan.  | ChSl. <i>mađ, fōde, spise</i>     | ChSl. | <i>pišta, jađi, brašino, krāma</i> |
| It.  | cibo, mangiare, vitto      | Sw.   | OE <i>mat, fōda, spīs</i>         | SCr.  | <i>hrana, jelo</i>                 |
| Fr.  | nourriture, aliment        | OE    | ME <i>mete, fōda, wist, feorm</i> | Boh.  | <i>jidlo, pokrm, potrava</i>       |
| Sp.  | alimento, comida           | NE    | food                              | Pol.  | <i>jadło, pokarm, potrawa</i>      |
| Rum. | hrana, mīncare             | Du.   | voedsel, spijs                    |       |                                    |
| Ir.  | biad, tūare                | OHG   | muos, maz, spisa, āz, wist        | Russ. | <i>pišča, jasta</i>                |
| Nlr. | biad                       |       |                                   | Skt.  | <i>anna-, pitu-</i>                |
| W.   | bwyd                       | MHG   | muos, spise, maz, āz              | Av.   | <i>z'arāda-, pitu-</i>             |
| Br.  | boed                       | NHG   | speise, essen, nah-rung, kost     |       |                                    |

Many of the words listed cover 'food' for man or beast. Words that are used only of food for animals ('fodder') are not included in the list, though several of these belong to the same cognate groups and are mentioned in the discussion.

The commonest derivation is naturally from words for 'eat' or 'feed'. But

some of the verbs for 'feed' and many more of the nouns for 'food' are the result of specialization from meanings that originally had no specific reference to food, such as 'means of life, a living', 'rear, nourish, preserve, save', 'portion', 'expense, outlay', 'provisions', etc. In some cases a word originally denoting some special kind of food comes to be

used for food in general—the opposite of the specialization seen in NE *meal*.

1. Derivs. of IE *\*ed-* 'eat' (5.11). Grk. *ἐσθία*, *ἐσθια*, Hom. *ἐσθια*; Lat. *ēsca*; ON *at*, OE *æt*, OHG, MHG *ās*; Lett. *ēdiens* ('an article of food'); ChSl. *jađi*, SCr. *jelo*, Boh. *jidlo*, Pol. *jadło, jedzenie*, Russ. *jasta*; Skt. *anna-*. But some of these are among the less common words for 'food', and still others are used only in a specialized sense, e.g. OE *ās*, OHG *ās*, NHG, Du. *aas* 'carrion, bait', Lith. *ėdesis* 'fodder, bait', etc.

2. Derivs. of IE *\*pā-* (cf. Lat. *pāscere*, ChSl. *pasti* 'feed cattle, pasture'), *\*pī-*, (relationship between *\*pā-* and *\*pī-* on the basis of *\*pāi-* prob.; otherwise Walde-P. 2.73). Walde-P. 2.72 ff. Ernout-M. 737 f. Feist 157.

Lat. *pābulum* 'fodder'; the Gmc. group represented by NE *food* and *fodder* (below, 6); Skt. *pitru* 'food, drink', Av. *pitru* 'food'; ChSl. *pišta* 'food', Boh. *piče* 'fodder', Russ. *pišča* 'food' (cf. ChSl. *piłiti* 'feed').

3. Grk. *τροφή*, fr. *τρέφω* 'make thrive, nourish, rear' (Walde-P. 1.876), with the same specialization to 'food' as in Lat. *alimentum* fr. *alere*. *βρώμα*, *βρώσις*, fr. *βιβρώσσω* 'devour, eat' (5.11).

Σίτος 'grain' (8.42) is also used for 'food', and so especially *σίτρα* or *σίρια* (neut. pl.), also *στρησις*.

NG *τὸ φαγί*, fr. the old aor. infin. *φαγεῖν* 'eat'. Cf. It. *il mangiare*, NHG *das essen*. NG *φαγητό* is mostly 'an article of food'.

4. Lat. *cibus* (> It. *cibo* 'food', but now specialized to flesh-food), OHG, MHG *maz*, and with different grade of the root and with s-suffix, OE *mās*, OHG *muos*, *muas* (the usual word in Tat. and Otrf.), MHG *muos* (NHG *mus* 'stewed fruit', etc.) etym. disputed. From *\*mad-* in Lat. *madēre* 'be moist', Skt. *medas* 'fat', etc., through 'moist or fatty food'

5. Lat. *penus* 'food supply, provisions' : Lith. *penas* 'food, fodder', *penėti* 'feed, fatten'. Walde-P. 2.25. Ernout-M. 753 f.

Lat. *alimentum* (> It., Sp. *alimento*,

*nahrung* (above, 6). Walde-P. 2.498. Berneker 397 f.

For distribution of ChSl. forms, cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 327, 378.

Boh. *potrava*, Pol. *potrawa, strawa* : ChSl. *trava* 'grass', fr. the root in *truti* 'consume', *na-truti*, 'nourish, feed', *tryti*

'rub', etc. Walde-P. 1.731. Trautmann 327. Brückner 518, 575.

9. Skt. *anna-*, Skt., Av. *pitru-*, above, 1, 2.

Av. *z'arāda-*, fr. *\*z'ar-* 'consume' (5.11). Hence Arm. *xor* 'food' (Hüb-schmann, Arm. Gram. 160).

## 5.13 DRINK (vb.)

| Grk. | πίνω   | Goth. | drigkan             | Lith. | geriti       |
|------|--------|-------|---------------------|-------|--------------|
| NG   | πίνω   | ON    | Let. <i>drekka</i>  | Let.  | <i>džert</i> |
| Lat. | bibere | Dan.  | ChSl. <i>drikke</i> | ChSl. | <i>piti</i>  |
| It.  | bere   | Sw.   | SCr. <i>drieka</i>  | SCr.  | <i>piti</i>  |
| Fr.  | boire  | OE    | ME <i>drincan</i>   | Boh.  | <i>piti</i>  |
| Sp.  | beber  | NE    | ME <i>drinken</i>   | Pol.  | <i>pić</i>   |
| Rum. | bea    | Du.   | Russ. <i>pit'</i>   | Russ. | <i>pić</i>   |
| Ir.  | ibim   |       | Skt. <i>pā-</i>     | Skt.  | <i>pā-</i>   |
| Nlr. | olaim  | OHG   | Av. <i>z'ar-</i>    | Av.   | <i>z'ar-</i> |
| W.   | yfed   | MHG   |                     |       |              |
| Br.  | eva    | NHG   |                     |       |              |

Most of the words for 'drink', apart from the Gmc. group, are inherited from IE *\*pō(i)-* 'drink', of which any further relations are problematical. Some are from 'swallow, devour' with specialization to 'drink', as in other cases to 'eat'.

1. IE *\*pō(i)-*, *\*pī-*. Walde-P. 2.71. Ernout-M. 109. Walde-H. 1.103 f.

Grk. *πίνω*; Lat. *bibere* (pple. *pōtus*), whence It. *bere*, Fr. *boire*, Sp. *beber*, Rum. *bea*; Ir. *ibim* (vbl. n. *oul, ol*, whence Nlr. *olaim*), W. *yfed*, Br. *eva*; OPruss. *poutwei*; ChSl. *piti*, etc., general Slavic; Skt. *pā-*; Alb. *pi*.

2. Goth. *drigkan*, OE *drincan*, etc., general Gmc., etym. disputed. Semantically the deriv. fr. 'draw' (cf. NE *take a draught*, Lat. *dūcere pōcula, suco*, etc.) is the most attractive, and so ultimate connection with OE *dragan* 'draw', etc., through a nasalized form of a parallel root (*\*dhreg-* perh. seen in Skt. *dhraj-*

'move, glide'). Cf. also Toch. A *tsuk-* 'drink' : Lat. *dūcere* 'draw, lead', etc. Walde-P. 1.874. Feist 125. G. S. Lane, Language 14.27.

3. Lith. *geriti*, Lett. *džert* : ChSl. *žrěti*, Skt. *gr-*, Lat. *vorāre*, Grk. *βιβρώσκω*, IE *\*g<sup>er</sup>-* 'swallow, devour'. Walde-P. 1.682 ff.

4. Av.

## 5.14 HUNGER (sb.)

|      |              |       |                |       |                 |
|------|--------------|-------|----------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | λίμως, πείνα | Goth. | hūhrus, grēdus | Lith. | alkis, badas    |
| NG   | πείνα        | ON    | hungur         | Lett. | izalkums, bads  |
| Lat. | famēs        | Dan.  | hungur         | ChSl. | gladī           |
| It.  | fame         | Sw.   | hungur         | Scr.  | gladī           |
| Fr.  | faim         | OE    | hungor         | Boh.  | hlad            |
| Sp.  | hambre       | ME    | hungor         | Pol.  | glód            |
| Rum. | foame        | NE    | hungor         | Russ. | golod           |
| Ir.  | gorle        | Du.   | honger         | Skt.  | kṣudh-, kṣudhā- |
| Nlr. | oeras, gorta | OHG   | hungar         | Av.   | šud-            |
| W.   | newyn        | MHG   | hungar         |       |                 |
| Br.  | naon         | NHG   | hungar         |       |                 |

Words for 'hunger' come by specialization from either 'want, distress, wasting away' or 'desire, longing'. Cf. the specialization of NE *starve* from OE *steorfan* 'die'.

1. Grk. λίμως : λοιμός 'plague', λά-ζομαι 'withdraw, shrink', Goth. *afinnan* 'depart', ON *linna* 'cease', etc. IE \*lei-. Walde-P. 2.388. Whatever the ultimate relations of the various IE roots \*lei-, the immediate Greek development is fr. 'waste away' to 'hunger'.

Grk. πείνα, Ion. πείνη, fr. \*πείνα : Grk. πείνα 'poverty', πένος 'poor', πένωμαι 'toil, be poor', πένος 'toil', etc. IE \*lei-. connections dub. Walde-P. 2.8 f., 661.

2. Lat. *famēs* (> Romance words) etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.829. Ernout-M. 328 f. Walde-H. 1.451.

3. Ir. *nāna*, Nlr. *naoine* 'famine', W. *newyn*, Br. *naon* 'hunger, famine', OCor. *naun* (gl. *famīs*), prob. Goth. *naups*, OHG *nōt*, OE *nēad* 'necessity, distress' (NE *need*). Walde-P. 2.316. Pedersen 1.61. Stokes 193.

Ir. *gorle*, Nlr. *gorta* : Ir. *goirt* 'bitter, painful', fr. the root of *gorim* 'heat', ChSl. *gorēti* 'burn', etc. (1.85). Walde-P. 1.688. Pedersen 1.33.

Nlr. *oeras*, cpd. of *od-* and root of

*caraim* 'love'. 'Hunger' fr. 'desire'.

Pedersen 1.476.

4. Goth. *hūhrus*, ON *hungur*, OE *hungor*, etc. general Gmc. : Grk. κένωω πείνω (Phot.), κέχχει ἐπιδάκνει (Hesych.), Lith. *kenkia* 'it hurts', *kanka* 'pain', ON *hā* 'vex, distress'. Walde-P. 1.401. Falk-Torp 432. Feist 273.

Goth. *grēdus* (once = λίμως) with adj. *grēdags* : ON *grādr* 'hunger, greed', OE *grēdig* 'hungry, greedy' (NE *greedy*, whence *greed*), fr. \*ghrēdh-, prob. an extension of \*gher-, in Goth. *gairnjan*, OE *giernan* 'desire' (NE *yearn*), Osc. Umbr. *her* 'wish', etc. Walde-P. 1.601. Feist 220. Walde-H. 1.658. Otherwise Falk-Torp 339.

5. Lith. *alkis*, Lett. *izalkums* : Lith. *alkti*, Lett. *alkt*, ChSl. *alkati* 'be hungry', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.159.

6. ChSl. *gladī*, etc., general Slavic : ChSl. *žlūditi* 'long for, desire', also(?) Skt. *grdh-* 'be eager, long for', *gardha-* 'desire'. Walde-P. 1.633. Berneker 320.

7. Skt. *kṣudh-*, *kṣudhā-*, Av. *šud-*, NPers. *šud* : Skt. *kṣudh-* 'be hungry', outside connections?

Lith. *badas*, Lett. *bads*, prob. : Skt. *bādḥ-* 'press, urge', *bādha-* 'distress'. But cf. Mühl-Endz. 2.248.

ChSl. *žlūditi* 'long for, desire', also(?) Skt. *grdh-* 'be eager, long for', *gardha-* 'desire'. Walde-P. 1.633. Berneker 320.

8. Skt. *kṣudh-*, *kṣudhā-*, Av. *šud-*, NPers. *šud* : Skt. *kṣudh-* 'be hungry', outside connections?

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20. Skt. *kṣudh-*, *kṣudhā-*, Av. *šud-*, NPers. *šud* : Skt. *kṣudh-* 'be hungry', outside connections?

## 5.15 THIRST (sb.)

|      |             |       |               |       |                       |
|------|-------------|-------|---------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | δίψα, δίψος | Goth. | þaurstei      | Lith. | troškulyas, troškimas |
| NG   | δίψα        | ON    | þorsti        | Lett. | slāpes                |
| Lat. | sitis       | Dan.  | lørst         | ChSl. | žēda                  |
| It.  | sete        | Sw.   | lörst         | Scr.  | žēd                   |
| Fr.  | soif        | OE    | þurst, þyrst  | Boh.  | žiče                  |
| Sp.  | sed         | ME    | þurst, thirst | Pol.  | pragnienie            |
| Rum. | sele        | NE    | þurst, thirst | Russ. | žāzda                 |
| Ir.  | itu, tart   | Du.   | durst         | Skt.  | trṣṇā-                |
| Nlr. | tart, iola  | OHG   | durst         | Av.   | taršna-               |
| W.   | syched      | MHG   | durst         |       |                       |
| Br.  | sec'hed     | NHG   | durst         |       |                       |

Words for 'thirst' come, through the verb, from 'be dry, parched', or, like those for 'hunger', by specialization from 'wasting away, growing weak' or 'desire, longing' (as also conversely 'long for' from 'thirst for').

1. Derivs. of IE \*ters- in Grk. *répo-mai* 'become dry', Lat. *torrēre* 'make dry', Goth. *þaurstjan* 'be thirsty', OHG *derran* 'make dry', Skt. *trṣ-* 'be thirsty', etc. Walde-P. 1.737 f. Ernout-M. 1048. Pedersen 1.81.

Ir. *tart*; Goth. *þaurstei*, OE *þurst*, etc. general Gmc.; Lith. *troškulyas*, *troškimas* (*troškiti* 'be thirsty', *troškus* 'thirsty'); Skt. *trṣṇā-*, Av. *taršna-*.

2. Grk. δίψα, δίψος, with vb. διψάω, etym.? Boisacq 192.

3. Lat. *sitis* (> Romance words) prob. : Grk. *phōtus* 'wasting away, decay', Skt. *kṣiti-* 'disappearance, destruction'. Walde-P. 1.506. REW 7961.

4. Ir. *itu*, Nlr. *iola*, etym. dub. Pedersen 1.65. Walde-P. 1.197, 2.8.

5. Lith. *alkis*, Lett. *izalkums* : Lith. *alkti*, Lett. *alkt*, ChSl. *alkati* 'be hungry', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.159.

6. ChSl. *gladī*, etc., general Slavic : ChSl. *žlūditi* 'long for, desire', also(?) Skt. *grdh-* 'be eager, long for', *gardha-* 'desire'. Walde-P. 1.633. Berneker 320.

7. Skt. *kṣudh-*, *kṣudhā-*, Av. *šud-*, NPers. *šud* : Skt. *kṣudh-* 'be hungry', outside connections?

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32. Skt. *kṣudh-*, *kṣudhā-*, Av. *šud-*, NPers. *šud* : Skt. *kṣudh-* 'be hungry', outside connections?

| 5.21 COOK (vb.) | 5.22 BOIL              | 5.23 ROAST, FRY   | 5.24 BAKE         |
|-----------------|------------------------|-------------------|-------------------|
| Grk.            | πέσσω (μαγειρεύω)      | ῥέω, ῥέω          | ῥέω, ῥέω          |
| NG              | μαγειρεύω              | ῥέω, ῥέω          | ῥέω, ῥέω          |
| Lat.            | coquere                | coquere           | coquere           |
| It.             | cocere                 | lessare           | cocere            |
| Fr.             | cuire                  | faire bouillir    | rôtir; frire      |
| Sp.             | cocer, cocinar, guisar | cocer, hervir     | cocer (en horno)  |
| Rum.            | găti, coace            | fiar              | coace (in cuptor) |
| Ir.             | fo-no                  | berbaim           | fo-no             |
| Nlr.            | fuinim                 | beirbhim, bruihim | fuinim            |
| W.              | coginio                | berwi             | pobi, crasu       |
| Br.             | poaza (darevi)         | birwi             | poba              |
| Goth.           | malbūa                 | sjōða, vella      | baka              |
| ON              | lave mad, koge         | koge              | bage              |
| Dan.            | tillaga, koka          | koka              | baka              |
| Sw.             | gegearwian             | stojan, wiellan   | bacan             |
| OE              | cake                   | sethe, boile      | bake              |
| ME              | cook                   | boil              | bake              |
| Du.             | koken, bereiden        | koken             | backen            |
| OHG             | kochōn                 | stodan, kochōn    | backen            |
| MHG             | kochen                 | kochen, siedon    | backen            |
| NHG             | kochen                 | kochen            | backen            |
| Lith.           | virtti                 | virtti            | kepti             |
| Lett.           | vārti                  | vārti             | cepi              |
| ChSl.           | variti                 | variti            | pešti             |
| Scr.            | kuhati                 | kuhati            | peći              |
| Boh.            | variti                 | peći, pžiiti      | peći              |
| Pol.            | warzyć                 | warzyć            | piec              |
| Russ.           | varit'                 | varit'            | piec              |
| Skt.            | pac-, cā-              | pac-, cā-         | pac-              |
| Av.             | pač-                   | pač-              | pač-              |

5.21. Words for 'cook', that is, general terms for preparing food by the use of heat, covering boiling, roasting, baking, etc., belong mostly to an inherited group representing an IE \*pek-. The forms of this root in Indo-Iranian, Tocharian, Greek, and Latin have the general meaning 'cook' (also 'ripen' fruit in Skt., Grk., Toch.; in Lat. also 'prepare anything by heat', as 'bake' (bricks), but in Balto-Slavic (also Alb.) are specialized to 'roast, bake' (Russ. only 'bake', as also W., Br.), and in several languages are used most commonly for 'boil' (conversely 'boil' for 'cook' in Balto-Slavic).

Pol. *pragnienie*, fr. *pragné* 'be thirsty' : Boh. *prahnouti* 'be parched' (as with thirst), Pol. *prażyć*, etc. 'roast' (5.18). Brückner 434.

8. Skt. *trṣṇā-*, Av. *taršna-*, above, 1.

9. Skt. *kṣudh-*, *kṣudhā-*, Av. *šud-*, NPers. *šud* : Skt. *kṣudh-* 'be hungry', outside connections?

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27. Skt. *kṣudh-*, *kṣudhā-*, Av. *šud-*, NPers. *šud* : Skt. *kṣudh-* 'be hungry', outside connections?

28. Skt. *kṣudh-*, *kṣudhā-*, Av. *šud-*, NPers. *šud* : Skt. *kṣudh-* 'be hungry', outside connections?

29. Skt. *kṣudh-*, *kṣudhā-*, Av. *šud-*, NPers. *šud* : Skt. *kṣudh-* 'be hungry', outside connections?

30. Skt. *kṣudh-*, *kṣudhā-*, Av. *šud-*, NPers. *šud* : Skt. *kṣudh-* 'be hungry', outside connections?

## 5.25 OVEN

|      |                  |       |                   |       |        |
|------|------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|--------|
| Grk. | ἰνός (ónos)      | Goth. | auhns             | Lith. | pečius |
| NG   | φούρνος          | ON    | ofn               | Lett. | ceplis |
| Lat. | furnus, fornāx   | Dan.  | (baga-, steg-)ovn | ChSl. | peštī  |
| It.  | forno            | Sw.   | (bag-, steg-)ugn  | SCR.  | peč    |
| Fr.  | four             | OE    | ofen              | Boh.  | pec    |
| Sp.  | horno            | ME    | oven              | Pol.  | piec   |
| Rum. | cuptor           | NE    | oven              | Russ. | peč    |
| Ir.  | (sornn, fulacht) | Du.   | oven              | Skt.  | āpaka- |
| Nlr. | bācia            | OHG   | ovan              | Av.   | ....   |
| W.   | furn, popty      | MHG   | oven              |       |        |
| Br.  | forn             | NHG   | (back)ofen        |       |        |

Words for 'oven' are derived from verbs for 'bake', from words for 'hot', or are in origin words for some kind of a 'pot' or 'pan' (an earthen pot sunk in coals is the primitive antecedent of the cooking oven). Several of these words have come to be used for 'stove' (7.32), and then the 'oven' for cooking may be expressed more specifically by a compound, as NHG *backofen*.

1. From IE \*pek- (5.21), mostly where the derivs. of this root are used especially for 'bake'. Rum. *cuptor* (Lat. \*coctōrium); W. *popty*, properly 'bakehouse' (ty 'house'); all the Balto-Slavic words, as Lett. *ceplis*, ChSl. *peštī*, SCR. *peč*, Russ. *peč* (> Lith. *pečius*), etc.; Skt. *āpaka-*.

2. Grk. *ἰνός*, Goth. *auhns*, ON *ofn*, Dan. *ovn*, Sw. *ugn*, OE *ofen*, ME, NE *oven*, OHG *ovan*, etc.: Skt. *ukhā* 'pot' (for cooking), Lat. *aula*, *olla* 'pot'. These words almost certainly belong together, though their phonetic history is complicated. Walde-P. 1.24 f. Ernout-M. 91 f. Walde-H. 1.84. Falk-Torp 808. Feist 65 f.

Grk. *κλίβανος*, (Att. *κρίβανος*) in earliest use 'an earthen pot for baking bread', later 'furnace, kiln' and 'oven', an old loanword, perh. related to Goth. *hlaifs* 'bread'. Walde-P. 1.499. Boisacq 470.

3. Lat. *furnus*, *fornāx*: Lat. *formus*, Grk. *θερμός* 'hot', etc. (15.85). Walde-P. 1.687 ff. Ernout-M. 380. Walde-H. 1.533 f.

Hence NG *φούρνος*, It. *forno*, Fr. *four*, Sp. *horno*; Ir. *sornn* ('furnace, kiln', also 'oven' for cooking?); W. *furn*, Br. *forn*. Pedersen 1.221.

4. Ir. *fulacht* 'act of cooking' and 'cooking-pit' (nearest approach to an oven?): *fo-sligim* 'smear over'? Laws, Gloss. 433.

Nlr. *bācia*, fr. NE *bakehouse*.

5. Gmc. words, above, 2.

6. Balto-Slavic and Skt. words, above, 1.

5.26-5.39. Utensils for cooking, eating, and drinking are so multifarious, and so different according to the country and the period, that only the crudest classification is possible. There are so many kinds of 'pot', 'kettle', 'bowl', etc., and the terms are so vaguely definable, that the words grouped under each head are only roughly synonymous and the choice may often seem arbitrary.

Noteworthy is the extensive European borrowing of Latin words for such utensils. Several oriental words have passed through Turkish into the Balkan languages and even further.

## 5.26 POT

|      |                     |       |              |         |                 |
|------|---------------------|-------|--------------|---------|-----------------|
| Grk. | χύτρα               | Goth. | ....         | Lith.   | puodas          |
| NG   | τσουκάλι            | ON    | grjta, pott  | Lett.   | puods           |
| Lat. | aula, olla          | Dan.  | gryde, pottē | ChSl.   | grünčēt         |
| It.  | pentola             | Sw.   | gryta        | SCR.    | lonac, grnac    |
| Fr.  | pot, marmite        | OE    | crocca, pott | Boh.    | hrnek, hrnec    |
| Sp.  | olla, pote, puchero | ME    | pote         | Pol.    | garnek          |
| Rum. | oală                | NE    | pot          | Russ.   | goršok          |
| Ir.  | crocān              | Du.   | pot          | Skt.    | kumbha-, ukhā-, |
| Nlr. | corcān              | OHG   | hajan        | sthalī- |                 |
| W.   | pod, crochan        | MHG   | haven, topf  | Av.     | zumba-, dīsta-  |
| Br.  | pod                 | NHG   | topf         |         |                 |

1. Grk. *χύτρα*, fr. the root of Grk. *χέω* 'pour' (9.35).

NG *τσουκάλι*, dim. of *τσούκα*, fr. It. *zucca* 'gourd' and 'gourd-shaped vessel' (as sometimes NE *gourd*, cf. NED s.v.), this fr. VLat. *cucutia* 'a fruit'. G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 4.93. REW 2369.

2. Lat. *aula*, pop. *olla* (> OIt. *oglia*, OFr. *oule*, Sp. *olla*, Rum. *oală*): Skt. *ukhā* 'pot, boiler', Goth. *auhns* 'oven', etc. (5.25). Ernout-M. 91 f. Walde-H. 1.84. REW 6059.

It. *pentola*, dim. of It., Sp. *pinta* (> Fr. *pinte* > ME *pynt*, NE *pint* 'a liquid measure'), the same word as *pinta* 'spot, mark' fr. late Lat. *pincla* for *picta* 'painted, marked'. REW 6512.

Fr. *pot* (> Sp. *pote*), fr. Gmc.? See below, 4.

Fr. *marmite*, etym. dub. Gamillscheg 593. Bloch 2.45 ('étym. inconnue').

Sp. *puchero*, fr. Lat. *pullārius* 'a kind of pot or jar', orig. 'a vessel for pottage', fr. *puls*, *pultis* 'pottage made of meal, pulse': Grk. *πόλτος* 'pottage', *πάλη* 'fine meal', Lat. *pollen* 'fine flour', etc. Walde-P. 2.60. Ernout-M. 785. REW 6840.

3. Ir. *crocān*, Nlr. *corcān*, W. *crochan*, fr. OE *crocca* (below, 4). Thurneysen, Keltorum. 97.

W. *pot* fr. NE *pot*. Br. *pod*, fr. Fr. *pot*.

4. Late OE *pott*, ME *potte*, NE *pot*, Du. *pot* (MLG *pot* > late ON *pottr*, Dan. *potte* [Sw. *potta* 'chamber-pot'],

NHG dial. *pott*), perh. fr. Gmc. \**putta-*, IE \**budno-*, and related to numerous words having the notion of 'swell up' applied to shape, etc. If so, that is, in spite of its late appearance it is a genuine Gmc. word, it is the source of MLat. *potius*, Fr. *pot* (> Sp. *pote*). But much disputed. Walde-P. 2.116. Falk-Torp 845. Franck-v. W. 518. REW 6705. NED s.v. *pot*.

ON *grjta*, Dan. *gryde*, Sw. *gryta*, deriv. of ON *grjōt* 'stones, gravel, soapstone': OE *grēot* 'sand, gravel' (NE *grit*), etc. Orig. a pot made of soft stone. Falk-Torp 354. Hellquist 305.

OE *crocca* ('earthenware pot', often glosses Lat. *olla*; NE *crock* now in specialized use): OE *crog* 'small vessel', OHG *krug* 'pitcher', etc. (5.34).

OE *grēofa* (grewa twice glosses *olla*) = OHG *griobo* 'roasting pan', etym.? Falk-Torp 346, 358.

OHG *hafan*, MHG *haven* (NHG *hafen* dial. = *topf*; Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 531 ff.), lit. 'holder': Lat. *capere* 'take', Goth. *hafjan* 'raise', etc. Kluge-G. 225.

MHG, NHG *topf*: MLG *dop(pe)* 'shell, husk', further connection dub. Falk-Torp 148. Weigand-H. 2.1053.

5. Lith. *puodas*, Lett. *puods*: OE *fat* 'vessel' (NE *vat*), OHG *vaz* 'vessel', OHG *fazzōn* 'hold, contain', etc. Walde-P. 2.22. Falk-Torp 200.

6. ChSl. *grünčēt*, SCR. *grnac*, Boh.

*hrnek*, *hrnec*, Pol. *garnek*, Russ. *goršok*: Lat. *furnus* 'oven', Skt. *ghṛṇa-*, *gharma-* 'heat', Grk. *θερμός* 'hot', ChSl. *gorēti* 'burn', etc. Berneker 371.

SCR. *lonac* (Bulg. *lonac*, late ChSl. *lončī*), perh.: ChSl. *lono* 'bosom, lap', both from notion of curved shape, and fr. \**loksno-*: Grk. *λεκάνη* 'pot, pan', etc. Walde-P. 1.158. Berneker 732.

7. Skt. *kumbha-*, Av. *kumba-* (NPers. *zumb*): Grk. *κύβος* 'vessel, goblet', W.

*cwm* 'valley', NE *hump*, etc. with common notion of curved shape. Walde-P. 1.376.

Skt. *ukhā*, above, 2.

Skt. *sthālī* - *sthal* 'stand' (Dhātup.), Grk. *σθάλα* 'set up', etc. Walde-P. 2.643. Uhlenbeck 347.

Av. *dīsta-*: Av. *diz-* 'heap up', Skt. *dih-* 'smear', Lat. *figere* 'form, mould', hence 'earthen pot'. Walde-P. 1.833. Barth. 747.

## 5.27 KETTLE

|      |                         |       |                   |       |         |
|------|-------------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|---------|
| Grk. | λίθος, χαλκίον          | Goth. | katilā (gen. pl.) | Lith. | katilas |
| NG   | λίθος                   | ON    | katill, kverr     | Lett. | katls   |
| Lat. | lebes, caldāria (late)  | Dan.  | kedill            | ChSl. | katilā  |
| It.  | paiuolo, caldaia        | Sw.   | kittel            | SCR.  | kolao   |
| Fr.  | bouilloire, chaudron    | OE    | cecel, hwer       | Boh.  | kotel   |
| Sp.  | caldera, perol          | ME    | kettel            | Pol.  | kocił   |
| Rum. | caldare                 | NE    | kettle            | Russ. | kotel   |
| Ir.  | coire, scaball          | Du.   | kettel            |       |         |
| Nlr. | citeal (coire, scabhal) | OHG   | chezzil (h)wer    |       |         |
| W.   | crochan (callor, pair)  | MHG   | kezzel            |       |         |
| Br.  | kaoter                  | NHG   | kezzel            |       |         |

The words listed under 'pot' (5.26) may include pots for boiling. Here under 'kettle' are added those that are applied more specifically to vessels for boiling, usually of metal.

1. Grk. *λίθος* (> Lat. *lebes*), of unknown source, prob. an old loanword (Aegean?). Boisacq 563.

Grk. *χαλκίον*, fr. *χαλκός* 'copper', is often 'kettle'.

NG *τέντρ'ες*, fr. Turk. *tencere* 'kettle, stewpan'. So Rum. *tingire* 'stewpan', etc. Lokotsch 2066 (without the NG word).

2. Late Lat. *caldāria*, fr. Lat. *caldus* 'hot' (15.85). Hence It. *caldaia* (deriv. *calderone* 'large kettle', *calderotto* 'small kettle'), Fr. *chaudière* (deriv. *chaudron* 'small kettle'), Sp. *caldera*, Rum. *caldare*, also Br. *kaoter*, W. *callor* (obs.). REW 1503.

It. *paiuolo*, Sp. *perol*, fr. VLat. \**pariolum*, dim. of \**parium*, this of

Celtic orig. (cf. W. *pair*, below, 3). REW 6245, 6246.

Fr. *bouilloire*, fr. *bouillir* 'boil' (5.22).

3. Ir. *coire*, W. *pair* (both now 'caldron, boiler'), OCorn. *per*, ON *hverr*, OE *hwer*, OHG (*h)wer* (cf. Goth. *hwairnēi* 'brainpan, skull'): Skt. *caru-* 'a kind of pot'. Walde-P. 1.518. Pedersen 1.69.

Ir. *scaball*, *scabell* ('caldron, large cooking pot'; Laws, Gloss. 641), Nlr. *scabhal*, fr. Lat. *scaphula*, dim. of *scapha* 'small boat' (fr. Grk. *σκάφη* 'trough, tub'). Pedersen 1.236.

Nlr. *citeal*, fr. NE *kettle*. Cf. W. *teggell*, *teccell*, fr. NE *teakettle*.

W. *crochan* 'pot' (5.26), also commonly used for 'kettle'.

4. Goth. \**katils* or \**katilus* (only gen. pl. *katilē* quotable), OE *cecel*, etc., general Gmc., whence also the Balto-Slavic words, Lith. *katilas*, ChSl. *katilā*, etc., fr. Lat. *catinus* (5.31) a kind of bowl for food, also (Pliny) a 'crucible' for

melting metals, and also (Vitruv. 10.7) the 'water-tank' of a pumping-engine. The view that it was just in this last use that the word was first borrowed, and then extended to any metal 'kettle', is propounded in the most recent discus-

sion, namely Bruch, Kretschmer Festschrift, 6 ff. For other discussions, cf. Feist 308, Walde-H. 1.182.

5. The Skt. and Av. words listed under 'pot' cover in part a 'boiling pot, kettle'.

## 5.28 PAN

|      |                          |       |        |       |                   |
|------|--------------------------|-------|--------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk. | τήγανον, τάγηνον         | Goth. | ....   | Lith. | keptwas, skaurada |
| NG   | τηγάρι                   | ON    | panna  | Lett. | panna             |
| Lat. | patina, patella, sartago | Dan.  | pande  | ChSl. | skovrada          |
| It.  | padella, cazzeroia       | Sw.   | panna  | SCR.  | tava, tiganj      |
| Fr.  | poêle, casserole         | OE    | panne  | Boh.  | pānev             |
| Sp.  | sartén, cazuela          | ME    | panne  | Pol.  | panew, patelnia   |
| Rum. | tigaie, tingire, cratiță | NE    | pan    | Russ. | skovoroda         |
| Ir.  | aigen                    | Du.   | pan    | Skt.  | kaṭāha- bhrāṣṭa-  |
| Nlr. | oighean                  | OHG   | pfanna | Av.   | ....              |
| W.   | padell, pan              | MHG   | pfanne |       |                   |
| Br.  | pillig                   | NHG   | pfanne |       |                   |

Several of the words listed here have not the wide range of NE *pan*, some being applied only to a 'frying-pan', others to a 'saucepan, stewpan'.

1. Grk. *τήγανον*, *τάγηνον* 'frying-pan': OE *peccan* 'burn', etc. Walde-P. 1.717. Hence dim. *τήγανιον*, NG *τηγάρι*, SCR. *tiganj*, Rum. *tigaie*.

2. Lat. *patina*, fr. Grk. *πατήνη* 'flat dish' (: *πεπταίνω* 'spread out'). Hence dim. *patella*. Ernout-M. 741.

Lat. *patella* > It. *padella*, Fr. *poêle*, Sp. *padilla*, W. *padell*, Pol. *patelnia* (earlier *patela*). REW 6286.

Lat. *patina* > MLat. *panna*, OE *panne*, NE *pan* (> W. *pan*), OHG *pfanna*, etc. (all the Gmc. words), and, through Gmc., Lett. *panna*, late ChSl. *pany*, Boh. *pānev*, Pol. *panew*, etc. Falk-Torp 813. Pol. *brytfanna* 'frying-pan' fr. NHG *bratpfanne*.

Lat. *sartēgō*, -*inis* (> Sp. *sartén*), fr. : *sarcire* 'patch, mend', Grk. *ἔπος* 'fence, inclosure', and first used of a covered receptacle(?). Ernout-M. 895. REW 7613.

It. *cazzeroia*, Fr. *casserole*, Sp. *cazuela* 'stewpan', dim. fr. VLat. *cattia*, this prob. fr. Lat. *cyathus*, fr. Grk. *κύαθος* 'ladle'. Ernout-M. 249. Walde-H. 1.182. REW 2434.

Rum. *tigaie*, through Slavic fr. NG *τηγάρι* (above, 1).

Rum. *tingire*, through Slavic fr. Turk. *tencere* 'kettle, stewpan'. Lokotsch 2066. Tiktin 1598.

Rum. *cratiță* ('deep stewpan'), prob. through Slavic *krata* fr. It. *grata* 'grating', Lat. *crātis* 'wickerwork'. Berneker 608 f. Tiktin 431.

3. Ir. *aigen*, Nlr. *oighean*: Grk. *ἀγνος*, *ἀγγέλιον* 'vessel'? Walde-P. 1.38. Stokes 7.

Br. *pillig*, dim. fr. Lat. *pila* 'mortar', through 'trough'. Cf. It., Sp. *pila* 'trough, basin, font'. Henry 223.

4. Lith. *keptwas*, fr. *kept* 'roast, bake' (5.23).

Lith. *skaurada*, fr. Slavic (below, 5). Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 132.

5. ChSl. *skovrada* (Supr.), Russ. *skovoroda*, fr. *skver-* (prob. imitative) in

ChSl. *raskvrēti* 'melt', Boh. *škvařiti* 'sizzle', etc. Miklosich 305.

SCR. *tiganj* fr. NG *τηγάρι* (above, 1).

6. Skt. *kaṭāha-*, perh. orig. a basket-

work receptacle and so : *kaṭa-* 'straw mat', Grk. *κάπραλος* 'basket', etc. Walde-P. 1.421 (without inclusion of *kaṭāha-*). Skt. *bhrāṣṭa-* 'roasting pan', fr. *bhrāj-* 'roast' (5.23).

## 5.31 DISH

|      |               |       |          |                |                   |
|------|---------------|-------|----------|----------------|-------------------|
| Grk. | λίκος, λεκάνη | Goth. | ....     | Lith.          | bliūdas           |
| NG   | πίατρο        | ON    | ....     | Lett.          | bl'uoda           |
| Lat. | catinus, lanx | Dan.  | fad      | ChSl.          | (misa, bljudo)    |
| It.  | piatto        | Sw.   | fat      | SCR.           | zdjela            |
| Fr.  | plat          | OE    | disc     | Boh.           | misa              |
| Sp.  | plato         | ME    | disch    | Pol.           | misa              |
| Rum. | farfurie      | NE    | dish     | Russ.          | bljudo            |
| Ir.  | tesc, mias    | Du.   | schotel  | Skt.           | bhājana-, pātra-, |
| Nlr. | mias          | OHG   | scuzila  | cardava-, etc. |                   |
| W.   | dysgl         | MHG   | schüssel | Av.            | ....              |
| Br.  | plad          | NHG   | schüssel |                |                   |

Generic words for 'dish', that is, with the scope of NE *dish*, which may be applied to all kinds of eating or even drinking utensils (cf. *wash the dishes*, *dish-closet*), are lacking in most of the other IE languages. The notion is covered, but still more broadly, by words for 'vessel' or 'utensil' like Lat. *vās* or NG *σερβίτιον* *πιαττικῶν*, NHG *geschirr* (cf. *tischgeschirr*, *tischgerat*).

The words listed here are such as are applied to a wide variety of dishes and furnish some approximation to a generic 'dish'. Several of them are the same as those listed also under 'plate' (5.32) or 'bowl' (5.33).

1. Grk. *λίκος*, *λεκάνη*, Lat. *lanx*, perh. fr. \**lek-*, \**lenk-* 'bend' in Lith. *lenkti* 'bend', etc. Walde-P. 1.158, 2.435. Ernout-M. 522. Walde-H. 1.761.

2. Lat. *catinus*, dim. *catillus* prob.: Grk. *κύτιος*, *κύτιλη* 'cup' (also 'hollow'), fr. the common notion of 'hollow'. Walde-H. 1.182. Otherwise Meringer, Wört. u. Sach. 7.16.

Rum. *farfurie*, usually 'plate' (5.32), also 'dish' (cf. *dulap pentru farfurie* 'dish-closet, cupboard').

Fr. *plat*, It. *piatto*, NG *πίατρο*, etc., also and orig. 'plate, platter' (5.32).

3. Ir. *tesc* 'lanx' (for t cf. Pedersen 1.224), W. *dysgl*, OE *disc* ('platter' and 'dish', ON *diskr* 'platter'), NE *dish*, fr. Lat. *discus*, Grk. *δίσκος* 'quoit'. Used for a flat serving-tray, hence 'platter' and 'dish' (and, with development in another direction, NE *desk*, NHG *tisch* 'table').

4. Ir. *mias* 'table, dish', Nlr. 'dish', Goth. *mēs* 'table, platter', ChSl. *misa* 'platter', Boh. *misa*, Pol. *misa* 'bowl, dish', Russ. *misa*, *miska* 'soup-dish', etc. fr. VLat. *mēsa*, Lat. *mēnsa* 'table' (7.44). Feist 355. Stender-Petersen 404.

5. Dan. *fad*, Sw. *fat* (ON *fat*, OE *faet* 'vessel', NE *vat*): Lith.



*krūs* (Du. *kroes* 'cup, mug'), NE *cruse*, etc. Walde-P. 1.487, 594, 597. Falk-Torp 583, 584.

From one or another of the Gmc. forms come Fr. *cruche* (cf. MHG *krūche*), NlR. *crūsēcin* (above, 3), Lith. *krūgas*, OPruss. *kragis*, Lett. *krūza* (fr. MLG *krūs*), Russ. *krūzka*.

ME *picher*, NE *pitcher* (in British usage now somewhat arch. or dial., but in U.S. the usual word), fr. OFr. *pichier*, MLat. *picārium*, *bicārium* 'a drinking-vessel' (whence also OHG *pechari*, *beh-hari*, NHG *becher*, NE *beaker*, etc.), this fr. Grk. *βίος* 'wine-jar, drinking-bowl', this again a loanword of unknown source. NED s.v. *pitcher*. REW 1081a. Weigand-H. 1.173.

NE *jug*, in U.S. usually denoting a large earthenware vessel with stopper and no spout, but in current British speech displacing *pitcher*, e.g. *jug* (U.S. *pitcher*) of cream, prob. fr. the female pet name *Jug* = *Joan*. NED s.v.

5. Lith. *gsočius*, *gsočis*, fr. *gša* 'handle': Lat. *ansa* 'handle'. Lith. *izbonas* (also *uzbonas*, *zbonas*), fr. WhRuss. *žban* (see below, 6). Brückner, S. Fremdwörter 155. Skardžius 88, 241.

Lett. *krūza*, fr. MLG *krūs* (above, 4). 6. ChSl. *krūžgū* (Mk. 7.8 Zogr.). SCr. *krūg*, etym.? Berneker 665.

ChSl. *čvanū* (Mk. 7.8 Mar.), Boh. *čban*, *džban*, Pol. *džban* (Russ. *žban* 'wooden jug, tub'), obscure. Berneker 165. Brückner 107.

ChSl. *vrūčī* (late), SCr. *vrē*, prob. through Gmc., fr. Lat. *urceus* (above, 2) or fr. the same source. Miklosich, Lex. Palaeoslov. s.v.

Russ. *kušŭn* beside *kovš* 'scoop, ladle': Lith. *kaušas* 'ladle', Lett. *kauss* 'bowl', Skt. *koṣa* 'pail, cup', etc. Berneker 594.

Russ. *krūzka* fr. the Gmc., MHG *krūse*, etc. (above, 4). Berneker 628.

7. Skt. *kalāṣa* (vessel for holding liquids, esp. the soma): Grk. *κάλις*, Lat. *calix* 'cup' (5.35).

## 5.35 CUP

|      |                           |       |                      |
|------|---------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | ποτήριον, κύλις, κύπελλον | Goth. | stikls               |
| Lat. | calix, cuppa              | ON    | kopp                 |
| It.  | tazza, coppa              | Dan.  | kop                  |
| Fr.  | tasse, coupe              | Sw.   | calic                |
| Rum. | taza, copa                | OE    | calic, cuppe         |
| Sp.  | cazaca, cupā              | ME    | cuppe, coupe         |
| Ir.  | airidech, copān, cailech  | NE    | cup                  |
| NlR. | cupān                     | Du.   | kop                  |
| W.   | cupān                     | OHG   | kelih, kopf, behhare |
| Br.  | tas, kop                  | MHG   | kopf, becher         |
|      |                           | NHG   | tasse, becher        |

Some of the words listed have the broad range of NE *cup*. But some are used only for the modern small cup for serving tea, coffee, etc., while different words are employed for the larger drinking-vessels.

1. Grk. *κύλις*, Lat. *calix* 'goblet':

Skt. *kalāṣa* 'pot, pitcher', root connection? Walde-P. 1.442. Ernout-M. 135. Walde-H. 1.138 f.

Grk. *ποτήριον* (NG *ποτήρι* 'a glass'): *πίνω* 'drink', etc. Walde-P. 271 f.

Grk. *κύπελλον* 'large drinking-cup, beaker' (> NG *κύπελλο*): Lat. *cūpa* 'tub,

cask', Skt. *kūpa* 'hole, pit, cavity', OE *hūf* 'beehive', fr. IE *\*keu-p-* in words for curved shape. Walde-P. 1.372. Ernout-M. 243. Walde-H. 1.310 f.

NG *φύλγαν* (*φύλγαν* less common), SCr. *filžan*, Pol. *filżanka*, fr. Turk. *fincan*, *filcan* 'cup'. Berneker 281. Brückner 121 f. Lokotsch 608. Orig. used only of the small Turkish coffee cup, but no longer so restricted.

2. Lat. *pōculum*: Lat. *bibere* 'drink', ppl. *pōtus*, etc. (5.13). Ernout-M. 800. Walde-H. 1.103 f.

MLat. *cuppa*, a late form of *cūpa* 'tub, cask': Grk. *κύπελλον*, etc., above, 1. Hence It. *coppa*, Fr. *coupe* (> ME *coupe*), Sp. *copa*, Rum. *cupā*, etc., now used for a large drinking-vessel and otherwise replaced by *tazza* etc.; NG *kuṣa*; Ir. *copp*, *copān*, etc. (Vendryes, De hib. voc. 130), NlR. *cupān*, W. *cupān*, Br. *kop*; and so prob. the Gmc. group, ON *koppr*, OE *cuppe*, OHG *kopf*, etc.

(otherwise, as genuine Gmc., fr. IE *\*geu-*, parallel to *\*keu-*. Persson, Beitrage 104, Falk-Torp 564, Walde-P. 1.562). Walde-H. 1.311. REW 2409. Weigand-H. 1.118 f. NED s.v. *cup*.

It. *tazza*, Fr. *tasse* (> Br. *tas*; NHG *tasse*, this > Lett. *tase*), Sp. *taza*, fr. Arab. *tassah* 'bowl, basin'. REW 5594.

Rum. *ceacă* fr. Slav. *čaša* (below, 6). 3. Ir. *airidech*, *airdech*, apparently a cpd. of air- 'for', but second part obscure (the late spelling *irdeoch*, as if fr. *deoch* 'drink' only a pop. etym.). Thurneyssen, Z. celt. Ph. 8.71 f.

Ir. *cailech*, fr. Lat. *calix* (above, 1). Ir. *copān*, etc., fr. MLat. *cuppa* (above, 2).

4. Goth. *stikls* (reg. for *ποτήριον*), orig. the pointed drinking-horn: ON *stikill* 'pointed end of a horn', OE *sticel* 'sting, goad', Goth. *stiks* 'point', Skt. *tij-* 'be sharp', etc. Walde-P. 2.612 f. Feist 453.

ON *koppr*, OE *cuppe*, etc., see above, 2.

OE *calic* (reg. word for 'cup' in Gospels, as also Lat. *calix* in Vulgate), OHG *kelih*, NHG *kelch*, etc., fr. Lat. *calix* (above, 1).

OHG *behhare*, MHG, NHG *becher*, like NE *beaker*, fr. the same source as NE *pitcher* (5.34).

5. Lith. *puodelis*, *puodukas*, dims. of *puodas* 'pot' (5.26).

6. ChSl., SCr. *čaša*, Boh. *číše*, Russ. *čaška* (Russ. *čaša* 'bowl or large drinking-cup'), Skt. *caṣaka*, Arm. *čašak*, all perh. fr. Iranian (cf. NPers. *čāšidan* 'taste'). Berneker 137.

Boh. *šalek*, dim. fr. NHG *schale* 'bowl'.

Pol. *czarka*, dim. of *czara* 'drinking-bowl' (cf. Russ. *čar*, *čarka* 'drinking-glass'), prob. fr. Turk. dial. *čara* 'large bowl'. Berneker 136. Brückner 72.

7. Skt. *caṣaka*, above, 6. Skt. *pātra*, as 'cup' apparently fr. *pā-* drink, IE *\*pō(i)-*, like Lat. *pōculum*. But see under 'dish' (5.31).

Av. *tašta-* 'cup' or 'bowl' (NPers. *tašt* 'bowl, saucer'), fr. Av. *taš* 'cut out, fashion': Skt. *taṣ-* 'fashion', etc. Walde-P. 1.717. Barth. 646.

5.36. Saucer. Words for the modern saucer placed under the cup are mostly compounds of 'under' and 'cup', or diminutives of the words for 'dish' or 'plate'.

1. Cpds. of 'under' and 'cup'. It. *sottocoppa*, after which was modeled Fr. *soucoupe* (earlier *soutecoupe*), NlR. *fochupān* (fo+cupān), Icel. *undirskál*, Dan. *underkop*, NHG *untertasse*, Lett. *apakšase*. Cf. Boh. *spodní šalek*, lit. 'lower cup', Pol. *spodek* (od *filżanki*), dim. of *spod* 'under part'.

2. Dims. of 'dish', 'bowl', 'plate'. NG *piatáki*, *piatélo*, It. *piattello*, Sp. *platillo*, Rum. *farfurioară*, Du. *schoteltje*, NHG

## 5.41 A MEAL

|      |                        |       |                    |
|------|------------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | δαίς, δείπνον, πράγεια | Goth. | -mats              |
| Lat. | epulum, daps, cibus    | ON    | verðr, mál, máltið |
| It.  | pasto                  | Dan.  | maaltid            |
| Fr.  | repas                  | Sw.   | mål, måltid        |
| Sp.  | comida                 | OE    | mæl, mæltid        |
| Rum. | masă, mîncare          | ME    | mele, farme        |
| Ir.  | dihāt                  | NE    | meal               |
| NlR. | bēta                   | Du.   | maal, maaltijd     |
| W.   | pryd                   | OHG   | gouma              |
| Br.  | pred                   | MHG   | māl, mālīt         |
|      |                        | NHG   | mahlzeit, mahl     |

Words for 'a meal' are words for 'food, portion of food'; 'portion'; 'time' specialized to 'mealtime, meal'; 'table'; words usually applied to a particular meal.

1. Hom. *daïs* 'meal, feast', orig. 'portion', fr. *daioimai* 'divide', IE *\*dā(i)-* Walde-P. 1.763.

Grk. *δείπνον* in Hom. used of any meal, later mostly 'dinner', etym. dub. Walde-H. 1.324.

Grk. *τράγεια* 'table' (7.14) also used for 'meal' or 'course'.

NG *þayr* 'food' (5.12), also 'meal'. 2. Lat. *epulum* (also pl. *epulae*), mostly 'a sumptuous meal, feast' on religious or public festivals, prob. as orig. ritual term: Lat. *opus* 'work', Skt. *āpas-* 'religious act', OHG *uoba* 'festival'. Ernout-M. 306, 709. Walde-H. 1.410.

Lat. *daps* 'religious feast, feast', sometimes a simple 'meal': Grk. *δαπάνη* 'expense', *δάπτω* 'devour, rend', fr. an extension of IE *\*dā(i)-* 'divide'. Walde-P. 1.764. Ernout-M. 253. Walde-H. 1.323.

Lat. *cibus* 'food' (5.12), also 'meal' (Suet., Isid.).

Lat. *mēsa* 'table' (7.44) also 'meal, course'. Hence Rum. *masă* 'table, meal'.

It. *pasto*, fr. Lat. *pāstus* 'fodder, food'. Fr. *repas*, fr. *repātre*, late Lat. *repāsere* 'feed'. REW 6283, 7216.

Sp. *comida* 'food' (5.12) and 'meal'. Rum. *mîncare* 'food' (5.12) and 'meal'.

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| Lith. | valgis          |
| Lett. | malīte          |
| ChSl. | (oběd)          |
| SCr.  | ručak           |
| Boh.  | jídlo           |
| Pol.  | jedzenie, jadło |
| Russ. | stol            |
| Skt.  | bhojana-        |
| Av.   | ....            |

3. Ir. *dihāt* (K. Meyer, Contrib. 661), prob. a deriv. of (*do-* +) *ithim* 'eat' (5.11). But not mentioned in Pedersen 2.558 f.

NlR. *bēile*, fr. *bēil* 'mouth' (4.24). W. *pryd*, Br. *pred* 'time' (14.11) and 'meal'. Cf. Gael. *tráth* 'time' and 'meal'.

4. Goth. *-mats* 'food' (5.12), also 'meal' in cpds. *undaurni-*, *nahta-mats* (5.42-45).

ON *verðr* (also in cpds *dagerðr*, etc., 5.42, 5.45) prob. : Goth. *wairdus*, OHG *wirt* 'host' (19.57), with sense 'meal' fr. 'portion offered'. Falk-Torp 1371. Hellquist 693, 1393.

ON *mál*, Norw. *maal*, Sw. *mål*, OE *mæl*, ME *mele*, NE *meal*, Du. *maal*, MHG *māl*, NHG *mahl*, same word as Goth. *mæl*, ON, OHG *māl*, OE *mæl*, etc. 'time' (14.11). Hence also, with addition of another word for 'time' (14.11) MLG *mālīt* (> late ON *mālītjð*, Dan. *maaltid*, Sw. *måltid*), Du. *maaltijd*, MHG *mālīt*, NHG *mahlzeit*. Falk-Torp 685. Hellquist 674.

OE *feorm* 'food, provisions' (5.12), also 'feast, meal', translating *ἀριστον*, *prandium* in Mt. 22.4 and *δείπνον*, *cēna* in Mk. 6.21, Lk. 14.12, 16, hence ME *farme* 'meal' (this *hasty farme* had *bene a feast*, Chaucer). NED s.v. *farm*, sb.).

OHG *gouma* : *goumen* 'give attention to, protect', Goth. *gaumjan* 'perceive, see', OE *giman* 'take care of, heed', also 'provide' (cf. Bosworth-Toller, Supple-

ment s.v. *giman*), outside root connections dub., but 'meal' fr. 'caring for, provision for'. Walde-P. 1.635 f. Falk-Torp 314. Feist 207.

5. Lith. *valgis* 'food' (5.12) and 'meal'. Lett. *malīte*, fr. MLG *mālīt* (above, 4).

6. ChSl. *oběd*, etc., see under 'dinner' (5.42-45).

SCr. *ručak*, fr. *ručati* 'take a meal': *ručiti* 'reach out the hands', denom. of

*ruka* 'hand'. Development in the vb. fr. 'reach out' or 'handle' with specialized reference to food.

Boh. *jídlo*, Pol. *jedzenie*, *jadło* 'article of food' (5.12), also 'meal'.

Russ. *stol* 'table' (7.44) and 'meal'. See also words listed under 'dinner'.

7. Skt. *bhojana-* 'eating, food, meal', fr. *bhuj-* 'enjoy', esp. 'enjoy food, eat' (5.11).

|       | 5.42<br>BREAKFAST        | 5.43<br>LUNCH      | 5.44<br>DINNER        | 5.45<br>SUPPER            |
|-------|--------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|---------------------------|
| Grk.  | ἀκράτισμα (ἀριστον)      | ἀριστον            | δείπνον               | δείπνον                   |
| NG    | πρωινό, καλατσό, καφέ    | πρόγευμα           | γεύμα, δείπνον        | δείπνον                   |
| Lat.  | ientāculum               | prandium           | cēna                  | cēna                      |
| It.   | colazione                | colazione          | pranzo, desinare      | cena                      |
| Fr.   | petit déjeuner           | déjeuner           | dîner                 | souper                    |
| Sp.   | desayuno                 | almuerzo           | comida                | cena                      |
| Rum.  | prînzisor                | dejun              | prînz, masă           | masă de seară, cină, oină |
| Ir.   | bricfeasta (cēadhbheile) | prand              | prand                 | ....                      |
| NlR.  | boreufwyd, breucwast     | dinnear (proinn)   | dinnear (proinn)      | suippear (seire)          |
| W.    | predbeure                | cinio              | lein, merenn          | super                     |
| Goth. | dagerþr                  | undaurnimats       | undaurnimats          | koan                      |
| ON    | morgenmad, frokost       | frokost            | midday                | nahimats                  |
| Dan.  | frukost                  | andrafrokost       | midday                | nattverðr                 |
| Sw.   | morgenmele               | undermele          | undermele             | afensmad                  |
| OE    | breakfast                | diner              | dinner                | afenmele                  |
| ME    | breakfast                | luncheon           | midday                | soper                     |
| NE    | breakfast                | luncheon           | midday                | supper                    |
| Du.   | ontbijt                  | middagmaal (-eten) | middagmaal (-eten)    | avondmaal (-eten)         |
| OHG   | .....                    | imbiz, gouma       | gouma                 | .....                     |
| MHG   | vrucessen, vrucstucke    | zweites frühstück  | mittag(s)essen, -mahl | abendessen, -mål, -brüt   |
| NHG   | frühstück                | zweites frühstück  | mittag(s)essen, diner | abendessen, -bröl         |
| Lith. | pusryčiai                | azais              | pi tītis              | vakarienė                 |
| Lett. | brokastis, azais         | azais              | pusdienas             | vakarinas                 |
| ChSl. | oběd                     | oběd               | oběd                  | večeřa                    |
| SCr.  | oručak                   | oručak             | oručak                | večeře                    |
| Boh.  | snídaně                  | oběd               | oběd                  | večeře                    |
| Pol.  | śniadanie                | obied              | obied                 | kolacja                   |
| Russ. | čaj, zavrak              | zavrak             | obed                  | užin                      |
| Skt.  | prātārāga-               | prātārāga-         | (bhojana-)            | (bhojana-)                |
| Av.   | sūirya-                  | sūirya-            | ....                  | zāfnyā-                   |

The words for the principal meals are discussed together because of the frequent fluctuation in application due to local and social differences of custom, in modern times especially between city and country. Words for 'breakfast' may shift to 'lunch', with substitutes for 'breakfast' such as 'first' or 'little break-

fast', or merely 'coffee' or 'tea'. 'Dinner', that is, the principal meal, may be a midday or evening meal. In the former case the three regular meals are 'breakfast', 'dinner', and 'supper', while 'lunch' is a slight, casual meal. In the latter case the three regular meals are 'breakfast', 'lunch', and 'dinner', while

dial. *köppchen*, *schälchen*, *plättchen*, etc. (Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 522), Lith. *lekštelė*, *torielkelė*, SCr. *tanjirić*, Pol. *miseczka*, Russ. *bljudečko*.

3. Others. NE *saucer* (> W. *soser*), formerly a 'saucesh' fr. OFr. *saussier*, deriv. of *sauze* 'sauce'. Sw. *tefāt*, lit. 'tea-dish'.

## 5.37 SPOON

|      |                                  |       |               |
|------|----------------------------------|-------|---------------|
| Grk. | μυστήλη, μίστρον, κοχ-<br>λίαιον | Goth. | .....         |
| Lat. | cocleāre, ligula                 | ON    | spōnn (skeið) |
| It.  | cucchiaio                        | Dan.  | ske           |
| Fr.  | cuiller, cuillière               | Sw.   | sked          |
| Sp.  | cuchara                          | OE    | scpe(e)ler    |
| Rum. | lingură                          | ME    | spone         |
| Ir.  | liag                             | NE    | spoon         |
| NlR. | liach                            | Du.   | lepel         |
| W.   | liay                             | OHG   | leffel        |
| Br.  | loay                             | MHG   | leffel        |
|      |                                  | NHG   | leffel        |

Spoons of wood, bone, or clay are known from neolithic times, and of metal in the orient and in classical antiquity. Some of the North European words reflect the development of the wooden spoon from a flat chip. Others are from roots for 'lick, gulp, drink', or of miscellaneous origins.

1. Grk. *μυστήλη*, also *μίστρον*, *μυστήλαιον*, orig. a piece of bread hollowed out for supping soup or gravy, later used also of metal spoons (*μίστρον χρυσόν* Athen. 128c), etym.? Boisacq 653.

Grk. *κοχλίαιον*, the usual word in late writers (Diosc.+), fr. Lat. *cocleārium* (below, 2). Hence NG *chouliari* (with assim. of gutturals and subsequent dissim. loss of the second). Hatzidakis, Meos. 1.328, 2.284.

NG *κουτάλι* (*κουτάλιν* 'spoon' quotable from 12th cent. A.D.), also *κουτάλα* 'ladle' and dial. 'shoulder blade', belongs (for *ou* fr. *o*, *u*, cf. Hatzidakis, Meos. 2.281 ff.) with Byz. *κόταλις* 'ladle' (Suidas, *λάκτιν τῶν λεγομένων κώταλιν, τορίνιν, ὃ ἔστι γῶμῆρινον* and 'winnowing-fan' (Eust. 1675.57), all having in common the notion of shovel-shape. The deriv. fr. Lat. *scula* 'platter' (G.

Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 2.99, 3.61, but with no mention of *κόταλις*) is unsatisfactory.

2. Lat. *coc(h)leāre*, *coc(h)leārium*, a small spoon with one end pointed, used for eating snails and eggs (Mart. 14.121 *sum cocleis habilis, sed non minus ovis*. *Numpquid scis potius cur cocleare vocor*), deriv. of *coc(h)lea* 'snail', this fr. Grk. *κοχλίαις*. Hence It. *cucchiaio*, Fr. *cuiller*, *cuillière*, Sp. *cuchara*, also OE *cuc(e)ler*. Walde-H. 1.241. Ernout-M. 201. Walde-H. 1.241. REW 2012.

Lat. *ligula*, also *lingula* (> Rum. *lingură*) fr. the root of Lat. *lingere* 'lick'. Ernout-M. 552. REW 5036.

3. Ir. *liag*, NlR. *liach*, W. *liay*, Br. *loa*, fr. the root of Ir. *ligim*, etc. 'lick'. Walde-P. 2.400. Pedersen 1.101.

4. ON *spānn*, *spōnn*, 'chip', also 'spoon', OE *spōn* 'chip', ME *spone* 'spoon', NE *spoon*: OHG *spān*, NHG *span*



5. Lith. *pusryčiai* (pl.) 'breakfast', cpd. of *pusė* 'half' (13.34) and *rytas* 'morning' (14.34), so lit. 'midmorning' (meal).

Lett. *bruokastis* 'breakfast', fr. MLG *vrōkost* (above, 4). Muhl-Endz. 1.342.

Lett. *azaidis* 'midday meal', also locally 'breakfast' or 'lunch', etym.? Muhl-Endz. 1.233.

Lith. *pietūs* (pl.) 'midday meal, dinner', orig. 'food': ChSl. *pititi* 'feed', *pišta* 'food', Skt. *pitru* 'food, drink', etc. (5.12).

Lett. *pusdiena* 'midday, noon' (14.45), hence pl. *pusdienas* 'midday meal'. Muhl-Endz. 3.425.

Lith. *vakarienė*, Lett. *vakarinas* 'supper', fr. Lith. *vakaras*, Lett. *vakars* 'evening'.

6. SCr. *zajutrak* 'breakfast', Russ. *zavtrak* 'breakfast' or 'lunch' (in which case 'the first meal' is *pervyj zavtrak* 'first breakfast', or often simply *čaj* 'tea'), cpd. of *za* 'at, for' etc. and *jutro* 'morning' (14.34).

Boh. *snidane*, Pol. *śniadanie* 'breakfast', cpd. of *śni-* 'with' and *jad-*, IE \**ed-* 'eat'. Berneker 273.

ChSl. *oběda* (in Gospels renders Grk. *ἄριστον* 'the midday meal', while Grk.

*δείπνον* 'the evening meal' is rendered under *večeerja*; but it is entered in the list under 'dinner', since it is the principal meal in Slavic, as in) SCr. *objed*, Pol. *obiad*, Russ. *obed*, all fr. *ob(ā)jad-*, perfect. cpd. of *jad-*, IE \**ed-* 'eat'. Berneker 273.

SCr. *ručak* 'meal' (5.41), also esp. the principal meal, the noon 'dinner'. Hence also *doručak* 'breakfast', cpd. with *do-* 'until, beside'.

ChSl. *večeerja*, SCr. *večeera*, Boh. *večeře*, 'supper' (Pol. *wieczera*, Russ. *večeerja* now mostly of the Lord's Supper), fr. ChSl. *večerā*, etc. 'evening' (14.36).

Pol. *kolacza* 'supper', fr. Lat. *collātiō*, through a special use among the monks. Cf. It. *colazione*, above, 2. Brückner 244.

Russ. *užin* 'supper': SCr. *užina*, Pol. *juzyna* 'afternoon or evening lunch', orig. at noon, fr. *jug* 'south' in sense of 'noon' (cf. NHG *mittag* for 'south'). Brückner 210.

7. Skt. *prātaraṣa-* 'breakfast', cpd. of *prātar* 'early morning' and *aṣ-* 'eat'. But in general Skt. *bhojana-* 'meal' (5.41) was used for any meal.

Av. *sūrya-*, *zāfnyā-* 'morning, night meal', fr. *sūr-* 'morning', *zāpan-* 'night'. Barth. 550, 1586.

## 5.51 BREAD

|      |              |       |              |       |                 |
|------|--------------|-------|--------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | ἄρτος        | Goth. | ī'ais        | Lith. | duona           |
| NG   | ψωμί         | ON    | brauð        | Lett. | maize           |
| Lat. | pānis        | Dan.  | brød         | ChSl. | chlebū          |
| It.  | pane         | Sw.   | bröd         | SCr.  | kruh, hljeb     |
| Fr.  | pain         | OE    | hlāf (brēad) | Boh.  | chlēb           |
| Rum. | pan          | ME    | brede        | Pol.  | chleb           |
| Sp.  | pañe         | NE    | bread        | Russ. | chleb           |
| Rum. | ptine        | Du.   | brood        | Skt.  | (apāpa-, pāpa-) |
| Ir.  | bairen, arān | OHG   | hleib, brūt  | Av.   | ....            |
| Nir. | arān         | MHG   | brūt         |       |                 |
| W.   | bara         | NHG   | brūt         |       |                 |
| Br.  | bara         |       | brūt         |       |                 |

Words for 'bread', as being the most important food, the "staff of life", may come by specialization from 'food' or 'grain'. Some are from 'bit, piece'. Several denoted primarily the shaped loaf of bread baked in a pan, and this may be reflected in their source. Relation to the use of yeast in leavening bread is commonly assumed for the Gmc. group NE *bread* etc., but this is doubtful.

1. Grk. *ἄρτος*, generally called obscure. But the deriv. fr. *ἀρ-* in *ἀρπίσκω* 'join, fit, prepare' is possible, either through the general sense of 'prepared' (Prellwitz), or through the literal sense as applied to the loaf 'fitted' in the baking pot (*ἀρτίστος*). For *ἄρτος* is, from Homer down, distinctively the 'loaf', pl. *ἄρτοι* 'loaves', normally of wheat bread (in Hdt. 2.92 of Egyptian loaves made from lotus-root).

The more common diet of the populace (cf. Ath. 137e, etc.) was the *μάζα* 'barley-cake' (5.52).

In NG *ἄρτος* is used of the consecrated bread in the church, but otherwise displaced by *ψωμί*, fr. late Grk. *ψωμίον*, dim. of *ψωμός* 'bit, piece': *ψήν* 'rub'. *ψωμίον* is already a 'bit of bread' dipped in wine, 'sop' in the NT, Jn. 13.26 ff., and *ψωμία* occurs frequently in the papyri, where it is commonly translated 'cakes' or 'dainties', but in part at least is already simply 'bread'. Cf. passages quoted in Moulton-Milligan, s.v., also Kretschmer, Glotta 15.60 ff. Cf. Alb. *bukë* 'bread', fr. Lat. *bucca* 'mouth' through 'mouthful, morsel' (as Byz. *βουκκα*, NG *μπουκιά*), G. Meyer, Alb. Etym. Wtb. 51.

2. Lat. *pānis* (> Romance words), orig. 'food' fr. the root of Lat. *pāscere* 'feed', *pābulum* 'fodder', NE *food*, etc. (5.12). Ernout-M. 729.

3. Ir. *bairen*, W., Br. *bara*: OE *bere* 'barley', Lat. *far* 'spelt', etc. Walde-P. 2.134. Walde-H. 1.455. Pedersen 1.101.

Ir. *arān*, prob.: Ir. *arbor* 'grain', root connection? Stokes 16 (but resemblance to Grk. *ἄρτος* accidental).

4. Goth. *hlāifs*, OE *hlāf* (NE *loaf*), OHG (*h*)*leib* (NHG *laib*), etc., the old Gmc. word for (loaf of) 'bread', orig. 'loaf' as in ON *hleifr* 'loaf' *brauð-hleifr* 'loaf of bread', etym. dub., perh.: Grk. *ἀρτίστος*, 'earthen pot for baking bread', without known root connection. Walde-P. 1.499. Feist 260.

Hence as loanword (less prob. fr. a common source) the general Slavic word, ChSl. *chlebū*, etc., also Lith. *kliepas* (from WhRuss.), Lett. *kliaps* (fr. LG) 'large loaf of bread'. Berneker 389. Stender-Petersen 297 ff.

ON *brauð*, OE *brēad*, OHG *brōt*, etc., becoming the general Gmc. word at the expense of the preceding, is commonly derived fr. the root of OE *brōwan* 'brew', etc., as if connected with the use of yeast. So Walde-P. 2.168, Falk-Torp 112, Schrader, Reallex. 1.166, etc. But more probable is the view preferred in NED s.v. *bread*, that the development is from 'bit, morsel' (cf. OE gl. *brēodru* 'frusta' and the Northumbrian *brēad* = OE *bitan*, Vulgate *buccella*, Grk. *ψωμίον* in Jn. 13.27, 30; also = *ἄρτος*, Vulgate *panem* in Jn. 6.23), just as in Grk. *ψωμίον* (above, 1), SCr. *kruh* (below, 6), and Sc. *piece bread* (NED s.v. *piece*, sb. 3b). In this case the word may be connected with OE *brēotan* 'break', through a parallel extension of IE \**bhrue-* (Walde-P. 2.196).

Before 1200 A.D. *brēad* had replaced *hlāf* as the general word for 'bread' as a substance, while ME *loaf*, NE *loaf*, and similarly MHG *leip*, NHG *laib*, remained in the sense of 'loaf of bread'. For the present local use of NHG *brot*

Among other approximations are *torta* 'pie, tart' and *pasta* 'piece of pastry' (see below), or *dolce* 'a sweet'.

Fr. *gâteau* 'cake', OFr. *gastel*, Br. *gwastell*, fr. Gmc. \**wasstil*, dim. of OS, OE *wist* 'food' (5.12). REW 9514. Gamillscheg s.v.

Sp. *pastel*, NG *παστέλι* 'a cake of sesame and honey', fr. It. *pastello*, Lat. *pastillum*, *pastillus* 'small loaf, cake', dim. of *pasta* 'dough' (5.52). REW 6274.

Other derivs. of *pasta* show the extension of 'dough' to 'pastry, pastry-cake, pie', etc., as It. *pasta*, Fr. *pâte*, ME *paste*, NE *pasty*, *pastry*.

Rum. *plăcintă*, fr. Lat. *placenta*. Rum. *prăjitură*, fr. *prăji* 'roast, toast' (5.23).

Late Lat. *torta* 'loaf of bread' (Vulgate, glosses) is the source of the widespread group applied mostly to a large cake or pie, It., Sp. *torta*, Rum. *turtă*, Fr. *tourte*, NHG *torte*, etc. Ernout-M. 1049. REW 8802.

3. Ir. *bairen* 'bread' (5.51), also 'cake', as Nir. *baighéan*.

W. *teisen*, Corn. *tesan*, etym.?

Br. *kouign*, fr. OFr. *cuignet* kind of 'cake', fr. dim. of *cuneus* 'wedge', in MLat. also 'loaf of bread' (Du Cange s.v.). Henry 77. Gamillscheg s.v. *quignon*.

## 5.53 DOUGH

|      |              |       |             |       |               |
|------|--------------|-------|-------------|-------|---------------|
| Grk. | φύμαμα       | Goth. | daigs       | Lith. | minklé, tešla |
| NG   | ῥύμα, ῥυμάρι | ON    | deig        | Lett. | mikla         |
| Lat. | massa        | Dan.  | dej         | ChSl. | těsto         |
| It.  | pasta        | Sw.   | deg         | SCr.  | tijesto       |
| Fr.  | pâte         | OE    | dæg         | Boh.  | těsto         |
| Sp.  | pasta, masa  | ME    | dogh, paste | Pol.  | ciasto        |
| Rum. | aluat        | NE    | dough       | Russ. | testo         |
| Ir.  | táis         | Du.   | deeg        | Skt.  | ....          |
| Nir. | taos         | OHG   | teig        | Av.   | gunda-        |
| W.   | toes         | MHG   | teig        |       |               |
| Br.  | toaz         | NHG   | teig        |       |               |

1. Grk. *φύμαμα*, fr. *φύμαα*, *φόμα* 'mix': Skt. *bhur-* 'move rapidly', Lat. *fervere* 'boil', etc. Walde-P. 2.157.

NG *ῥύμα*, *ῥυμάρι*, fr. class. Grk. *ῥύμα* 'leaven': Lat. *iūs*, Skt. *yūṣā-* 'soup', etc. (5.64).

2. Lat. *massa* 'lump, mass, dough' (> Sp. *masa* also 'dough'), fr. Grk. *μάζα* 'barley-cake' (5.52). Ernout-M. 594. REW 5396.

It., Sp. *pasta*, OFr. *paste* (> ME *paste*), Fr. *pâte*, fr. late Lat. *pasta* 'dough', this fr. Grk. *πασά* 'porridge', neut. pl. of *παστός* 'salted': *πάσσω* 'sprinkle'. REW 6272.

Rum. *aluat* fr. Lat. *allevatum* 'raised, leavened', ppl. of *levāre* 'lighten, raise' (cf. NE *leaven*), denom. of *levis* 'light'. REW 360.

## 5.54 KNEAD

|      |                    |       |         |       |          |
|------|--------------------|-------|---------|-------|----------|
| Grk. | μάσσω, αοτ. ἐμάγην | Goth. | ....    | Lith. | minkyti  |
| NG   | ῥυμάω              | ON    | knoða   | Lett. | micit    |
| Lat. | subigere, depesere | Dan.  | elte    | ChSl. | uměstiti |
| It.  | impastare          | Sw.   | knåda   | SCr.  | mjesiti  |
| Fr.  | pétrir             | OE    | cnedan  | Boh.  | hněsti   |
| Sp.  | amasar             | ME    | kneade  | Pol.  | miesić   |
| Rum. | frământa           | NE    | knead   | Russ. | mesit'   |
| Ir.  | ....               | Du.   | kneaden | Skt.  | ....     |
| Nir. | fuinim             | OHG   | kneatan | Av.   | ....     |
| W.   | tylino             | MHG   | kneaten |       |          |
| Br.  | meza, merat        | NHG   | kneaten |       |          |

Words for 'knead' are mostly cognate with words for 'mix, press, break, crush, mold, handle', of which 'knead' is an easy specialization. A few are derived from nouns for 'dough' or 'kneading-trough'.

1. Grk. *μάσσω*, prob. new present for \**μάζω*, aor. *ἐμάγην* (cf. sbs. *μαγίς*, *μαγείας*, *μάζα*, etc.): ChSl. *mazati* 'anoint', etc. Walde-P. 2.226 (but separating *μάσσω*, taken, 2.268, with Lith. *minkyti* 'knead', etc.).

NG *ῥυμάω*, fr. class. Grk. *ῥύμαω*, denom. of *ῥύμα* 'leaven', now 'dough' (5.52).

2. Lat. *subigere* 'turn up, break up (land)' is also 'knead' (Cato, Pliny).

Lat. *depesere* (rare), fr. Grk. *δέπω* 'soften by working' (as leather), beside *δέω*, this perh.: SCr. *depati* 'hit'. Walde-P. 1.786. Ernout-M. 262. Walde-H. 1.342.

It. *impastare*, fr. *pasta* 'dough' (5.53). Fr. *pétrir*, fr. VLat. \**pistrīre* or \**pistūre*, deriv. of Lat. *pistor* 'baker', *pīnsere* 'crush, pound'. REW 6542. Gamillscheg 690.

Sp. *amasar*, denom. of *masa* 'dough' (5.52).

Rum. *frământa*, fr. VLat. \**fragmen-*

*tare* 'break into fragments'. REW 3473. (Not fr. Lat. *fermentāre*, as Tiktin and formerly Püscaru.)

3. Nir. *fuinim*, same word as *fuinim* 'cook, bake' (orig. 'prepare'? see 5.21).

W. *tylino*, etym.? (fr. *tyl* 'mound, hill', as 'form a mound'?).

Br. *meza*, dial. *meat*, deriv. through sb. (Van. me) of OFr. *maie*, *maie* 'kneading-trough' (fr. Lat. *magis*, fr. Grk. *μαγίς*: *μάσσω*). Ernault, Glossaire 414.

Br. *merat* 'touch, feel' and 'knead', same word as *mera* 'handle, administer', MBr. *maerat*, *merat*, fr. OFr. *mairer* 'master, control', fr. *maire* 'chief, master' (Lat. *maior*). Ernault, Glossaire 383 f.

4. ON *knoða*, OE *cnedan*, etc., general Gmc., also Boh. *hněsti* ('press' and 'knead'): ChSl. *gneta*, *gnesti* 'press', OPruss. *gnode* 'trough for kneading of

bread', etc. Walde-P. 1.580 ff. Falk-Torp 543. Berneker 311 f.

Dan. *elte*: ON *elta*, Sw. *älla* 'press, stamp' and 'drive away, pursue', this perh. fr. an extension of the root of Grk. *δαίναω* 'drive', etc. Walde-P. 1.156. Falk-Torp 188.

5. Lith. *minkyti*, Lett. *micit*: Skt. *mac-* 'pound, grind', perh. OE *mengan* 'mix', etc. (5.17). Walde-P. 2.268.

ChSl. *u-měsiti*, SCr. *mjesiti*, Pol. *miesić*, Russ. *mesit'*, the usual Slavic word for 'knead', orig. 'mix', as ChSl. *měsiti*, etc. (5.17).

6. In Skt. there is no word for 'knead' or for 'dough', but only words for crushing the grain. So *piṣ-* 'crush, pound': Lat. *pīnsere*, etc. (Walde-P. 2.1); or *myd-* 'crush, pound, rub': Lat. *moṛdere* 'bite', etc. (Walde-P. 2.278 ff.).

## 5.55 MEAL, FLOUR

|      |         |       |             |       |        |
|------|---------|-------|-------------|-------|--------|
| Grk. | ἀλευρον | Goth. | ....        | Lith. | mltai  |
| NG   | ἀλεύρι  | ON    | mjöl        | Lett. | mlti   |
| Lat. | farina  | Dan.  | mel         | ChSl. | maĭa   |
| It.  | farina  | Sw.   | mjöl        | SCr.  | brašno |
| Fr.  | farine  | OE    | mele        | Boh.  | mouka  |
| Sp.  | harina  | ME    | mele, flour | Pol.  | maĭa   |
| Rum. | făină   | NE    | meal, flour | Russ. | muka   |
| Ir.  | men     | Du.   | meal        | Skt.  | piṣṭa- |
| Nir. | min     | OHG   | mele        | Av.   | piṣṭa- |
| W.   | blaud   | MHG   | mel         |       |        |
| Br.  | bleud   | NHG   | mehl        |       |        |

Words for 'meal' are mostly from verbs for 'grind' (5.56) or 'crush', one group from the name of a cereal.

1. From IE \**mel-* 'grind' (5.56). Walde-P. 2.284 ff.

W. *blaud*, Br. *bleud*, OCorn. *blot* (Pedersen 1.52); ON *mjöl*, OE *melu*, etc., general Gmc.; Lith. *mltai*, Lett. *mlti*, OPruss. *meltan*; Hitt. *memal*.

2. Grk. *ἀλευρον*, NG *ἀλέρι*, fr. *ἀλέω* 'grind', as Arm. *aleur* 'meal', *alauri* 'mill', fr. *alam* 'grind' (5.56). Walde-P. 1.89.

3. Lat. *farina* (> Romance words), SCr. *brašno* (ChSl. *brašino* 'food', 5.12): Lat. *far* 'spelt, grain', Goth. *barizeins* 'made of barley', OE *bere* 'barley', etc. Walde-P. 2.134. Ernout-M. 330. Walde-H. 1.455.

4. Ir. *men*, Nir. *min*: Lith. *minti* 'tread, break flax, prepare skins', ChSl. *meĭi*, 'compress', etc. Walde-P. 2.263.

5. ME, NE *flour*, the same word as *flower*, came to be used of the flower or finest part of the meal, then especially though not exclusively for the fine meal

## 5.57 MILL

(Words in parentheses 'Handmill')

|      |                |       |                       |       |                     |
|------|----------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | μύλη, μύλος    | Goth. | -qairnus              | Lith. | malunas (girnós)    |
| NG   | μύλος          | ON    | kvern, mylna          | Lett. | sudmalas (dzirnava) |
| Lat. | molae, molina  | Dan.  | mølle (kvern)         | ChSl. | žrānāvi, žrāny      |
| It.  | mulino         | Sw.   | kværn                 | SCr.  | mlin (žravanj)      |
| Fr.  | moulin         | OE    | cweorn, mylen         | Boh.  | mlýn (žerna)        |
| Sp.  | molino         | ME    | mylene, mille (quern) | Pol.  | mlýn (żarna)        |
| Rum. | moară (râniță) | NE    | mill (quern)          | Russ. | mel'nica            |
| Ir.  | bríao, molen   | Du.   | molen                 | Skt.  | peṣaṇa-             |
| Nir. | mulina (brā)   | OHG   | mul(n) (quairn)       | Av.   | (suduš-)            |
| W.   | melin (breuan) | MHG   | mul(e) (küerne)       |       |                     |
| Br.  | milin (breo)   | NHG   | mühle                 |       |                     |

'Mill' is understood here in the original sense of 'grist-mill, flour-mill', not in the extended sense of NE *mill* in *saw-mill*, *woolen-mill*, etc., which is foreign to the other words for 'mill' and is expressed rather by words for 'factory', 'workshop', or the like.

Most of the words for 'mill' are derivatives of IE \**mel-* 'crush, grind', but in large part through the medium of Latin. 1. From IE \**mel-* 'crush, grind' (5.56). Walde-P. 2.284 ff. Ernout-M. 626.

Grk. *μύλη* (Hom.), later *μύλος* 'mill' or 'millstone', also *μυλῶν* 'mill' (as the place), NG *μύλος* 'mill'.

Lat. *mola* 'millstone' (> Fr. *meule*, Sp. *muela* 'millstone', Rum. *moară* 'mill'), pl. *molae* 'millstones' = 'mill'.

Late Lat. *molina*, *molinum*, whence It. *mulino*, Fr. *moulin*, Sp. *molino*; Ir. *mulenn*, Nir. *mulcann*, W. *melin*, Br. *mlin*; ON *mylna*, Dan. *mølle*, OE *mylen*, *myln*, ME *mylene*, *mille*, etc., NE *mill*, Du. *molen*, OHG *mul(n)*, NHG *mühle*; Lith. *malunas*, OPruss. *malunis*; SCr. *mlin*, Boh. *mlýn*, Pol. *mlýn*, Russ. *mel'nica*. REW 5644. Pedersen 1.194. Falk-Torp 749.

Lett. *sudmal*

| 5.61 MEAT |            |       |         |
|-----------|------------|-------|---------|
| Grk.      | κρέας      | Goth. | mīms    |
| NG        | κρέας      | ON    | kjot    |
| Lat.      | carō       | Dan.  | kød     |
| It.       | carne      | Sw.   | kött    |
| Fr.       | viande     | OE    | flesc   |
| Sp.       | carne      | ME    | flesch  |
| Rum.      | carne      | NE    | meat    |
| Ir.       | féoil, cūa | Du.   | vleisch |
| Nir.      | ferit      | OHG   | fleisch |
| W.        | cig        | MHG   | fleisch |
| Br.       | kig        | NHG   | fleisch |

Words for 'meat' are mostly the same as those for 'flesh' (4.13). The exceptions are:

Fr. *viande*, 'meat' (*chair* 'flesh'), orig. 'food' (cf. NE *viands*) fr. Lat. *vianda* 'means of life, sustenance'. REW 9410.

ON *kjot* always 'meat' (*hgrund* 'flesh') but orig. also 'flesh', as Dan. *kød*, Sw. *kött* (4.13).

NE *meat*, orig. 'food' (5.12). NED s.v. Lett. *gal'a* 'meat' (*miesa* 'flesh'), possibly as orig. 'raw meat': Slav. *golū* 'naked'. Mühl-Endz. 1.598. Or better (suggestion of F. K. Wood) as orig. 'portion' (like Lat. *carō* 'flesh, meat' fr. 'portion' (cf. NE *viands*)). Ernout-M. 575. Walde-H. 2.1.

Fr. *boucher* (Ofr. *bochier*, *bouchier* > ME *bocher*, *boucher*, NE *butcher*), fr. *bouc*, Ofr. *boc* 'he-goat', hence orig. 'one who slaughters he-goats' (young he-goats were regularly killed for their meat except for a few reserved for breeding). REW 1378. Wartburg 1.587 f. Otherwise Gamillscheg 125.

## 5.612 BUTCHER

|      |                                  |       |                            |       |            |
|------|----------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|------------|
| Grk. | κρεοκόλλης                       | Goth. | ....                       | Lith. | mėsininkas |
| NG   | μακελλάριος, καοάπις, κρεοκόλλης | ON    | ....                       | Lett. | miesnieks  |
| Lat. | lanius, macellarius              | Dan.  | slagter                    | ChSl. | ....       |
| It.  | macellaro, beccario              | Sw.   | slaktare                   | SCr.  | mesar      |
| Fr.  | boucher                          | OE    | hyldere, cweller           | Boh.  | řezník     |
| Sp.  | carnicero                        | ME    | bo(u)cher, slaughter-      | Pol.  | rzeźnik    |
| Rum. | măcelar                          | NE    | man                        | Russ. | mjasnik    |
| Ir.  | ....                             | Du.   | butcher                    | Skt.  | mānsika-   |
| Nir. | būstēir                          | OHG   | slager                     | Av.   | ....       |
| W.   | cigydd                           | MHG   | slaktari                   |       |            |
| Br.  | kiger                            | NHG   | vleischschlchter, vleisch- |       |            |
|      |                                  |       | hauer, metzjere            |       |            |
|      |                                  |       | NHG fleischer, metzger,    |       |            |
|      |                                  |       | schlächter                 |       |            |

The 'butcher' was primarily the one who slaughters large domestic animals for their meat, then the one who cuts up the meat in the shop and sells it, simply a dealer in 'meat'.

Several of the words are derived from verbs for 'slaughter' or 'cut' (a 'cutter' may be specialized to 'butcher' or 'tailor'). The majority are derived from words for 'flesh, meat' (4.13, 5.61). A small group shows generalization from

'one who slaughters goats or deals in goat's flesh'.

1. Grk. σφαγέυς (: σφάζω 'slaughter', esp. animals for sacrifice) is used for 'slayer, murderer' and technically for the one who slaughters the sacrificial victims, but is not quotable as a tradesman's name. Instead we have κρεοκόπος, -κόπος (both rare), and esp. κρεο-κρεο-κόπος (as in NG), cpds. of κρέας

'flesh, meat' with words for 'cut', 'make', and 'sell'.

NG *χασάπις*, fr. Turk. *kasap* 'butcher'. 2. Lat. *lanius*, late *lanio*, beside vb. *laniare* 'tear in pieces, mangle', perh. of Etruscan origin. Walde-P. 2.434. Ernout-M. 522. Walde-H. 1.759 f.

Lat. *macellarius* (> It. *macellaro*, *macellaio*, Rum. *măcelar*, NG *μακελλάριος*), fr. *macellum* 'market', esp. 'meat-market', this fr. Grk. *μάκελλον* 'inclosure' (IG 4<sup>2</sup>.1.102, etc., 4th cent. B.C.; pl. in Hesych.; late *μάκελλος* as 'market' after Lat.), this again of Semitic orig. (cf. Hebr. *miklā* 'inclosure'). Ernout-M. 575. Walde-H. 2.1.

Fr. *boucher* (Ofr. *bochier*, *bouchier* > ME *bocher*, *boucher*, NE *butcher*), fr. *bouc*, Ofr. *boc* 'he-goat', hence orig. 'one who slaughters he-goats' (young he-goats were regularly killed for their meat except for a few reserved for breeding). REW 1378. Wartburg 1.587 f. Otherwise Gamillscheg 125.

It. *beccario*, fr. *becco* 'he-goat'.

Sp. *carnicero*, fr. *carne* 'flesh, meat'.

3. Nir. *būstēir*, fr. NE *butcher* (for transposition of *tš*, cf. Pedersen 1.230).

W. *cigydd*, Br. *kiger*, fr. W. *cig*, Br. *kig* 'flesh, meat'.

4. Dan. *slagter*, Sw. *slaktare*, ME *slaghterman*, Du. *slager*, OHG *slaktari* (killer of sacrificial victims), MHG *vleischslachter*, NHG *schlächter* (or *schlach-*

*ter*), all fr. vbs. for 'slaughter' (: Goth. *slahan*, etc. 'strike, slay' 9.21).

OE *hyldere* (fr. *hyldan* 'flay', 9.29) and *cweller* (: *cwellan* 'kill', 4.76) occur as glosses to Lat. *lanio*, *macellarius*.

ME *bo(u)cher*, NE *butcher*, fr. Ofr. *bo(u)chier* (above, 2).

MHG *vleischhouwer*, NHG *fleischer* (locally also *fleischhauer*, *fleischhacker*), fr. *fleisch* 'flesh, meat'.

MHG *metzeler*, fr. *metzeln* 'slaughter', this fr. late Lat. *macellare* 'slaughter' (cf. *macellarius*, above, 2).

MHG *metzjere*, NHG *metzger*, perh. in form fr. MLat. *matīarius* 'sausage-dealer', fr. *matia* 'intestine' (CGL 6.684 *matia intestina, unde matiarum dicuntur qui eadem tractant aut vendunt*), but influenced by *metzjen* beside *metzeln* 'slaughter' (above). Weigand-H. 2.178. Kluge-G. 390. Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 416, fn. On the distribution of the NHG words, cf. Kretschmer, op. cit. 412 ff.

5. Lith. *mėsininkas*, Lett. *miesnieks*, fr. Lith. *mėsa* 'flesh, meat', Lett. *miesa* 'flesh'.

6. SCr. *mesar*, Russ. *mjasnik*, fr. SCr. *meso*, Russ. *mjaso* 'flesh, meat'.

Boh. *řezník*, Pol. *rzeźnik*, fr. Boh. *řezati*, Pol. *rznąć* 'cut' (9.22).

7. Skt. *mānsika-* (rare), fr. *mānsa* 'flesh, meat'.

## 5.62 BEEF

|      |                  |       |                |       |             |
|------|------------------|-------|----------------|-------|-------------|
| Grk. | βόειον κρέας     | Goth. | ....           | Lith. | jautiena    |
| NG   | βοδινό           | ON    | ozakjot        | Lett. | versu gal'a |
| Lat. | būbula           | Dan.  | ozsekjō        | ChSl. | ....        |
| It.  | carne de bue     | Sw.   | ozkōtt         | SCr.  | goveđina    |
| Fr.  | boeuf            | OE    | hriðeren flæsc | Boh.  | hovězína    |
| Sp.  | carne de vaca    | ME    | boef           | Pol.  | wołowina    |
| Rum. | carne de vită    | NE    | beef           | Russ. | govjadinā   |
| Ir.  | marfheoil        | Du.   | rundvleesch    | Skt.  | gomānsa-    |
| Nir. | mairfheoil       | OHG   | rinderin       | Av.   | gao-        |
| W.   | cig eidion, biſſ | MHG   | rindfleisch    |       |             |
| Br.  | bevin            | NHG   | rindfleisch    |       |             |

1. Grk. σφαγέυς (: σφάζω 'slaughter', esp. animals for sacrifice) is used for 'slayer, murderer' and technically for the one who slaughters the sacrificial victims, but is not quotable as a tradesman's name. Instead we have κρεοκόπος, -κόπος (both rare), and esp. κρεο-κρεο-κόπος (as in NG), cpds. of κρέας

Words for 'beef' are chosen as typical of the names of meats in general. These are regularly from the animal names, (1) without change (cf. NE *lamb*, *chicken*, and the whole Fr. series *boeuf*, *veau*, *mouton*, *agneau*, *porc*), (2) with a derivative suffix (so regularly in Lith. and Slavic), or (3) cpds. or phrases with the words for 'meat' (5.61). In English a difference has been established by the fact that the Fr. words, used for the animal and the meat, were borrowed and restricted (in the main) to the latter sense in contrast to the native animal names. So NE *beef*, *veal*, *mutton*, *pork*. Cf. also Norw. *sau* 'sheep', but *får* (Dan. *faar* 'sheep') 'mutton'. NHG *rindfleisch*, *kaltfleisch*, but for 'mutton' not *schaf-fleisch* but *hammelfleisch* or locally *schöpsenfleisch*, fr. words for 'wether'. Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 228 f. Cf. It. *castrato* 'mutton'.

1. Words for 'beef' connected with those for 'cattle', 'ox', or 'cow' (3.21-3.23).

(1) Without change. Fr. *boeuf* (> ME *boef*, NE *beef* > W. *biſſ*), Av. *gao-* (cf. Barth. 507-8).

(2) With suffix. NG *βοδινό*, Lat. *būbula*, Br. *bevin* (fr. Lat. *bovinum*), OHG *rinderin*, Lith. *jautiena*, SCr. *goveđina*, Pol. *wołowina*, etc.

(3) Cpds. ON *ozakjot*, Dan. *ozsekjō*,

Sw. *oxkött*, Du. *rundvleesch*, MHG *rindfleisch*, NHG *rindfleisch*, Skt. *gomānsa-*.

(4) Phrases. Grk. *βοείον κρέας* (quotable only in pl.; the sg. would be 'piece of beef'; cf. *ἀρνεία κρέα*, etc.), It., Sp., Rum. *carne de bue*, *de vaca*, *de vită* respectively, W. *cig eidion*, OE *hriðeren flæsc* (cf. NED s.v. *rotheren*), Lett. *versu gal'a*.

2. Ir. *mairfheoil*, Nir. *mairfheoil*, cpds. of word for 'flesh, meat' with *mart* 'the carcass of an ox or cow slain for food' (cf. Laws, Gloss. s.v.), orig. 'dead body', fr. the root in *marbh*, Lat. *mortuus* 'dead' (4.75). Loth, RC. 41.56.

There are some names for meats that are from a different source, the result of specialization, as for example:

The old Gmc. word for 'flesh, meat' is specialized to 'pork, bacon' in the Scand. languages, as ON, Dan. *flesk*, Sw. *fläsk*.

A word denoting a certain part of any animal may be used specifically for the meat of that part of a particular animal. So words for 'ham' mainly that of swine, as NE *ham*, once 'hollow back of the knee', 'back of the thigh, buttock' (cf. NED s.v.), NHG *schinken* (: *schenkel* 'thigh'), Fr. *jambon* (: *jambe* 'leg'), Russ. *okorok* (: SCr. *krak* 'thigh'), etc. Cf. also NE *bacon* (: *back*), NHG *speck* 'bacon' (: OE *spic* 'fat, fat meat or bacon', etc.).

## 5.63 SAUSAGE

|      |                              |       |           |       |                    |
|------|------------------------------|-------|-----------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | ἀλλὰς                        | Goth. | ....      | Lith. | dešra              |
| NG   | λουκάνικο                    | ON    | mōr-bjūga | Lett. | desa               |
| Lat. | farctimen, lucānica, butulus | Dan.  | pilsa     | ChSl. | ....               |
| It.  | salsiccia                    | Sw.   | korv      | SCr.  | kobasica           |
| Fr.  | saucisse, boudin             | OE    | meaht(?)  | Boh.  | jitrnice (klobása) |
| Sp.  | salsiccia                    | ME    | sausage   | Pol.  | kielbasa           |
| Rum. | cîrnat                       | Du.   | worst     | Russ. | kolbasa            |
| Ir.  | mar, maróc                   | OHG   | wurst     |       |                    |
| Nir. | maróg                        | MHG   | wurst     |       |                    |
| W.   | selsig                       | NHG   | wurst     |       |                    |
| Br.  | silzig                       |       |           |       |                    |

1. Grk. ἀλλὰς, fr. \*ἀλλὰς, \*ἀλλὰς, s.v. of Italic Doric orig., with ἀλλὰς (cf. Hesych. ἀλλήν λάρανον Ἰταλοί) borrowed fr. an Italic dialect form of Lat. *aliūm* 'garlic'. Kretschmer, Glotta 1.323 ff. Walde-H. 1.30.

NG *λουκάνικο*, see below, 2.

2. Lat. *farctimen*, fr. *farctire* 'stuff'. Lat. *lucānica* (also *-cus*, *-um*, and *lucāna*) a kind of sausage invented by the Lucanians. Hence dialect words in northern Italy, etc. and NG *λουκάνικο*. Ernout-M. 563. REW 5134. G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 3.39.

Lat. *botulus* (source of Fr. *boudin*)? REW 1192. Wartburg 1.423, loanword from an Osc-Umb. dial. (with labial for orig. labio-velar, as in *porpina*, etc.): Goth. *gipus* 'belly, womb', Grk. γόβαλον 'hollow', etc. Walde-P. 1.560, 671. Ernout-M. 116. Walde-H. 1.112.

It. *salsiccia* (> Sp. *salchicha*), Ofr. *saussiche* (> ME *sausage*, NE *sausage*), Fr. *saucisse*, W. *selsig*, Br. *silzig*, fr. late Lat. *salsicia* (neut. pl. > fem. sg.), prob. cpd. of *salsus* 'salt' and (*in*) *sicium* 'mincemeat'. REW 4551. Gröber, Arch. lat. Lex. 3.272 f. Loth, Mots lat. 206.

Rum. *cîrnat*, fr. VLat. \**carnāceus* 'made of meat'. REW 1701. Puşcariu 374.

3. Ir. *mar*, dim. *maróc*, Nir. *maróg*, loanword fr. ON *mōrr* (below, 4). K. Meyer, RC 12.461.

4. ON *mōrbjúga*, cpd. of *mōrr* 'fat, suet' (by-form of *smōr* 'fat, butter': OE *smeoore* 'fat, suet', etc. Falk-Torp 1086) and *bjúga* (also once 'sausage'): *bjúgr* 'crooked, bent', etc.

Dan. *pølse* : LG *pole*, Du. *peul* 'pod, husk', NE *pulse* (otherwise NED), Lat. *bulla* 'knob'. Hence 'sausage' fr. its pod-like container. Falk-Torp 863.

Sw. *korv*, Norw. *kurv* : Norw. dial. *kurva* 'to bend, crook'. Falk-Torp 597. Hellquist 501.

OE *mearh* 'marrow' (: ON *mergr*, Skt. *majjan*, Av. *mazga* 'marrow'), ChSl. *mozga* 'brain', etc. Walde-P. 2.309) once glosses Lat. *lucānica*, but there seems to be no confirmation of this use for 'sausage'. NED s.v. *marrow*.

OHG-NHG *wurst*, Du. *worst*, etym. disputed, but prob. a deriv. of OHG *werdan*, etc., in its orig. meaning 'turn' (Lat. *vertere*, etc.), applied to the bent roll of a sausage, like ON *bjúga* and Sw. *korv* (above). Other views in Weigand-H. and Kluge-G. s.v.

5. Lith. *dešra*, Lett. *desa*, etym.? SCr. *kobasica*, Boh. *klobása*, Pol. *kielbasa*, Russ. *kolbasa*, perh. a loanword, through Jewish butchers, fr. Hebr. *kolbásar* 'all kinds of meat'. Berneker 542.

Boh. *jitrnice*, orig. 'liver-sausage' (fr. *játra* 'liver'), now generalized at the expense of *klobása*.

| 5.64 SOUP, BROTH |                         |       |              |
|------------------|-------------------------|-------|--------------|
| Grk.             | ζωμός                   | Goth. | ....         |
| NG               | σούπα, ζουμί            | ON    | broð         |
| Lat.             | iūs                     | Dan.  | suppe        |
| It.              | zuppa, minestra, brodo  | Sw.   | soppa        |
| Fr.              | soupe, potage, bouillon | OE    | broþ         |
| Sp.              | sopa, caldo             | ME    | broth        |
| Rum.             | supă, ciorbă            | NE    | soup, broth  |
| Ir.              | enbruihe                | Du.   | soep         |
| Nir.             | anbhruih, brachān       | OHG   | prod         |
| W.               | potes, cawl             | MHG   | brüje, suppe |
| Br.              | soubenn                 | NHG   | suppe, brühe |

Most of the words listed cover what in current use is partly distinguished, as NE *soup* vs. *broth*, Fr. *soupe* vs. *bouillon*, etc.

1. Derivs. of IE \**yew-* 'mix', ultimately the same as \**yew-* 'unite'. Walde-P. 1.199. Ernout-M. 508. Walde-H. 1.734. Pedersen 1.65.

Grk. ζωμός, NG ζουμί ('juice' and 'broth'); Lat. *iūs*; (Ir. *íth*, OW *íot*, Br. *yod* 'porridge'); Lith. *jūšė* ('fish soup'), OPruss. *juse*; ChSl. *jucha*, SCr. *jucha* (Boh. *jicha* 'sauce, gravy'), Russ. *ucha* ('fish soup'); Skt. *yūsa-*.

2. The widespread modern Eur. group goes back, mostly through Fr. *soupe*, to a Gmc. *suppa*, attested in MLat. *suppa* 'sop' (Oribas. trans., cf. Thomas, Mēl. Havet 525), ON *soppa* 'wine-soup', OE *soppe* 'sop', OHG *sopha*, *soffa* 'broth with softened bread': ON *sūpa*, OE *sūpan* 'sup', Skt. *sūpa-* 'soup', fr. \**seup-*, extensions of

\**seu-* in Skt. *su-* 'press out juice', etc., perh. ultimately of imitative orig. Thus Fr. *soupe*, in 13th cent. 'sop, bit of bread softened with broth or wine' (still surviving in the phrase *ivre comme une soupe*), then 'soup', is in the latter sense the source of ME *soupe*, NE *soup*, Du. *soep*, Br. *soubenn*, Rum. *supă* (recent), Russ. *sup*, and semantically at least (some of the forms go back to the Gmc. *suppa*) of It. *zuppa* (> NG σούπα), Sp.

*sopa*, Dan. *suppe*, Sw. *soppe*, late MHG, NHG *suppe* (> Lett. *zupa*, SCr. *supa*, Pol. *zupa*). Walde-P. 2.468 f. REW 8464. Falk-Torp 1205.

3. It. *minestra*, *minestrone* (esp. 'vegetable soup'), orig. any 'prepared food', fr. *caldo* 'broth', orig. 'hot fr. Lat. *calidus* (15.85).

It. *brodo*, Sp. *brodio*, *brodio*, MLat. *brodum*, *brodium*, fr. OHG *brod* (below, 5).

Fr. *bouillon*, fr. *bouillir* 'boil' (10.31). Fr. *potage* (> ME *potage* > W. *potes*), orig. a 'stew', fr. *pot* 'pot' (5.26).

Sp. *caldo* 'broth', orig. 'hot fr. Lat. *calidus* (15.85).

Rum. *ciorbă*, SCr. *čorba*, fr. Turk. *çorba* 'soup'. Berneker 159 f. Lokotsch 440.

4. Ir. *enbruihe*, Nir. *anbhruih* : Ir. *berbaim*, W. *berwi*, Lat. *fervere* 'boil', etc. (10.31). Walde-P. 2.167 f. Pedersen 1.115.

Nir. *brachān* 'broth, gruel', orig. 'fermented matter': *brachaim* 'ferment', Ir. *mraich*, *braich* 'malt', Lat. *marcere* 'wither', etc. Walde-P. 2.282. Pedersen 1.163.

W. *cawl*, orig. 'cabbage' (5.70), hence through 'cabbage-soup' now 'soup, broth'.

5. ON *broð*, OE *broþ*, ME, NE *broth*, OHG *prod*, also MHG *brüje*, NHG *brühe* 'broth': OHG *briuwān*

'green' and Dan. *sag*, Sw. *sak* 'thing'. So Du. *groenten*, fr. *groen* 'green'.

NE *vegetables*, sb. use of adj. *vegetable*, fr. Ofr. *vegetable* 'capable of growing', Lat. *vegetabilis* 'animating, vivifying', deriv. of *vegetāre*, iter. of *vegēre* 'move, quicken' beside *vigēre* 'be lively': Skt. *vāja-* 'strength', etc. Walde-P. 1.246 f. Ernout-M. 1079, 1107.

MHG (late) *gemüse</*

word of unknown source. G. Meyer. Alb. Etym. Wtb. 284 f.

5. Lith. *žirnīs*, Lett. *dzirnīs* : ChSl. *zrūno*, Goth. *kaurn*, Lat. *grānum* 'grain', etc. (8.42). Walde-P. 1.599 f.

SCR. *grah* (but now 'bean', with deriv.

## 5.68 ONION

|      |                    |       |                |       |                  |
|------|--------------------|-------|----------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | κρόμμινον          | Goth. | ....           | Lith. | svogūnas, cibulė |
| NG   | κρομμίδι, κρομμίδι | ON    | ....           | Lett. | stipulis         |
| Lat. | cēpa, ūniō         | Dan.  | rødløg         | ChSl. | ....             |
| It.  | cipolla            | Sw.   | rödlök         | SCR.  | luk              |
| Fr.  | oignon             | OE    | cipe, ynnelēac | Boh.  | cibule           |
| Sp.  | cebolla            | ME    | unyon          | Pol.  | cebula           |
| Rum. | ceapă              | NE    | onion          | Russ. | luk              |
| Ir.  | ....               | Du.   | ui             | Skt.  | palāṇḍu-         |
| Nlr. | innium             | OHG   | zwibolla       | Av.   | ....             |
| W.   | wynwynyn           | MHG   | zwibolle       |       |                  |
| Br.  | ognonenn           | NHG   | zwibel         |       |                  |

1. Grk. κρόμμινον (Hom.), κρόμμινον (κρέμμινον Hesych.), dim. κρομμίδιον > NG κρομμίδι, κρομμίδι : Ir. *crem*, W. *craf*, OE *hramsa*, Lith. *kremušė* 'wild garlic'. Walde-P. 1.426. Boisacq 520.

2. Lat. *cēpa* (> Rum. *ceapă*, OFr. *cive*, Ir. *ciap* in *folthech* 'porrum, capillosa cepa', OE *cipe*; late dim. *cēpulla* > It. *cipolla*, Sp. *cebolla*, OHG *zwibolla*, etc. [pop. association with words for 'two' and 'ball']; MHG *zibolle* > Lith. *cibulė*, Boh. *cibule*, Pol. *cebula*; MLG *stipolle* > Lett. *stipulis*, with Grk. dial. *kápiā* : *τὰ σκόροβα* (Hesych.), loanword fr. unknown source. Ernout-M. 176. Walde-H. 1.201. REW 1817, 1820. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 124. Weigand-H. 2.1355.

Late Lat. *ūniō* (> OE *ynne* in *ynnelēac*, cpd. with *lēac* 'leek'; Fr. *oignon* > ME *unyon*, etc. > Nlr. *innium*, W. *wynwynyn* coll., sg. *wynwynyn*; Br. *ognon* coll., sg. *ognonenn*, fr. Fr.; Du. dial.

3. Dan. *rødløg*, Sw. *rödlök*, cpd. of words for 'red' (15.66) and 'leek' (ON *laukr*, OE *lēac*, etc.).

4. Lith. *svogūnas* (now preferred to *cibulė*, NSB), fr. some Asiatic form belonging with Turk. *soğan* 'onion'. Hehn, Kulturpflanzen? 205.

5. SCR., Russ. *luk*, fr. Gmc. word for 'leek', ON *laukr*, etc. Berneker 744. Stender-Petersen 302 f.

6. Skt. *palāṇḍu-*, cpd., first part dub., second part : *aṇḍa* 'egg' (cf. *āṇḍika-* name of a plant with edible bulbs). Uhlenbeck 159.

*grasak* 'pea', Boh. *hrách*, Pol. *groch*, Russ. *goroch* (coll.; *gorošina* 'a pea') : Skt. *ghṛṣ-* 'rub', etc. Walde-P. 1.605 f. Berneker 331 f.

6. Skt. *kalāya-*, *saṭina-*, both obscure. Uhlenbeck 48, 326.

## 5.69 CABBAGE

|      |                  |       |               |       |               |
|------|------------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------|
| Grk. | ράφανος, κράμβη  | Goth. | ....          | Lith. | kopustas      |
| NG   | λάχανα           | ON    | kál           | Lett. | kāpuosts      |
| Lat. | brassica, caulis | Dan.  | kaal          | ChSl. | ....          |
| It.  | cavolo           | Sw.   | kål           | SCR.  | kupus         |
| Fr.  | chou             | OE    | cawel         | Boh.  | kapusta, zeli |
| Sp.  | berza, col       | ME    | cole, caboche | Pol.  | kapusta       |
| Rum. | varză            | NE    | cabbage       | Russ. | kapusta       |
| Ir.  | cál, braisech    | Du.   | kool          |       |               |
| Nlr. | cabāste (cál)    | OHG   | cól           |       |               |
| W.   | bresychen (caul) | MHG   | kól           |       |               |
| Br.  | kaolenn          | NHG   | kohl (kraut)  |       |               |

1. Grk. κράμβη, fr. the appearance of 'curled, wrinkled' : κράμβος 'dry, crackly', sb. 'blight in grapes when they shrivel', OE *hrympel* 'wrinkle', etc. Walde-P. 2.588 f. Boisacq 507.

Grk. ράφανος (Att. for κράμβη), beside ραφανίς 'radish' : ράvus, ράvus 'a kind of turnip', Dor. ράφα 'a kind of radish', Lat. *rāpum* 'rape, turnip', OHG *ruoba*, NHG (weisse) *rübe* 'turnip', *rote rübe* 'beet', *gelbe rübe* 'carrot'. Walde-P. 2.341. Ernout-M. 852.

NG λάχανα, sg. of λάχανα 'vegetables' (5.65).

2. Lat. *brassica*, etym.? Mostly replaced in VLat. by *caulis*, but the source of It. *brasca* (arch.), Ir. *braisech* 'cabbage' (Nlr. *praiseach* 'pottage') W. *bresychen* 'cabbages' (coll.; sg. *bresychen*), SCR. *broskwa* 'cabbage-turnip', also NG *μπράσκα* 'toad'. Ernout-M. 117. Walde-H. 1.114. REW 1278. Pedersen 1.226.

Vendryes, De hib. voc. 118. Berneker 87.

Lat. *caulis* 'stalk', esp. 'cabbage-stalk', then 'cabbage' : Grk. *καυλός* 'stalk', etc. Hence It. *cavolo*, Fr. *chou*, Sp. *col*, Ir. *cál*, Br. *kaol* (coll.; sg. *kaolenn*), ON *kál*, OE *cawel*, OHG *cól*, etc. general Gmc. (NE *cole* obs.; U.S. *coleslaw*, or with pop. etym. *coldslaw*, fr. Du. *koolsla* shortened form of *kool-salade*). Walde-P. 1.332. Ernout-M. 165. REW 1778. NED s.v. *cole*, sb. 1.

Sp. *berza*, Rum. *varza*, fr. Lat. *viridia* 'green plants', fr. *viridis* 'green', REW 9367.

3. Ir. *braisech*, W. *bresychen*, fr. Lat. *brassica* (above, 2).

Nlr. *cabāste*, fr. NE *cabbage* (below, 4). Pedersen 1.230.

4. ON *kál*, OE *cawel*, etc., above, 2.

ME *caboche*, *cabache*, NE *cabbage*, fr. OFr. (Pic., Norm.) *caboce* (Fr. *caboche*) 'head' beside *cabosse*, deriv. of OFr. *boce*, *boche*, *bosse* 'swelling, boil, bump', prob. influenced by derivs. of Lat. *caput* 'head' NED s.v. *cabbage*, sb. 1. REW 1191a. Gamillscheg 164. Wartburg 1.469.

Late OHG *cabuz*, *capuz*, MHG *kappuz*, NHG dial. *kappus*, *kappes* (Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 566), like Fr. *cabus* in *chou cabus*, fr. deriv. of *caput* 'head'. REW 1668. Weigand-H. 1.988.

NHG *kraut* 'herb, plant' (8.53) is usual for 'cabbage' (like Fr. *cabus*, and generally in *sauerkraut*. Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 566 ff.

5. Boh., Pol., Russ. *kapusta* (> Lith. *kopustas*, Lett. *kāpuosts*), SCR. *kupus*, fr. deriv. of *caput* 'head' (like Fr. *cabus*, etc., above, 4), but in form apparently influenced by MLat. *compos*(i)ta, It. *composta* 'compost'. Berneker 486. Brückner 218.

Boh. *zeli* : ChSl. *zeliže* 'vegetables' (5.65).

## 5.70 POTATO

|      |                |      |                      |       |                    |
|------|----------------|------|----------------------|-------|--------------------|
| NG   | parāra         | Dan. | kartoffel            | Lith. | bulvė, ropūtė      |
| It.  | patata         | Sw.  | potatis              | Lett. | kartupelis (bulbe) |
| Fr.  | pomme de terre | NE   | potato               | SCR.  | krumpir            |
| Sp.  | patata         | Du.  | aardappel            | Boh.  | brambor, zemák     |
| Rum. | cartof         | NHG  | kartoffel (erdapfel) | Pol.  | ziemniak, kartofel |
| Nlr. | práta          |      |                      | Russ. | kartofel'          |
| W.   | taten          |      |                      |       |                    |
| Br.  | avalldouar     |      |                      |       |                    |

The potato was introduced into Europe from the Western Hemisphere, first the sweet potato from the West Indies, then the common potato from Peru. The native Haitian name of the former was widely adopted and extended to the second. Cf. NED s.v. *potato*.

Other designations arose and spread either by direct borrowing or literal translation, such as those meaning 'earth-apple', 'earth-pear', or words for 'bulb' or the like that were applied to the new product. There is a wealth of local dialect words that are not considered here. Cf. Spitzer, Wört. u. Sach. 4.147 ff., Niedermann, ibid. 8.33 ff., Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 256 ff.

1. Haitian *batata*, through Sp. *patata*, is the source of It. *patata* (> NG *parāra*), NE *potato*, whence Nlr. *práta* (explanation of *r*?), W. *taten* (pl. fr. NE 'latoes'), new sg., *taten*, Sw. *potatis* (fr. NE pl. *potatoes*, cf. Hellquist s.v.).

2. Fr. *pomme de terre*, lit. 'earth-apple', and similarly, mostly by imitation of the French, Br. *aval-douar*, Du. *aardappel*, NHG *erdapfel* (OHG *erd-*

*aphul*, MHG *ertapfel* 'melon, cucumber', Icel. *jārðepli*, NG *γεώμηλον* (only literary and clearly a translation of the French).

3. Sw. dial. *jordpäron* lit. 'earth-pear', and so NHG dial. *erdbirne*, *grundbirne*, the latter the source of SCR. *krumpir*. Berneker 622.

4. NHG *kartoffel* (> Rum. *cartof*, Dan. *kartoffel*, Lett. *kartupelis*, Pol. *kartofel*, Russ. *kartofel'*), by dissim. fr. older *tartuffel*, this fr. It. *tartufolo* 'truffle', used also for 'potato'. REW 8966. Weigand-H. 1.199. Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 256 f. Berneker 491.

5. Lith. *bulvė*, *bulbė*, Lett. *bulbe*, fr. Pol. *bulba*, *bulwa*, dial. 'potato', this fr. Lat. *bulbus* 'bulb'. Berneker 100. Niedermann, Wört. u. Sach. 8.67 ff.

Lith. *ropūtė*, dim. of *ropė* 'turnip' : ChSl. *rēpa*, OHG *ruoba*, Lat. *rāpum*, Grk. *rávus* 'turnip'. Walde-P. 2.341.

Boh. *zemák*, Pol. *ziemniak*, derivs. of *země*, *ziemia* 'earth'.

Boh. *brambor*, fr. *bramburk* = Brandenburg as the source of export. So Rum. dial. *bandraburcă* 'potato'. Berneker 81 ff. Tiktin 154.

## 5.71 FRUIT

|      |                    |       |        |       |         |
|------|--------------------|-------|--------|-------|---------|
| Grk. | μήλον, ὄπωρον      | Goth. | ....   | Lith. | vaisiai |
| NG   | φρούτον, (ὀ)πωρέον | ON    | aldin  | Lett. | auglis  |
| Lat. | pōmum, mālum       | Dan.  | frugt  | ChSl. | ovošt   |
| It.  | frutto             | Sw.   | frukt  | SCR.  | voće    |
| Fr.  | fruit              | OE    | ofel   | Boh.  | ovoce   |
| Sp.  | fruto              | ME    | fruit  | Pol.  | owoc    |
| Rum. | poamă, fruct       | NE    | fruit  | Russ. | frukt   |
| Ir.  | toradh             | Du.   | vrucht | Skt.  | phala-  |
| Nlr. | toradh             | OHG   | obaz   | Av.   | ....    |
| W.   | ffruyth, aeron     | MHG   | obez   |       |         |
| Br.  | frouez             | NHG   | obst   |       |         |

## 5.72 APPLE

|      |         |       |       |       |         |
|------|---------|-------|-------|-------|---------|
| Grk. | μήλον   | Goth. | apel  | Lith. | obuolys |
| NG   | μήλο    | ON    | epli  | Lett. | abuols  |
| Lat. | mālum   | Dan.  | æble  | ChSl. | jablūko |
| It.  | mela    | Sw.   | äpple | SCR.  | jabuka  |
| Fr.  | pomme   | OE    | æppel | Boh.  | jablko  |
| Sp.  | manzana | ME    | appel | Pol.  | jablko  |
| Rum. | măr     | NE    | apple | Russ. | jablko  |
| Ir.  | ubull   | Du.   | appel |       |         |
| Nlr. | ubull   | OHG   | apful |       |         |
| W.   | afal    | MHG   | apfel |       |         |
| Br.  | aval    | NHG   | apfel |       |         |

*ffruyth*, Br. *frouez*, MLG *vrucht* (> Dan. *frugt*, Sw. *frukt*), Du. *vrucht* (OHG *frucht* only in wider sense 'product, fruit'), Russ. *frukt*.

3. Mlr. *torad*, Nlr. *toradh*, also 'product, fruit' in widest sense, (as always W. *loret*), cpd. *to-rad* fr. \**to-ret* : Ir. *rethim* 'run', hence 'that which comes to one, in-come'. Pedersen 2.600, 677.

W. *aeron* : Ir. *áinne*, MBr. *irin* 'wild plum', Goth. *akran* 'fruit' (in widest sense, καρπός), etc. Walde-P. 1.173. Pedersen 1.103.

4. ON *aldin* : ON *ala*, Goth., OE *alan*, Lat. *alere*, etc. 'nourish, feed'. Walde-P. 1.86 f. Falk-Torp 789 f.

OE *ofel*, OHG *obaz*, MHG *obez*, NHG *obst*, whence (Brückner 388) ChSl. *ovošt*, SCR. *voće*, Boh. *ovoce*, Pol. *owoc*, (Russ. *ovošć* 'vegetables'), orig. 'fruit' in wider sense, as esp. OE *ofel*, etym. dub. Prellwitz, BB 25.158. G. S. Lane, JEGPh. 32.486 f.

5. Lith. *vaisius* 'fruit' in widest sense (cf. *vaisa* 'fertility', *veislus* 'fruitful', etc.), also but esp. pl. *vaisiai* 'fruit' as intended here : *veisti* 'propagate, produce', Lett. *viest* 'nurture, increase', refl. *viesties* 'thrive', prob. also Gmc. group OE *wise* 'sprout, stalk', etc. Walde-P. 1.242. Mühl-Endz. 4.670.

Lett. *auglis*, fr. Lett. *augl*, Lith. *augli* 'grow' (12.53). Mühl-Endz. 1.216.

6. Skt. *phala-*, fr. *phal-* 'burst', hence also 'ripen, bear fruit'. Walde-P. 2.102

Most of the words for 'apple' belong to a single group, the ultimate source of which is obscure.

1. Ir. *ubull*, Nlr. *ubhall*, W. *afal*, Br. *aval*; Crimean Goth. *apel*, ON *epli*, etc. general Gmc.; Lith. *obuolas*, *obuolys*, hence It. *melo* 'apple tree', with new *mela* 'apple', Rum. *măr*. Ernout-M. 583. Walde-H. 1.218 f. REW 5272.

3. Fr. *pomme*, fr. Lat. *pōmum* 'fruit' (5.71). REW 6645.

Sp. *manzana* (*manzano* 'apple tree'), fr. Lat. *māla Matiana*, supposed to be named from a person (so Pliny 15.15.1) or a place (so Isid. 17.7.3). REW 5247.

## 5.73 PEAR

|      |                          |       |            |       |           |
|------|--------------------------|-------|------------|-------|-----------|
| Grk. | ἄπιον                    | Goth. | ....       | Lith. | kriaušė   |
| NG   | ἀπίδι, ἀχλάδι            | ON    | pera       | Lett. | bumbieris |
| Lat. | pīrium                   | Dan.  | pære       | ChSl. | ....      |
| It.  | pera                     | Sw.   | pårön      | SCR.  | kruška    |
| Fr.  | poire                    | OE    | pere, peru | Boh.  | hruška    |
| Sp.  | pera                     | ME    | pere       | Pol.  | gruszka   |
| Rum. | pară                     | NE    | pear       | Russ. | gruša     |
| Ir.  | ....                     | Du.   | peer       |       |           |
| Nlr. | piorra                   | OHG   | bira       |       |           |
| W.   | gelleigen, peran, rhumen | MHG   | bire, bir  |       |           |
| Br.  | perenn                   | NHG   | birne      |       |           |

1. Grk. ἄπιον, NG ἀπίδι, perh. (as \**apiso*?) : Lat. *pīrium*, both fr. a pre-IE, Mediterranean source. Lat. *pīrium* is the source of the Romance and Gmc. forms, also of Br. *per* (coll.; sg. *perenn*), and (prob. through NE *pear*) Nlr. *piorra*, W. *peran*. Walde-P. 2.75. Ernout-M. 772. REW 6524. Falk-Torp 862.

2. NG ἀχλάδι, fr. late Grk. ἀχλάς = ἀχράς, -άδος 'wild pear', beside ἀχερός 'wild pear', etym.? Walde-P. 1.608.

3. W. *gelleigen*, pl. *gellaig*, also *gelly-*

2. Grk. μήλον, Dor. μάλον, whence Lat. *mālum* (both also 'fruit'), prob. of pre-Greek origin. But Lat. *mālum* was replaced by VLat. *mēlum* (Pallad., etc.) reborrowed fr. the common Grk. μήλον, hence It. *melo* 'apple tree', with new *mela* 'apple', Rum. *măr*. Ernout-M. 583. Walde-H. 1.218 f. REW 5272.

3. Fr. *pomme*, fr. Lat. *pōmum* 'fruit' (5.71). REW 6645.

Sp. *manzana* (*manzano* 'apple tree'), fr. Lat. *māla Matiana*, supposed to be named from a person (so Pliny 15.15.1) or a place (so Isid. 17.7.3). REW 5247.

3. Sp. *melocotón* : It. *melo cotogno*, Grk. μήλον κυδώνων 'quince', but in Spanish 'peach'. REW 2436.

4. W. *eirinen wlanog*, *afal gwlanog*, lit. 'woolly plum, woolly apple', fr. the fuzzy skin of the peach.

gen, pl. *gellyg*, perh. fr. (old cpd. of?) *gell* 'yellow'.

W. *rhumen*, etym.?

4. Lith. *kriaušė*, OPruss. *crasius* (pl.), SCR. *kruška*, Boh. *hruška*, Pol. *gruszka* (> Lith. *grūša*), *gruszka*, Russ. *gruša*, all borrowed from some oriental source (cf. Kurd. *korēši*, *kurēši* 'pear'). Berneker 358. Trautmann 140. Brückner 160.

Lett. *bumbieris*, fr. Baltic-German *bumbere*, like NE *pomepear*, fr. Fr. *pomme poire*. Mühl-Endz. 1.349.

1. Grk. σῆκον, (Boet. ῥῆκον), Lat. *ficus*, and also Arm. *t'uz* 'fig', prob. fr. a common Mediterranean source. Lat. *ficus* is the source of all the other European words except the group given under 2. Schrader, Reallex. 1.306. Ernout-M. 356. Walde-H. 1.492. Falk-Torp 215. Pedersen 1.228. Berneker 281.

2. Goth. *smakka*, ChSl. *smoky*, SCR. *smokva*, etc. (once the general Slavic

word, quotable from all the Slavic languages, but now partly replaced by the representatives of Lat. *ficus*; fr. Slavic also Rum. *smochinā*, prob. fr. some oriental (Caucasian?) source. But some regard Goth. *smakka* as a Gmc. word (: NHG *smecken* 'taste', etc.), which was adopted by the Slavs. Schrader, Reallex. 1.306. Feist 439. Stender-Petersen 363 (with full Slavic material; for Gmc. orig.).

## 5.76 GRAPE

|      |                       |       |         |
|------|-----------------------|-------|---------|
| Grk. | βότρυς, σταφύλη (ῥάξ) | Goth. | weinab  |
| NG   | σταφύλη (ῥάγα)        | ON    | vinber  |
| Lat. | uva                   | Dan.  | druue   |
| It.  | uva                   | Sw.   | druva   |
| Fr.  | raisin                | OE    | winber  |
| Sp.  | uva                   | ME    | grape   |
| Rum. | strugure              | NE    | grape   |
| Ir.  | fin                   | Du.   | druiß   |
| Nlr. | fionchaor             | OHG   | trūbo,  |
| W.   | guinnronyn            | MHG   | trūbe,  |
| Br.  | rezinnenn             | NHG   | traube, |



| Grk. | ἔλαια              | Goth. | ( <i>alēwabagms</i> 'olive tree') | Lith. | <i>alyva</i>       |
|------|--------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|--------------------|
| NG   | ἔλαια              | ON    | <i>olīva</i>                      | Lett. | <i>olīva</i>       |
| Lat. | <i>olīva, olea</i> | Dan.  | <i>olīven</i>                     | ChSl. | ( <i>maslina</i> ) |
| It.  | <i>oliva</i>       | Sw.   | <i>oliva</i>                      | Boh.  | <i>oliva</i>       |
| Fr.  | <i>olive</i>       | OE    | <i>eleberge</i>                   | Pol.  | <i>oliwka</i>      |
| Sp.  | <i>aceituna</i>    | ME    | <i>olive</i>                      | Russ. | <i>olīvka</i>      |
| Rum. | <i>māslinā</i>     | NE    | <i>olive</i>                      |       |                    |
| Ir.  | ....               | Du.   | <i>olijf</i>                      |       |                    |
| Nlr. | ....               | OHG   | <i>olīberi</i>                    |       |                    |
| W.   | <i>olif</i>        | MHG   | <i>olber</i>                      |       |                    |
| Br.  | <i>olivezenn</i>   | NHG   | <i>olive</i>                      |       |                    |

'Olive' is understood here as the fruit, though this and the olive tree were originally, and still are in part, expressed by the same word.

1. Most of the words are directly or indirectly fr. Lat. *olīva*, itself a loanword fr. Grk. ἔλαι(α) 'olive tree, olive', this again prob. fr. some Mediterranean source. Schrader, Reallex. 2.130 ff. Ernout-M. 700.

Many of the forms are of comparatively recent introduction. It was only the oil of the olive that was exported to the north in early times, and several of the words for 'olive' are derived from

the name of the better known olive oil (5.79), as OE *eleberge*, OHG *olīberi* lit. 'oil-berry'; likewise Goth. *alēwabagms* 'olive tree'. In Ireland olives are virtually unknown, but if occasion arose the English word would doubtless be used.

2. Sp. *aceituna* fr. Arab. *zaitūna*, like again prob. fr. some Mediterranean source. Schrader, Reallex. 2.130 ff. Ernout-M. 700.

3. ChSl. *maslina* (quotable only for the tree), SCr. *maslina* (fruit and tree), Russ. *maslina* (now mostly of the tree), fr. Slav. also Rum. *māslin* (tree), *māslinā* (fruit): ChSl., Russ. *maslo* 'oil', etc. (5.79).

## 5.79 OIL

|      |               |       |              |       |               |
|------|---------------|-------|--------------|-------|---------------|
| Grk. | ἐλαιον        | Goth. | alēw         | Lith. | aliejus       |
| NG   | λάδι          | ON    | olea         | Lett. | el'la         |
| Lat. | oleum, olivum | Dan.  | olie         | ChSl. | olēji, maslo  |
| It.  | olio          | Sw.   | olja         | SCr.  | ulje, zejtin  |
| Fr.  | huile         | OE    | ele          | Boh.  | olej          |
| Sp.  | aceite        | ME    | ole, oile    | Pol.  | olej, oliwa   |
| Rum. | uleiu         | NE    | oil          | Russ. | maslo         |
| Ir.  | ola           | Du.   | oil          | Skt.  | tāila, sneha- |
| Nlr. | ola           | OHG   | ol(e)ï       | Av.   | ....          |
| W.   | olew          | MHG   | ol(e), ol(e) |       |               |
| Br.  | col           | NHG   | öl           |       |               |

'Oil' was originally olive oil, an important article of food in southern regions, used also for cleansing the body (cf. under 'soap' 6.95), and as an illuminating fluid in lamps, while in most recent times its use as a lubricant or fuel dwarfs all others in magnitude. In general, the same word has remained in use, with all the extension in application.

1. Most of the Eur. words are directly fr. Lat. *oleum* (beside *olivum*), itself a loanword fr. Grk. ἔλαι(α) 'olive', belonging with ἔλαι(α) 'olive' (5.78). Goth. *alēw*, precise history much disputed, Feist 35 f. ON *olea*, prob. fr. Lat. *olea*. Celtic forms, Pedersen 1.194. ME *ole, oile* (in place of OE *ele*), fr. OFr. *olie, oile* (Fr. *huile*), whence also Br. *col*. Lith. *aliejus*

fr. Slavic (ChSl. *olēji*, etc.); Lett. *el'la* fr. LG *ölje*. Rum. *uleiu* fr. Slavic. NG *lāōl* fr. late dim. ἑλᾶδιον.

2. Sp. *aceite*, fr. Arab. *zait* 'oil'. So SCr. *zejtin*, through Turk., fr. Arab. *zaitūn* 'olives'. REW 9611. Lokotsch 2187.

3. ChSl. *maslo* (like *olēji* also translates ἔλαιον), Russ. *maslo* 'oil' and 'butter', in other Slavic languages 'butter' or 'grease': ChSl. *mazati* 'anoint', Grk. *μαζ-,* in forms of *μάσσω* 'knead' (5.54), etc. Berneker 2.23, 29. Walde-P. 2.226 ff.

4. Skt. *tāila* 'oil' (used as food and for lamps, like the Eur. group), deriv. of *tila*- the Indian sesame plant.

Skt. *sneha*- also 'oil' in both uses, fr. *snih*- 'be sticky'. Walde-P. 2.695.

## 5.80 BERRY

| Grk. | (κόκκος, βᾶξ)  | Goth. | -basi        | Lith. | <i>uoga</i>         |
|------|----------------|-------|--------------|-------|---------------------|
| NG   | κόκκος(?)      | ON    | <i>ber</i>   | Lett. | <i>uoga</i>         |
| Lat. | <i>bāca</i>    | Dan.  | <i>ber</i>   | ChSl. | <i>jagoda</i>       |
| It.  | <i>bacca</i>   | Sw.   | <i>bär</i>   | SCr.  | <i>jagoda, boba</i> |
| Fr.  | <i>baie</i>    | OE    | <i>berie</i> | Boh.  | <i>jagoda</i>       |
| Sp.  | <i>baya</i>    | ME    | <i>bery</i>  | Pol.  | <i>jagoda</i>       |
| Rum. | <i>boabă</i>   | Du.   | <i>bes</i>   | Russ. | <i>jagoda</i>       |
| Ir.  | <i>cāer</i>    | OHG   | <i>beri</i>  | Skt.  | ....                |
| Nlr. | <i>caor</i>    | MHG   | <i>ber</i>   | Av.   | ....                |
| W.   | <i>aeronen</i> | NHG   | <i>beere</i> |       |                     |
| Br.  | <i>hugenn</i>  |       |              |       |                     |

Although there is a word for 'berry' in most of the Eur. languages, it is only in the Gmc. group that the word furnishes a long series of cpds. denoting the special kinds of berry. Thus NE *berry*, whence *strawberry, raspberry, blackberry, blueberry, cranberry, gooseberry*, etc., formerly also *wineberry* (OE *weinberige*, like Goth. *weinabasi*), now replaced by *grape*. Similarly, NHG *beere*, with *erdbeere, himbeere*, etc., and in the other Gmc. languages. Elsewhere the names of 'strawberry', 'raspberry', etc., are unrelated to each other, e.g. Fr. *fraise* 'strawberry' (with the other Romance words, fr. Lat. *fragum*), but *framboise* 'raspberry' (fr. a Frank. *\*brom-basi* 'blackberry' like NHG *brombeere*, first part: NE *bramble*, etc.); Russ. *zemljanika* 'strawberry' (fr. *zemlja* 'earth', like NHG *erdbeere*), but *malina* 'raspberry' (: Grk. *μέλας*, Lett. *melns* 'black', etc.).

1. In class. Grk. there is no distinctive word for 'berry' in common use. But

W. *aeronen* (coll. *aeron*): Goth. *akran* 'fruit', etc. (5.71). Walde-P. 1.173. Pedersen 1.103.

Br. *hugenn* (mostly 'uvula'), but also 'berry', deriv. of Lat. *uva* 'grape'. Ernault, Glossaire 328.

4. Goth. *-basi* (in *weinabasi* 'grape'), ON *ber*, OE *berie*, etc., general Gmc., root connection? Falk-Torp 124. Feist 559.

5. Lith., Lett. *uoga*, ChSl. *jagoda*, etc. general Slavic, prob.: Lat. *uva* 'grape' (5.76). Berneker 25.

SCr. *boba*, fr. *bob* 'bean'.

κόκκος 'grain, seed' is rarely also 'berry' and so reg. in NG. Grk. *βᾶξ*, *βῶξ* 'grape' (5.76), also sometimes 'berry'.

2. Lat. *bāca* or *bacca* (> It. *bacca*, Fr. *baie*, Sp. *baya*), prob. a loanword fr. a Mediterranean source, and perh. related to the Thracian Βάκχος. Ernout-M. 98. Walde-H. 1.91.

Rum. *boabă*, fr. SCr. *boba* 'berry'.

3. Ir. *cāer*, Nlr. *caor*, W. pl. *ceirios*, perh.: Grk. *καρπός* 'fruit' in wide sense. Pedersen 1.23.

W. *aeronen* (coll. *aeron*): Goth. *akran* 'fruit', etc. (5.71). Walde-P. 1.173. Pedersen 1.103.

Br. *hugenn* (mostly 'uvula'), but also 'berry', deriv. of Lat. *uva* 'grape'. Ernault, Glossaire 328.

4. Goth. *-basi* (in *weinabasi* 'grape'), ON *ber*, OE *berie*, etc., general Gmc., root connection? Falk-Torp 124. Feist 559.

5. Lith., Lett. *uoga*, ChSl. *jagoda*, etc. general Slavic, prob.: Lat. *uva* 'grape' (5.76). Berneker 25.

SCr. *boba*, fr. *bob* 'bean'.

Honey was the old IE sweet, and so among the Greeks and Romans and in Europe generally until the introduction of sugar (5.85). From it was made the oldest IE intoxicating drink, the 'mead' (5.91).

Most of the words for 'honey' belong to one of two inherited groups. In Gmc. one of these is represented in Gothic, the other in words for 'mead', otherwise 'honey' is expressed by a new word derived from its yellow color.

1. IE *\*melit-* 'honey'. Walde-P. 2.296. Ernout-M. 602. Grk. *μέλι*; Lat. *mel* (> Romance words); Ir. *mil*, W., Br. *mel*; Goth. *milip* (cf. OE *mil-dēaw* 'honey-dew, nectar', misc. 'honeyed'); Arm. *metr*, Alb. *mjall*.

2. IE *\*medhu-* 'honey' and 'mead'. Walde-P. 2.261. Here as 'honey', Lith., Lett. *medus*, OPruss. *meddo*, ChSl. *medū*, etc., general Slavic; Skt. *madhu*, Toch. *mil*. Elsewhere only as 'mead' or for some other intoxicating drink (5.91).

3. ON *hunang*, OE *hunig*, etc., general Gmc. (except Goth.): Skt. *kāñcana-* 'golden', *kanaka-* 'gold', Grk. *κηρός* 'pale yellow' etc. Walde-P. 1.400; Falk-Torp 417.

4. Av. *\*paēna-*, implied by *paēnaēna-* 'prepared from honey', NPers. *angūbin* 'bee-honey', prob. as (bee's) 'milk' or 'juice': Av. *payah-, paēman-* 'milk', Skt. *payas-* 'milk, juice', Lith. *pienas* 'milk' (5.87). Barth. 817.

## 5.85 SUGAR

|      |                      |       |                             |       |                 |
|------|----------------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | σάκχαρι, etc. (late) | Goth. | ....                        | Lith. | <i>cukrus</i>   |
| NG   | ζάχαρι               | ON    | ....                        | Lett. | <i>cukurs</i>   |
| Lat. | saccharum (late)     | Dan.  | <i>sukker</i>               | ChSl. | ....            |
| It.  | zucchero             | Sw.   | <i>socker</i>               | SCr.  | <i>šećer</i>    |
| Fr.  | sucree               | OE    | ....                        | Boh.  | <i>cukr</i>     |
| Sp.  | azúcar               | ME    | <i>sucree, sugure, etc.</i> | Pol.  | <i>cukier</i>   |
| Rum. | zahăr                | NE    | <i>sugar</i>                | Russ. | <i>sachar</i>   |
| Ir.  | ....                 | Du.   | <i>zucker</i>               | Skt.  | <i>çarkarā-</i> |
| Nlr. | siücre               | OHG   | <i>zucura</i>               | Av.   | ....            |
| W.   | siugr                | MHG   | <i>zucker</i>               |       |                 |
| Br.  | sukr                 | NHG   | <i>zucker</i>               |       |                 |

The home of sugar and its European names is India. The companions of Alexander the Great told of the Indian cane which produced 'honey without bees' (περί τῶν καλᾶμων, διὰ τοιοῦτον μέλι μελισσῶν μὴ οὐσῶν, Strabo 15.694). The native Indian name appears in Greek and Latin transcriptions in the first century A.D. (μέλι τὸ καλᾶμων τὸ λεγόμενον σάκχαρι, Periplus 14; σάκχαρον εἶδος δὲ μέλιτος ἐν Ἰνδία καὶ τῇ εὐδαίμονι Ἀραβίᾳ πεπηγὸτος, ἐπισκόμενον ἐπὶ τῶν καλᾶμων, Diosc. 2.104; *Saccharon et Arabia fert, sed laudatius India, est autem mel in harundibus collectum*, Plin. 12.32), but

the article was then only an exotic product used for medical purpose. The cultivation of the sugar cane was introduced in Sicily and Spain by the Arabs, and it was only after the crusades that sugar became the common sweetening in place of the older honey. The majority of European forms of the name come through Arabic via Spanish or Italian. Schrader, Reallex. 2.705 ff.

Skt. *çarkarā-* 'gravel, grit' (AV +) later 'sugar': Grk. *κρόκη, κροκάλη* 'pebble'. Walde-P. 1.463.

Hence, through a later Prakrit form like Pāli *sakkharā-*, the following:

## 5.87 MILK (vb.)

|      |                          |       |                          |       |                |
|------|--------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | ἀμέλγω                   | Goth. | ...                      | Lith. | <i>milži</i>   |
| NG   | ἀμέλγω, ἀμύγω            | ON    | <i>mjolk</i>             | Lett. | <i>slaukti</i> |
| Lat. | <i>mulgere</i>           | Dan.  | <i>malke</i>             | ChSl. | <i>mlēsti</i>  |
| It.  | <i>munger</i>            | Sw.   | <i>mjölka</i>            | SCr.  | <i>mušti</i>   |
| Fr.  | <i>traire</i>            | OE    | <i>meolcan, meolcian</i> | Boh.  | <i>dajiti</i>  |
| Sp.  | <i>ordeñar</i>           | ME    | <i>mylke</i>             | Pol.  | <i>doić</i>    |
| Rum. | <i>mulge</i>             | NE    | <i>milk</i>              | Russ. | <i>dajiti</i>  |
| Ir.  | <i>bligim, crudim</i>    | Du.   | <i>melken</i>            | Skt.  | <i>duh-</i>    |
| Nlr. | <i>crudhaim, blighim</i> | OHG   | <i>melchan</i>           | Av.   | ...            |
| W.   | <i>godro</i>             | MHG   | <i>melchen</i>           |       |                |
| Br.  | <i>goro</i>              | NHG   | <i>melken</i>            |       |                |

The verbs for 'milk' are unrelated to the nouns for 'milk' in the same language, except in Irish and the Gmc. group.

1. Grk. ἀμέλγω (> NG pop. ἀμύγω through ἀμύγω with transposition); Lat. *mulgere* (> It. *munger*, Rum. *mulge*, OFr. *moudre*); Ir. *mligim, bligim*; OE *meolcan*, OHG *melchan*, etc., general Gmc. (but OE *meolcian*, ME *mylke*, NE *milk*, fr. the sb. OE *meole*, etc.); Lith. *milžti, melžti*; ChSl. *mlēsti, mlāza*, SCr. *mušti, muzem*; Alb. *myjellë*; the old general Eur. vb. for 'milk': Skt. *mṛj-* 'wipe, stroke', Av. *maraz-* 'touch', IE *\*mel-* 'wipe', with Eur. specialization of 'wipe, stroke' or the like to 'milk'. Walde-P. 2.298 ff. Ernout-M. 637.

2. Fr. *traire*, fr. Lat. *trahere* 'draw'. Sp. *ordeñar*, fr. VLat. *\*ordiniāre* beside *\*ordinium* 'implement', fr. Lat. *ordināre* 'arrange'. Development prob. through 'manipulate'. REW 6091.

3. Mir. *crudim, cruthaim*, with sb. *crud* 'milk' (cf. K. Meyer, Contrib. 535, 538), Nlr. *crudhaim*, etym.?

W. *godro*, MBr. *gorro*, Br. *goro*, cpd. *\*go-dro* : W. *troi* 'turn, twist', Lat. *trahere* 'draw' etc. Walde-P. 1.752. Pedersen 1.97.

4. Lett. *slaukti* : Lith. *šliaukti* 'sweep', both fr. a common notion of 'wipe, stroke'. Mühl.-Endz. 3.919.

Boh. *dajiti*, Pol. *doić*, Russ. *dajiti* : ChSl. *dajiti* 'suckle', Skt. *dhayati* 'sucks', etc. (5.16). Berneker 205.

5. Skt. *duh-*, NPers. *duxtan, dušidan*, the Indo-Iranian verb for 'milk' (though not quotable fr. Av.). Connection with Grk. *τεύχω* 'make, build', *τευχάω* 'hit the mark, meet, happen', Goth. *daug*, OE *dæg*, OHG *toug* 'is of advantage, avails', etc. is generally rejected on semantic grounds. Walde-P. 1.847. Feist 128. But in view of the perfect formal correspondence, one must consider the possibility of deriving the divergent meanings (which even in the Eur. group offer some problems) from some common source, even if the attempt involves speculation falling short of conviction.

For example, the Indo-Iranian 'milk' may be from 'stroke', like the Eur. 'milk' (above, 1); 'stroke' and 'strike' may be from a common source (cf. NE *strike* : NE *stroke*, NHG *streichen*); and 'strike' may lead to 'hit, hit the mark', the earliest use of Grk. *τευχάω* (whence also 'meet, happen, be fortunate', etc.), from which 'suit, be good for, avail', etc. in Gmc.

1. Grk. *σάκχαρι, σάκχαρον, σάκχαρ*, whence Lat. *saccharum*, NG *ζάχαρι*, Rum. *zahăr*, Russ. *sachar*.

2. NPers. *šakar*, Arab. *sukkar*, whence Sp. *azúcar*, It. *zucchero*, and, through these, OFr. *çucree, sukere*, etc. (> ME *sucree, sugure*, etc., NE *sugar*), Fr. *sucree*, the Celtic (W. *siugr* fr. ME *sugre*) and Gmc. forms, and through the latter the Balto-Slavic forms, except Russ. *sachar* (above), and SCr. *šećer*, which is fr. Turk. *sheker*, this fr. NPers. *šakar*. Lokotsch 1855. REW 8441a. NED, s.v. *sugar*.

## 5.86 MILK (sb.)

|      |                           |       |                      |       |                       |
|------|---------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | γάλα                      | Goth. | <i>miluks</i>        | Lith. | <i>pienas</i>         |
| NG   | γάλα                      | ON    | <i>mjolk</i>         | Lett. | <i>piens</i>          |
| Lat. | <i>lac</i>                | Dan.  | <i>melk</i>          | ChSl. | <i>mlēko</i>          |
| It.  | <i>latte</i>              | Sw.   | <i>mjolk</i>         | SCr.  | <i>mljeko</i>         |
| Fr.  | <i>lait</i>               | OE    | <i>meole, mile</i>   | Boh.  | <i>mlēko</i>          |
| Sp.  | <i>leche</i>              | ME    | <i>melk</i>          | Pol.  | <i>mlēko</i>          |
| Rum. | <i>lapte</i>              | NE    | <i>milk</i>          | Russ. | <i>moloko</i>         |
| Ir.  | <i>mlícht, ass, lacht</i> | Du.   | <i>mele</i>          | Skt.  | <i>payas-, kṣīra-</i> |
| Nlr. | <i>bainne</i>             | OHG   | <i>miluh</i>         | Av.   | <i>payah-, zšwid-</i> |
| W.   | <i>laeth, blīth</i>       | MHG   | <i>milich, milch</i> |       |                       |
| Br.  | <i>laez</i>               | NHG   | <i>milch</i>         |       |                       |

1. Grk. *γάλα, γάλακτος*, Lat. *lac, lactis* (> Romance words, also Ir. *lacht*, W. *llaeth*, Br. *laez*), without certain root-connection. Walde-P. 1.659. Ernout-M. 514. Walde-H. 1.741 f. REW 4817. Pedersen 1.228.

2. Ir. *mlícht, blícht*, W. *blith*; Goth. *miluks*, OE *meole*, etc., general Gmc.; ChSl. *mlēko* (*\*melko*), etc., general Slavic; Toch. A *malke*, B *malkwer*. These are put together here despite the dispute as to their relationship. Certainly some

and prob. all: Grk. ἀμέλγω, Lat. *mulgere*, Ir. *melgim*, OE *melcan*, etc., the general Eur. vb. for 'milk' (5.87). In the Gmc. group the second vowel of Goth. *miluks*, OHG *miluh* is puzzling, and some think that the relationship to the vb. is only secondary, due to the assimilation of an originally different word related to Grk. *γάλα*, Lat. *lac* (above, 1). The Slavic words were once regarded as Gmc. loanwords, but that is now generally given up. They are separated by many from the above group, but as a *\*melk-* beside *\*melg-* is attested by Lat. *mulcēre*, this is unnecessary, and the various substitute

connections that have been suggested seem less probable. Walde-P. 2.298. Feist 360 f. Berneker 2.34. Stender-Petersen 42 ff. F. A. Preveden, Language 5.152 ff.

3. Ir. *ass* (K. Meyer, Contrib. 138) etym.?

Nlr. *bainne*, fr. Mlr. *banne* 'drop', rarely 'milk' (K. Meyer, Contrib. 177) = Corn. *banna*, *banne*, Br. *banne* 'drop' : Skt. *bindu-* 'drop'. Walde-P. 2.110. Pedersen 1.116.

4. Lith. *pienas*, Lett. *piens*, Skt. *payas-*, Av. *payah-* (also *paēman-* 'mother's milk') : Skt. *pī-*, *pyā-* 'swell, fatten', *pīna-* 'fat', Grk. *πίπα* 'fat', etc. Walde-P. 2.73 ff.

5. Skt. *kṣīra-*, NPers. *šīr*, etc. : Alb. *hirrë* 'whey'. Walde-P. 1.503.

Av. *zšwid-*, perh. : Lith. *sviestas*, Lett. *sviests* 'butter'. Walde-P. 2.521.

Skt. *dadhī*, gen. *dadhīnas* 'thick sour milk' : OPruss. *dadan* 'milk', Alb. *djāihë* 'cheese', redupl. form fr. the root of Skt. *dhayati* 'sucks' (cf. *dhenus* 'giving milk'), etc. (5.16). Walde-P. 1.829.

## 5.87 MILK (vb.)

|      |                           |       |                        |       |                |
|------|---------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | ἀμέλγω                    | Goth. | ...                    | Lith. | <i>milžti</i>  |
| NG   | ἀμέλγω, ἀμύγω             | ON    | <i>mjolk</i>           | Lett. | <i>slaukti</i> |
| Lat. | <i>mulgere</i>            | Dan.  | <i>malke</i>           | ChSl. | <i>mlēsti</i>  |
| It.  | <i>munger</i>             | Sw.   | <i>mjölka</i>          | SCr.  | <i>mušti</i>   |
| Fr.  | <i>traire</i>             | OE    | <i>melcan, meolcan</i> | Boh.  | <i>dojiti</i>  |
| Sp.  | <i>ordeñar</i>            | ME    | <i>mylke</i>           | Pol.  | <i>doić</i>    |
| Rum. | <i>mulge</i>              | NE    | <i>mitk</i>            | Russ. | <i>dojiti'</i> |
| Ir.  | <i>bligin, crudim</i>     | Do.   | <i>melken</i>          | Skt.  | <i>duh-</i>    |
| Nlr. | <i>cruidhaim, blighim</i> | OHG   | <i>melchan</i>         | Av.   | ...            |
| W.   | <i>godro</i>              | MHG   | <i>melchen</i>         |       |                |
| Br.  | <i>goro</i>               | NHG   | <i>melken</i>          |       |                |



| 5.89 BUTTER |                        |       |                      |
|-------------|------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk.        | <i>βούτυρον</i> (late) | Goth. | ...                  |
| NG          | <i>butyrum</i>         | ON    | <i>smjor</i>         |
| Lat.        | <i>butyrum</i> (late)  | Dan.  | <i>smør</i>          |
| It.         | <i>burro</i>           | Sw.   | <i>smör</i>          |
| Fr.         | <i>beurre</i>          | OE    | <i>butere</i>        |
| Sp.         | <i>mantecca</i>        | ME    | <i>butere</i>        |
| Rum.        | <i>unt</i>             | NE    | <i>butler</i>        |
| Ir.         | <i>imb</i>             | Du.   | <i>boter</i>         |
| Nir.        | <i>im</i>              | OHG   | <i>ancho, butera</i> |
| W.          | <i>ymenyn</i>          | MHG   | <i>buter, anke</i>   |
| Br.         | <i>amann</i>           | NHG   | <i>butler</i>        |

Butter was a common article of food from early times in India and Iran ('melted butter') and in northern Europe, but not among the ancient Greeks and Romans, who first heard of it as a Scythian product. It is first reported by Herodotus (4.2), who describes the process of churning, later by Hippocrates (4.20), who first introduces the word *βούτυρον*. Pliny (28.133) tells of *butyrum*, *barbararum gentium lautissimus cibus*. Schrader, Reallex 1.175 ff.

1. Grk. *βούτυρον*, lit. 'cow-cheese', but either a translation or an adaptation of a native Scythian word (*πῖον, δ βούτυρον* καλῶσι, Hipp. 4.20). Hence Lat. *butyrum*, and fr. this OFr. *burre* (> It. *burro*), Fr. *beurre*, OE, ME *butere*, NE *butler*, Du. *boter*, OHG (late) *butera*, MHG *buter*, NHG *butler*.

2. Sp. *mantecca* (also 'fat, lard'), prob. of pre-Roman orig. REW 5324a.

Rum. *unt* (also 'oil'): It. *unto*, OFr. *oint* 'fat', fr. Lat. *unctum* 'ointment', pple. of *ungere* 'smear, anoint'. REW 9057.

3. Ir. *imb*, *imm*, Nir. *im*, W. *ymenyn*, Br. *amann*, OHG *ancho*, MHG *anke*, OPruss. *anclan* : Lat. *unquen* 'fat, oint-

The intensive cultivation of the vine and the use of wine as the customary alcoholic drink had its home in the eastern Mediterranean region, whence it spread over Europe, mainly through the Romans. In ancient India and Iran wine was not one of the common alcoholic drinks. Schrader, Reallex. 2.642 ff.

1. Grk. *οἶνος*, early *φοῖνος*, Lat. *vinum* (prob. fr. *\*uoinom*, like *vīcus*, *vīdī* : Grk. *φοῖκος*, *φοῖδα*; in which case Umbr. *vinu* must be a Lat. loanword), Alb. *venë*, Arm. *gini*, together with the Semitic words, Arab. *wain*, Hebr. *yayin*, all prob. loanwords fr. some prehistoric Mediterranean source. So Meillet, MSL 15.163, Ernout-M. 1111. But even so, the source could be some IE language of that region. For if we assume that the orig. sense was 'vine', it is attractively derived fr. the same root as Lat. *vitis* 'vine' (IE *\*we-* in words for 'twist, wind', see 8.67). Walde-P. 1.226. Schrader, Reallex. 2.643 f.

Lat. *vinum* is the source of all the other Eur. words, except the Greek and Albanian.

2. NG *κρασί*, fr. dim. of Grk. *κράσις* 'mixture', its use arising from the common Greek practice of mixing wine and water. The use of *οἶνος* for the wine of the sacrament may have been a factor in its disappearance from common speech.

3. Skt. *drākṣarasa-* (rare), cpd. of *drākṣā-* 'vine, grape' (5.76) and *rasa-* 'juice'.

Av. *maṣu-* : Skt. *madhu-*, etc. See 5.91.

Av. *xšudra-* 'liquid, semen' also an 'alcoholic drink' ('wine'? So Barth. 155c) : *xšusta-* 'liquid', *xšaodah-* 'stream, flood', Skt. *kṣoda-* 'swell' (of the waves). Walde-P. 1.502.

Among other Indo-Iranian words for alcoholic drinks are: Skt. *soma-*, Av. *haoma-* 'juice of the soma plant' : Skt. *sū-* 'press, extract' (Walde-P. 2.468); Skt. *mada-* 'intoxication' and Av. *maḍa-* 'intoxicating drink' : Skt. *mad-* 'be glad, be drunk', Lat. *madēre*, 'be wet', etc. (Walde-P. 2.230 f.). See also under 'beer' (5.93).

| 5.93 BEER |                            |       |                         |
|-----------|----------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk.      | <i>βύτρος, ζύθος</i>       | Goth. | ...                     |
| NG        | <i>uripa</i> (ζύθος lit.)  | ON    | <i>bjōrr, öl</i>        |
| Lat.      | <i>zythum, cervesia</i>    | Dan.  | <i>øl</i>               |
| It.       | <i>birra</i>               | Sw.   | <i>öl</i>               |
| Fr.       | <i>bière</i>               | OE    | <i>bēor, ealu</i> (alu) |
| Sp.       | <i>cerveza</i>             | ME    | <i>bere, ale</i>        |
| Rum.      | <i>bere</i>                | NE    | <i>beer</i>             |
| Ir.       | <i>cuirm, laith, beoir</i> | Du.   | <i>bier</i>             |
| Nir.      | <i>lionn, beoir</i>        | OHG   | <i>bior</i>             |
| W.        | <i>cuw</i>                 | MHG   | <i>bier</i>             |
| Br.       | <i>bier</i>                | NHG   | <i>bier</i>             |

Beer was a common drink among most of the European peoples, as well as in Egypt and Mesopotamia, but was known to the Greeks and Romans only as an exotic product. Schrader, Reallex. 1.142 ff.

1. Grk. *βύτρος* or *-ov*, first used (Archil.) with reference to Thracian or Phrygian beer and properly a Thracian form : OE *brēowan* 'brew', etc. Walde-P. 2.168.

Grk. *ζύθος* (> Lat. *zythum*), first used

| 5.91 MEAD |                       |       |                   |
|-----------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk.      | <i>μέθυρον</i>        | Goth. | <i>*midus</i>     |
| NG        | <i>μέθυρον</i>        | ON    | <i>mjóðr</i>      |
| Lat.      | <i>hydromeli</i>      | Dan.  | <i>mjød</i>       |
| It.       | <i>idromele</i>       | Sw.   | <i>mjöd</i>       |
| Fr.       | <i>hydromel</i>       | OE    | <i>medu, medo</i> |
| Sp.       | <i>hidromel</i>       | ME    | <i>mede</i>       |
| Rum.      | <i>hidromel, mied</i> | NE    | <i>mead</i>       |
| Ir.       | <i>mid</i>            | Du.   | <i>mee</i>        |
| Nir.      | <i>miodh</i>          | OHG   | <i>metu</i>       |
| W.        | <i>medg</i>           | MHG   | <i>met(e)</i>     |
| Br.       | <i>mez</i>            | NHG   | <i>met</i>        |

Mead was the oldest IE intoxicating drink, made from honey, and remained a common drink among the Celtic, Germanic, and Balto-Slavic peoples, but not among the Greeks and Romans. It is regularly expressed by a word for 'honey' or a derivative of it.

1. IE *\*medhu-* 'honey' and 'mead'. Walde-P. 2.261. Here, only for the drink, Ir. *mid*, etc., all the Celtic words; ON *mjóðr*, OE *medu*, etc., all the Gmc. words (Goth. *\*midus* not quotable, but inferred fr. a Grk. transcription *μέδος*, referring to a drink taking the place of wine at the Hunnish court; cf. NED s.v. *mead*). The Balto-Slavic words are partly the same as for 'honey' (hence also Rum. *mied*), partly derivs., as SCR., Boh. *medovina*; but Lith. *midus* is fr. Goth. *\*midus*, and ChSl. *medŭ* is quotable only as 'honey' or late for 'wine'.

2. Grk. *μελίτειον* (Plut. Mor. 672b of the drink of the barbarians), deriv. of *μέλι* 'honey'.

3. Late Grk. *ὀδρήμελι*, cpd. of *ὄδωρ* 'water' and *μέλι* 'honey', whence Lat. *hydromel*(i), It. *idromele*, Fr. *hydromel* (> Rum. *hidromel*), Sp. *hidromel* (also *aguamel*, with substitution of *agua* 'water'). These words are those employed to denote the 'mead' of other peoples, though also used of an unfermented mixture of honey and water.

| 5.92 WINE |              |       |             |
|-----------|--------------|-------|-------------|
| Grk.      | <i>οἶνος</i> | Goth. | <i>wein</i> |
| NG        | <i>κρασί</i> | ON    | <i>vín</i>  |
| Lat.      | <i>vinum</i> | Dan.  | <i>vín</i>  |
| It.       | <i>vino</i>  | Sw.   | <i>vín</i>  |
| Fr.       | <i>vin</i>   | OE    | <i>win</i>  |
| Sp.       | <i>vino</i>  | ME    | <i>wine</i> |
| Rum.      | <i>vin</i>   | NE    | <i>wine</i> |
| Ir.       | <i>fin</i>   | Du.   | <i>wijn</i> |
| Nir.      | <i>fion</i>  | OHG   | <i>win</i>  |
| W.        | <i>guvin</i> | MHG   | <i>win</i>  |
| Br.       | <i>guvin</i> | NHG   | <i>wein</i> |

of Egyptian beer (which Hdt. 2.77 refers to as *οἶνον ἐκ κριθῶν πεποιημένον*), and quoted as if an Egyptian word (*τὸ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ καλούμενον ζύθος*, Theophr. CP 6.11.2; *κατασκευάζουσι δὲ καὶ ἐκ τῶν κριθῶν Αἰγύπτῳ πόμα . . . , δὲ καλοῦσι ζύθος*, Diod. 1.34), but prob. a genuine Grk. word related to *ζῆω* 'leaven', etc. Walde-H. 1.734. Boisacq 311.

2. Ir. *cuirm*, W. *cuw*, OCorn. *coref*, *coruf*, an old Celtic word represented in late Grk. authors by *κοῦρμ*, *κόρμα*, *κερβήρια*, in Pliny by *cerea* or *cervisia* (> Sp. *cerveza*), perh. : Lat. *cremor* 'thick broth', Skt. *karambha-* 'groats, porridge'. Walde-P. 1.419 f. Pedersen 1.168. Walde-H. 1.207.

Ir. *laith* (Corn. *lad* 'liquid', W. *llaidd* 'mud') : Grk. *λάραξ* 'drop of wine'. Walde-P. 2.381. Walde-H. 1.770.

Nir. *lionn* (*leann*), fr. Ir. *lind* 'a drink' ('wine' or 'beer') : W. *llyn* 'a drink', etc. (5.13). Pedersen 1.37.

3. OE *bēor* (> ON *bjōrr*, Ir., Nir. *beoir*), ME *bere*, NE *beer*, Du. *bier*, OHG *bior*, MHG, NHG *bier* (> It.

| 5.94 BEER |                            |       |                         |
|-----------|----------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk.      | <i>βύτρος, ζύθος</i>       | Goth. | <i>alus, pyvas</i>      |
| NG        | <i>uripa</i> (ζύθος lit.)  | ON    | <i>alus</i>             |
| Lat.      | <i>zythum, cervesia</i>    | ChSl. | <i>pivo, olā</i>        |
| It.       | <i>birra</i>               | Sw.   | <i>pivo</i>             |
| Fr.       | <i>bière</i>               | OE    | <i>bēor, ealu</i> (alu) |
| Sp.       | <i>cerveza</i>             | ME    | <i>bere, ale</i>        |
| Rum.      | <i>bere</i>                | NE    | <i>beer</i>             |
| Ir.       | <i>cuirm, laith, beoir</i> | Du.   | <i>bier</i>             |
| Nir.      | <i>lionn, beoir</i>        | OHG   | <i>bior</i>             |
| W.        | <i>cuw</i>                 | MHG   | <i>bier</i>             |
| Br.       | <i>bier</i>                | NHG   | <i>bier</i>             |

Beer was a common drink among most of the European peoples, as well as in Egypt and Mesopotamia, but was known to the Greeks and Romans only as an exotic product. Schrader, Reallex. 1.142 ff.

1. Grk. *βύτρος* or *-ov*, first used (Archil.) with reference to Thracian or Phrygian beer and properly a Thracian form : OE *brēowan* 'brew', etc. Walde-P. 2.168.

Grk. *ζύθος* (> Lat. *zythum*), first used

| 5.95 MEAD |                       |       |                   |
|-----------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk.      | <i>μέθυρον</i>        | Goth. | <i>*midus</i>     |
| NG        | <i>μέθυρον</i>        | ON    | <i>mjóðr</i>      |
| Lat.      | <i>hydromeli</i>      | Dan.  | <i>mjød</i>       |
| It.       | <i>idromele</i>       | Sw.   | <i>mjöd</i>       |
| Fr.       | <i>hydromel</i>       | OE    | <i>medu, medo</i> |
| Sp.       | <i>hidromel</i>       | ME    | <i>mede</i>       |
| Rum.      | <i>hidromel, mied</i> | NE    | <i>mead</i>       |
| Ir.       | <i>mid</i>            | Du.   | <i>mee</i>        |
| Nir.      | <i>miodh</i>          | OHG   | <i>metu</i>       |
| W.        | <i>medg</i>           | MHG   | <i>met(e)</i>     |
| Br.       | <i>mez</i>            | NHG   | <i>met</i>        |

Skt. *madhu-* was used for any sweet intoxicating drink, especially the soma juice. Av. *maḍu-* was a kind of wine or beer (Barth. 1114. NPers. *mai* 'wine', Horn 1003). Grk. *μέθυ* occurs only as a poetical word for 'wine', but is the source of the common prose words *μέθυς*, *μεθύσκα* 'be drunk, make drunk', whence NG *methusmenos* 'drunk'.

2. Grk. *μελίτειον* (Plut. Mor. 672b of the drink of the barbarians), deriv. of *μέλι* 'honey'.

3. Late Grk. *ὀδρήμελι*, cpd. of *ὄδωρ* 'water' and *μέλι* 'honey', whence Lat. *hydromel*(i), It. *idromele*, Fr. *hydromel* (> Rum. *hidromel*), Sp. *hidromel* (also *aguamel*, with substitution of *agua* 'water'). These words are those employed to denote the 'mead' of other peoples, though also used of an unfermented mixture of honey and water.

| 5.96 WINE |              |       |             |
|-----------|--------------|-------|-------------|
| Grk.      | <i>οἶνος</i> | Goth. | <i>wein</i> |
| NG        | <i>κρασί</i> | ON    | <i>vín</i>  |
| Lat.      | <i>vinum</i> | Dan.  | <i>vín</i>  |
| It.       | <i>vino</i>  | Sw.   | <i>vín</i>  |
| Fr.       | <i>vin</i>   | OE    | <i>win</i>  |
| Sp.       | <i>vino</i>  | ME    | <i>wine</i> |
| Rum.      | <i>vin</i>   | NE    | <i>wine</i> |
| Ir.       | <i>fin</i>   | Du.   | <i>wijn</i> |
| Nir.      | <i>fion</i>  | OHG   | <i>win</i>  |
| W.        | <i>guvin</i> | MHG   | <i>win</i>  |
| Br.       | <i>guvin</i> | NHG   | <i>wein</i> |

5. ON *klæða*, OE *clāpan*, *clāpan* (both rare), ME, NE *clothe*, MHG, NHG *kleiden*, etc., all derivs. of the words for 'cloth' or 'clothes', ON *klæði*, OE *clāp* (6.12). NED s.v. *clothe*.

OE *gewēdian*, OHG *wāten*, MHG *waten*, fr. the words for 'clothes', OE *gewēde*, OHG *wāt*, *giwāti*, MHG *wāt* (6.12).

OE *scrēdan*, ME *schride* fr. OE *scrūd* 'garment, clothing' (6.12). ON *skryðja* less common for 'dress'.

ME *dressen*, NE *dress*, in Chaucer still merely 'prepare, get ready', fr. OFr. *dresser* 'arrange', Lat. *\*drēctiāre*, fr. *directus* 'straight'. NED s.v. REW 2645.

6. Lith. *apređyti*, fr. *ređas* 'order', this fr. WhRuss. *ređ* = Pol. *ređ*, ChSl. *ređŭ* 'order'. Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 125. Skardzius 188.

Lith. *aprengti*, cpd. of *rengti* 'arrange, prepare'.

Lith. *apdaryti*, cpd. of *daryti* 'do, make', which is also used for 'put on, wear' (NSB s.v., 2; Fraenkel IF 52.297).

Lith. *apvilkti*, Lett. *apvilkt*, beside

| 6.12 CLOTHING, CLOTHES |                                      |       |   |
|------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------|---|
| Grk.                   | <i>ἱσθῆς, ἐμαρα, ἱμάτια</i>          | Goth. | <i>was'jōs</i>                            |
| NG                     | <i>ποῦχα, ἐνδύματα, φορέματα</i>     | ON    | <i>klæði, būnigr, fōt</i>                 |
| Lat.                   | <i>vestis, vestitus, vestimentum</i> | Dan.  | <i>klæder</i>                             |
| It.                    | <i>vestiti, abiti</i>                | Sw.   | <i>kläder, klädning</i>                   |
| Fr.                    | <i>vêtements, habits</i>             | OE    | <i>clāpes, gewēde, rēaf, scrād, hragl</i> |
| Sp.                    | <i>vestidos, ropa</i>                | ME    | <i>clothes, ivede</i>                     |
| Rum.                   | <i>îmbrăcimintă, haine</i>           | NE    | <i>clothes, clothing, dress</i>           |
| Ir.                    | <i>dillad, éilach, éitíu</i>         | Du.   | <i>kleedren, kleeding</i>                 |
| Nir.                   | <i>éadach</i>                        | OHG   | <i>wāt, giwāti</i>                        |
| W.                     | <i>dillad, guisg</i>                 | MHG   | <i>kleit, kleidunge, wāt</i>              |
| Br.                    | <i>dillad, guiskamant</i>            | NHG   | <i>kleider, kleidung</i>                  |

The generic 'clothing, clothes' is expressed by collectives, or by plurals the singular of which denotes an article of clothing, a 'garment' (but sometimes also coll.) or in some cases 'cloth'.

Many of the words are derived from the verbs for 'clothe' and several from nouns for 'cloth'.

1. Derivs. of IE *\*wes-* in *ἐννύμη* 'clothe' (6.11).

Most of the verbs listed are used for the trans. 'dress, clothe' (a), with mid., pass., or refl. forms for the intr. 'dress', 'be clothed' (b), e.g. Grk. *ἐννύμη* vs. *ἐννύμα*, Fr. *habiller* vs. *s'habiller*, ChSl. *oděti* vs. *oděti se*. Less commonly the same form is used in both ways, as NE *dress* (e.g. *dresses well*), Goth. *wasjan*, and occasionally others. Again, 'be clothed' may become 'be clothed in, wear', with the garment as direct object, as regularly OE *werian*, NE *wear*, now hardly felt as 'be clothed in' and answering to the use elsewhere of verbs for 'carry', as NHG *kleider tragen*, Fr. *porter des vêtements*, NG *φορᾶ ποῦχα*.

| CHAPTER 6<br>CLOTHING; PERSONAL ADORNMENT AND CARE |                   |      |                      |
|--|-------------------|------|----------------------|
| 6.11   | CLOTHE, DRESS     | 6.47 | APRON                |
| 6.12   | CLOTHING, CLOTHES | 6.48 | TROUSERS             |
| 6.13   | TAILOR            | 6.49 | STOCKING, SOCK       |
| 6.21   | CLOTH             | 6.51 | SHOE                 |
| 6.22   | WOOL              | 6.52 | BOOT                 |
| 6.23   | LINEN; FLAX       | 6.53 | SLIPPER              |
| 6.24   | COTTON            | 6.54 | SHOEMAKER, COBBLER   |
| 6.25   | SILK              | 6.55 | HAT; CAP             |
| 6.26   | LACE              | 6.57 | BELT, GIRDLE         |
| 6.27   | FELT              | 6.58 | GLOVE                |
| 6.28   | FUR               | 6.59 | VEIL                 |
| 6.29   | LEATHER           | 6.61 | POCKET               |
| 6.31   | SPIN              | 6.62 | BUTTON               |
| 6.32   | SPINDLE           | 6.63 | PIN                  |
| 6.33   | WEAVE             | 6.71 | ADORNMENT (Personal) |
| 6.34   | LOOM              | 6.72 | JEWEL                |
| 6.35   | SEW               | 6.73 | RING (For Finger)    |
| 6.36   | NEEDLE            | 6.74 | BRACELET             |
| 6.37   | AWL               | 6.75 | NECKLACE             |
| 6.38   | THREAD            | 6.81 | HANDKERCHIEF         |
| 6.39   | DYE (vb.)         | 6.82 | TOWEL                |
| 6.41   | CLOAK             | 6.83 | NAPKIN               |
| 6.412  | OVERCOAT          | 6.91 | COMB                 |
| 6.42   | WOMAN'S DRESS     | 6.92 | BRUSH                |
| 6.43   | COAT              | 6.93 | RAZOR                |
| 6.44   | SHIRT             | 6.94 | TOILET               |
| 6.45   | COLLAR            | 6.95 | SOAP                 |
| 6.46   | SKIRT             | 6.96 | MIRROR               |

| 6.11 CLOTHE, DRESS |                             |       |                          |
|--------------------|-----------------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| Grk.               | <i>ἐννύμη, ἐνδύμα</i>       | Goth. | <i>wasjan</i>            |
| NG                 | <i>ἐνδύμα, ῥήνω</i>         | ON    | <i>klæða</i>             |
| Lat.               | <i>vestire, induere</i>     | Dan.  | <i>klæde</i>             |
| It.                | <i>vestire</i>              | Sw.   | <i>kläda</i>             |
| Fr.                | <i>habiller, (re)vestir</i> | OE    | <i>scrēdan, gewēdian</i> |
| Sp.                | <i>vestir</i>               | ME    | <i>clothe, dresse</i>    |
| Rum.               | <i>îmbrăci</i>              | NE    | <i>dress, clothe</i>     |
| Ir.                | <i>éitím, intuigir</i>      | Du.   | <i>kleeden</i>           |
| Nir.               | <i>cōirighim, éaduighim</i> | OHG   | <i>werien, waten</i>     |
| W.                 | <i>guisgo, dilladu</i>      | MHG   | <i>waten, kleiden</i>    |
| Br.                | <i>guiska</i>               | NHG   | <i>kleiden</i>           |

6.11 *wasjan*, OE *clāpan*, *clāpan* (both rare), ME, NE *clothe*, MHG, NHG *kleiden*, etc., all derivs. of the words for 'cloth' or 'clothes', ON *klæði*, OE *clāp* (6.12). NED s.v. *clothe*.

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6. Lith. *apređyti*, fr. *ređas* 'order', this fr. WhRuss. *ređ* = Pol. *ređ*, ChSl. *ređŭ* 'order'. Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 125. Skardzius 188.

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Lith. *apvilkti*, Lett. *apvilkt*, beside

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| NG                     | <i>ποῦχα, ἐνδύματα, φορέματα</i>     | ON    | <i>klæði, būnigr, fōt</i>                 |
| Lat.                   | <i>vestis, vestitus, vestimentum</i> | Dan.  | <i>klæder</i>                             |
| It.                    | <i>vestiti, abiti</i>                | Sw.   | <i>kläder, klädning</i>                   |
| Fr.                    | <i>vêtements, habits</i>             | OE    | <i>clāpes, gewēde, rēaf, scrād, hragl</i> |
| Sp.                    | <i>vestidos, ropa</i>                | ME    | <i>clothes, ivede</i>                     |
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| Ir.                    | <i>dillad, éilach, éitíu</i>         | Du.   | <i>kleedren, kleeding</i>                 |
| Nir.                   | <i>éadach</i>                        | OHG   | <i>wāt, giwāti</i>                        |
| W.                     | <i>dillad, guisg</i>                 | MHG   | <i>kleit, kleidunge, wāt</i>              |
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The generic 'clothing, clothes' is expressed by collectives, or by plurals the singular of which denotes an article of clothing, a 'garment' (but sometimes also coll.) or in some cases 'cloth'.

Many of the words are derived from the verbs for 'clothe' and several from nouns for 'cloth'.

1. Derivs. of IE *\*wes-* in *ἐννύμη* 'clothe' (6.11).

word for 'clothe'), OE *werian* (but reg. 'be clothed in, wear'), OHG

etc. Walde-P. 2.586. NED s.v. *shroud*, sb.1.

NE *dress*, fr. vb. *dress* (6.11).

ME *garment*, NE *garment* 'an article of clothing', pl. 'clothes' (now rather rhetorical, but *garment-makers' union*), fr. OFr. *garment* 'equipment', deriv. of *garnir* 'furnish, equip'.

6. Lith. *drabužis* 'garment', sg. coll. or pl. 'clothes', Lett. *drēbe* 'cloth, garment', pl. 'clothes': Lith. *drobė* 'linen cloth', Boh. *z-draby* 'rags, tatters', prob. fr. an extension of IE \**der-*, in ChSl. *drati*, OE *teran*, etc. 'tear' (9.28), with development fr. 'rag' to 'cloth', then 'garment'. Mühl.-Endz. 1.497. Buga, Kalba ir Senovė 228. Berneker 219.

Lith. *drapanos* (pl.; sg. rare) 'clothes': Skt. *drāpi-* 'cloak, mantle', Av. *drašā-* 'banner', ChSl. *drapali* 'scratch, tear', fr. an extension of IE \**der-* in words for 'tear'. Here also perh. late Lat. *drappus* (Fr. *drap*) 'cloth'. Walde-P. 1.802. Berneker 220. Walde-H. 1.373. REW 2765.

Lith. *rubai* (pl.) 'clothes' (formerly the usual word), fr. WhRuss. *rub* = ChSl. *rubā* 'cloth' (6.21). Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter, 128.

Lith. *apredas*, *apredalas* (sg. as coll.) 'clothing', fr. *apredyti* 'clothe' (6.11).

Lett. *apgērbs* (sg. as coll.) 'clothing, costume', fr. *apgērbt* 'clothe' (6.11). Also Lith. *abgerbas* 'a suit of clothing'.

7. ChSl. *odežda* (*odēja*, *odēnija*), *odčja*, *odjelo*, Boh. *oděv*, Pol. *odzież*, *odzienie*, Russ. *odežda* (coll.), fr. ChSl. *oděti*, *odějati*, etc. 'clothe' (6.11).

ChSl. *riza*, translating *ἐνδυμα, ἱμάτιον*, *ἱερός, χιτὼν*, and *δένειον* 'linen cloth' (Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 392): Russ. *riza* 'chasuble', Bulg. *riza* 'shirt', Boh. *riza* 'a long garment', Lith. *ryzai* 'rags' (borrowed), otherwise obscure. Miklosich 279.

SCR. *ruho*, Boh. *roucho*, Pol. *rucho* 'garment, clothing' (OPruss. *rūkai* 'clothes' fr. Pol.), Bulg. *roucha* 'clothes', late ChSl. *rucho* 'load, cloth, spoils', as orig. 'spoils', fr. the root in ChSl. *rušiti* 'wreck, destroy', Lith. *rausti* 'root up', etc., IE \**reu-s-*, extension of \**reu-* Walde-P. 2.356. Brückner 467. Hence NG *roūxa* 'clothes', Rum. *ruḡă*, 'soiled clothes'.

SCR. *haljina* 'garment', pl. 'clothes': *halja* 'dress, coat', Bulg. *halina* 'long upper garment', fr. Turk. *halı* 'carpet, rug'. Berneker 383.

Boh. *šat*, Pol. *szata* 'garment', pl. 'clothes' (now more common in Boh. than in Pol.) orig.? Brückner 542.

Boh. *oblek* 'garment, suit of clothes', fr. *oblěkati* 'clothe' (6.11).

Pol. *suknia* 'garment', pl. 'clothes', fr. *sukno* 'cloth' (6.21).

Russ. *plat'e* (also esp. woman's dress) = ChSl. *platū* 'cloth' (6.21).

8. Skt. *vasana-*, Av. *vashana-*, Skt., Av. *vastra-*, above, 1.

Skt. *cela-* 'garment, clothes', fr. *cil-* (rare) 'put on clothes', etym. dub., perh.: Lith. *kailis* 'hide, pelt'. Uhlenbeck 93.

## 6.13 TAILOR

|      |                                     |       |                          |       |                              |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| Grk. | * <i>ματαιουργός, βάπτης</i> (late) | Goth. | ....                     | Lith. | <i>siuėjās</i>               |
| NG   | <i>πάφτης</i>                       | ON    | <i>skráddari</i>         | Let.  | <i>drēbnieks, skruoderis</i> |
| Lat. | <i>vestitor, sartor</i>             | Dan.  | <i>skrádder</i>          | ChSl. | ....                         |
| It.  | <i>sarto</i>                        | Sw.   | <i>skráddare</i>         | Boh.  | <i>krojač, šnajder</i>       |
| Fr.  | <i>sarteur</i>                      | OE    | <i>seamere</i>           | Pol.  | <i>krawiec</i>               |
| Sp.  | <i>sastre</i>                       | ME    | <i>tailleur</i>          | Russ. | <i>portnoj</i>               |
| Rum. | <i>croitor</i>                      | NE    | <i>tailor</i>            | Skt.  | <i>sūcika-, sāucika-</i>     |
| Ir.  | ....                                | Du.   | <i>kleermaker</i>        | Av.   | ....                         |
| Nir. | <i>tailiār</i>                      | OHG   | <i>scrōtari</i>          |       |                              |
| W.   | <i>teiliur</i>                      | MHG   | <i>scrōtäre, snidäre</i> |       |                              |
| Br.  | <i>kemener</i>                      | NHG   | <i>schneider</i>         |       |                              |

Words for 'tailor', as a general term for one who makes clothes, are partly derivatives or compounds of words for 'clothes' or 'cloth', but mostly words that originally were used more specifically of the 'cutter', 'sewer', or 'mender'.

1. Grk. \**ματαιουργός*, lit. 'clothes-maker', not directly attested, but cf. *ματαιουργική* (sc. *τέχνη*) the 'tailor's art'.

Late Grk. (5th cent. A.D.+) *βάπτης*, NG *πάφτης*, fr. *βάπτω* 'sew' (6.35).

2. Late Lat. *vestitor*, fr. *vestire* 'clothe', *vestis* 'garment' (6.11).

Late Lat. *sartor*, (> It. *sarto*, Sp. *sastre*), fr. *sarcire* 'mend': Grk. *ἔρκος* 'inclosure'. Walde-P. 2.502. Ernout-M. 895. REW 7614.

Fr. *tailleur*, OFr. *tailleur* (> ME *tailleur*, NE *tailor*), fr. *tailler* 'cut' (9.22). Through the English also Nir. *tailiūr*, W. *teiliur*. The latter was divided by pop. etym. *teili-ur*, as if from *gur* 'man' (older pl. *teili-wyr*, cf. *gwyr* 'men').

Rum. *croitor*, fr. *croi* 'cut out', esp. 'cut out a garment', fr. Slavic (below, 6).

3. Br. *kemener*, i.e. *kem-ben-er*, lit. 'one who cuts and puts together': MBr. *quemenas* (pret.) 'cut', cpd. of \**kom-* (= Lat. *con-*) and *benā* 'cut, hew': Ir. *benim* 'strike' (9.21). Pedersen 2.463. Henry 60.

4. ON *skráddari*, Dan. *skrádder*, Sw.

*skráddare*, fr. MLG *schräder*, orig. 'cutter', fr. *schraden* 'cut'. Falk-Torp 1033.

OHG *scrōtari*, MHG *scrōtäre*, orig. 'cutter', fr. OHG *scrōtan* 'cut', a parallel form to MLG *schraden* (above), both fr. extensions of \**sker-* in OE *secan* 'cut', etc. (9.22). Walde-P. 2.586. Falk-Torp 1033.

OE *seamere*, fr. *seam*, NE *seam*: ON *sauma* 'sew' (6.35).

Du. *kleermaker*, for *kleeder-maker* 'clothes-maker'.

MHG *snidäre*, NHG *schneider* (in MHG also 'mercator, plowman'), orig. 'cutter', fr. OHG *snidan* 'cut' (9.22).

5. Lith. *siuėjās*; Lith. *siūti* 'sew' (6.35).

Lett. *drēbnieks*, fr. *drēbe* 'cloth, garment' (6.12).

Lett. *skruoderis*, fr. MLG *schräder* (above, 4). Mühl.-Endz. 3.900.

6. SCR. *krojač*, Boh. *krejčti*, Pol. *krawiec*: ChSl. *krojiti*, etc. 'cut' (9.22). Berneker 620.

SCR. *šnajder*, fr. NHG *schneider* (above, 4).

Russ. *portnoj*: *porty* 'clothes' (obs.), *portki* 'drawers', ChSl. *prūtū* 'piece of cloth', Pol. *part* 'coarse hempen cloth', etc., root connection? Miklosich 243. Brückner 397.

7. Skt. *sūcika-*, *sāucika-*, lit. 'needle-worker', fr. *sūci-* 'needle' (6.36).

## 6.22 WOOL

|      |               |       |                    |       |                |
|------|---------------|-------|--------------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | <i>ἴριον</i>  | Goth. | <i>uulla</i>       | Lith. | <i>vėlnos</i>  |
| NG   | <i>uallā</i>  | ON    | <i>uulla</i>       | Let.  | <i>vėlna</i>   |
| Lat. | <i>lana</i>   | Dan.  | <i>uld</i>         | ChSl. | <i>vėlna</i>   |
| It.  | <i>lana</i>   | Sw.   | <i>uld</i>         | SCR.  | <i>vėlna</i>   |
| Fr.  | <i>laine</i>  | OE    | <i>uull, wulle</i> | Boh.  | <i>vėlna</i>   |
| Sp.  | <i>lana</i>   | ME    | <i>wolle</i>       | Pol.  | <i>vėlna</i>   |
| Rum. | <i>lână</i>   | NE    | <i>wool</i>        | Russ. | <i>šerst'</i>  |
| Ir.  | <i>olann</i>  | Du.   | <i>wool</i>        | Skt.  | <i>ūrpā-</i>   |
| Nir. | <i>olann</i>  | OHG   | <i>wolla</i>       | Av.   | <i>varənd-</i> |
| W.   | <i>gulann</i> | MHG   | <i>wolle</i>       |       |                |
| Br.  | <i>gloan</i>  | NHG   | <i>wolle</i>       |       |                |

1. IE \**uīnā-*, \**uēnā-*, etc. fr. \**uel-* in words for 'hair, wool, grass, etc.', prob. the same as in Lat. *vellere*, etc. 'tear, pluck'. Walde-P. 1.296 f. Ernout-M. 521, 1081. Walde-H. 1.756 f. Feist 476 f.

Late *lāna* (> Romance words); Ir. *olann*, W. *gulann*, Br. *gloan*; Goth. *uulla*, ON *uld*, OE *wull, wulle*, etc., general Gmc.; Lith. *vėlnos* (pl. coll.), Lett. *vėlna*; ChSl. *vėlna*, etc. general Slavic (but Russ. *vėlna* old or dial.); Skt. *ūrpā-*, Av. *varənd-*; cf. Grk. (rare) *lānos*, Dor. *lānos* 'fillet, fleece', Lat. *vellum* 'fleece', Grk. *ōlos* 'woolly'.

2. Att. *ἔριον*, Ion. *εἶρος, εἶριον*, fr.

IE \**wer-*, in *ἀρήν* 'lamb', Lat. *verrex* 'wether', Skt. *urā-* 'sheep', all wool-bearing animals, perh. the same as IE \**wer-* 'cover', in Skt. *vr-* 'protect, cover', etc. Walde-P. 1.269 f.

3. NG *uallā*, fr. Grk. *μαλλός* 'tuft of hair': Lith. *vilas* 'cloth' (6.21).

4. Late ChSl., obs. SCR., Russ. *jarina*: Grk. *ἱριός* 'kid', Lat. *ariēs* 'ram', Lith. *ėras* 'lamb'. Walde-P. 1.135. Berneker 447.

5. Russ. *šerst'*: ChSl. *srūstī*, Pol. *sier(ś)ć*, Boh. *srst'* 'animal hair', Lith. *šėrys* 'bristle', OHG *hrusti* 'crest', etc. Walde-P. 1.427. Brückner 490.

## 6.23 LINEN; FLAX

|      |                       |       |  |       |                               |
|------|-----------------------|-------|--|-------|-------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>λίον</i>           | Goth. | <i>lein</i>                            | Lith. | <i>auklelas, drobė; linai</i> |
| NG   | <i>λίον</i>           | ON    | <i>lin, lēprei, hörr</i>               | Let.  | <i>auklels; līni</i>          |
| Lat. | <i>linum, linteum</i> | Dan.  | <i>lærred, linned; hør</i>             | ChSl. | <i>plătino; līnā</i>          |
| It.  | <i>lino</i>           | Sw.   | <i>larft, linne; līn</i>               | SCR.  | <i>plătino; bez; lan</i>      |
| Fr.  | <i>lin</i>            | OE    | <i>linen; lin, fleaz</i>               | Boh.  | <i>plătino; len</i>           |
| Sp.  | <i>lienzo, lino</i>   | ME    | <i>linen; lin, flez</i>                | Pol.  | <i>plătino; len</i>           |
| Rum. | <i>lină</i>           | NE    | <i>linen; flaz</i>                     | Russ. | <i>polotno; chelot; len</i>   |
| Ir.  | <i>lin</i>            | Du.   | <i>linnen, lijnwaad; vlas</i>          | Skt.  | <i>kṣāuma-; kṣumā-</i>        |
| Nir. | <i>lin</i>            | OHG   | <i>linin; lin, flahs, haru</i>         |       |                               |
| W.   | <i>lin</i>            | MHG   | <i>linnen, linwāt; lin, flahs, har</i> |       |                               |
| Br.  | <i>lin</i>            | NHG   | <i>leinen, leinwand; flachs, lein</i>  |       |                               |

Linen, considered here as a material for clothing parallel to wool, cotton, etc., was originally denoted by the same word as that for the raw material, flax. But 'linen' and 'flax' are now generally differentiated, partly by parallel forms

of the old word, including the use of derivative adjectives, compounds, or phrases for 'linen', and partly by the restriction of the old word to one sense and the substitution of different words for the other. The situation is shown in

## 6.21 CLOTH

|      |                              |       |                          |       |                            |
|------|------------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>ὑφασμα, βάκος</i>         | Goth. | <i>fana</i>              | Lith. | <i>milas, gelumbė</i>      |
| NG   | <i>ὑφασμα, πavi</i>          | ON    | <i>klēdi, vāð, dūkr</i>  | Let.  | <i>vadmala, drēbe</i>      |
| Lat. | <i>textum, textile</i>       | Dan.  | <i>klæde, tøj</i>        | ChSl. | <i>plătū, sukno, rqbū</i>  |
| It.  | <i>panno, stoffa, tela</i>   | Sw.   | <i>klæde, tyg</i>        | SCR.  | <i>sukno, čoha, latak</i>  |
| Fr.  | <i>étoffe, tissu, drap</i>   | OE    | <i>clāþ, clēþ</i>        | Boh.  | <i>sukno, látka</i>        |
| Sp.  | <i>paño, tela</i>            | ME    | <i>cloth</i>             | Pol.  | <i>sukno, plat, chusta</i> |
| Rum. | <i>stofă, postav, pânură</i> | NE    | <i>cloth</i>             | Russ. | <i>sukno, plat, chusta</i> |
| Ir.  | <i>bréit</i>                 | Du.   | <i>laken</i>             | Skt.  | <i>vasana-, vastra-</i>    |
| Nir. | <i>ēadach, bréid</i>         | OHG   | <i>fane, tuoh</i>        | Av.   | <i>ubdaēna-</i>            |
| W.   | <i>brethyn</i>               | MHG   | <i>tuoch, lachen</i>     |       |                            |
| Br.  | <i>mezer</i>                 | NHG   | <i>tuch, zeug, stoff</i> |       |                            |

'Cloth' is considered here primarily as the generic term for fabrics like wool, cotton, linen, etc., but also as a piece of such fabric, 'a cloth', some of the words being used mainly or only in the latter sense.

Several of the words for 'cloth' reflect the process of 'weaving', 'spinning', and in one important group (NE *cloth*, etc.) probably 'felting'. Some result from specialization of words for 'material' or 'equipment'. A 'piece of cloth' may be something 'torn off, cut off' or the like.

Some of the words listed are less generic than NE *cloth*, with differentiation between woolen and linen or cotton cloth.

1. Grk. *ὑφασμα*: *ὑφάσιν* 'weave' (6.33).

Grk. *βάκος* (in Hom. 'ragged garment', pl. 'rags', then 'piece of cloth' as in NT), Aeol. *βράκος* 'garment': *βράκος* 'tear in strips', Skt. *vrkṇa-* 'torn', ChSl. *vraska* 'fold, wrinkle', etc. Walde-P. 1.286 f. Boissacq 833.

NG *πavi*, fr. Lat. *pannus* (below, 2).

2. Lat. *textum, textile* fr. *texere* 'weave' (6.33), whence also (\**tex-lā-*) *tēla* (also 'warp, loom') > It., Sp., *tela*, Fr. *toile*, and Fr. *tisser* whence sb. *tissu*. Ernout-M. 1038. REW 8620.

Lat. *pannus* ('piece of cloth', esp. 'rag'), Goth. *fana* (reg. for *basos*), OHG *fano* (NHG *fahne* like OE *fana*, ON *fani* specialized to 'banner'): Grk. *πῆν* 'thread on the bobbin, wool', pl. 'web',

*πῆνος ὑφασμα* (Hesych.). Walde-P. 2.5. Ernout-M. 729. Feist 142.

Hence It. *panno*, Sp. *paño*, NG *πavi*; Rum. *pânură* fr. the dim. Lat. \**pannula* (*pannulus* attested). REW 6204, 6203.

It. *stoffa*, Fr. *éttoffe* (Sp. *estofa*), Rum. *stofă*, fr. the Gmc. word seen in NHG *stoff*, this fr. Lat. *stoppa* 'coarse linen, tow', fr. Grk. *στῆπιη* (perh.: Skt. *stupa-* 'tuft of hair', Walde-P. 2.620). This is preferable to the usual deriv. of Gmc. fr. Romance, though the ins and outs of borrowing are complicated. REW 8332.

Fr. *drap* (It. *drappo* 'silk cloth', Sp. *trapo* 'rag, sail'), fr. late Lat. *drappus* 'cloth', perh. a Gallic word: Lith. *drapanos* 'clothes', etc. (6.12). REW 2765. Wartburg 3.156.

Rum. *postav* (esp. 'woolen cloth'), fr. Slavic, cf. ChSl. *postavū* 'loom, products of the loom', Bulg. *postavū* 'lining', etc. (6.34).

3. Ir. *bréit* (Nir. *bréid*), W. *brethyn*: Ir. *brat* 'cloak', Br. *broz* 'skirt', perh. Grk. *φάρος* 'cloak'. G. S. Lane, Language 7.279 f.

Nir. *ēadach* 'clothing' (6.12), also Nir. 'cloth'.

Br. *mezer*, fr. \**māderia*, Lat. *materia* 'material'. Loth, Mots lat. 187.

4. OE *clāþ* (> ME. NE *cloth*), rarely *clēþ* (> ON *klæði*, Dan. *klæde*, Sw. *fana*), more widespread in the secondarily sense 'garment', pl. 'clothes' (6.12):

OE *at-clīþende* 'sticking to', *clīþa* 'plaster', etc., fr. IE \**glei-*, extension of \**glei-*, in Grk. *γλία*, Lat. *glūs* 'glue', OE *clæg*, MLG *klei* 'clay', etc. As a name for 'cloth' it apparently referred orig. to the early process of felting. Walde-P. 1.620. Falk-Torp 540. NED s.v. *cloth*.

ON *vāð*: OE *gewāde*, OHG *giwātī* 'clothes' (6.12), IE \**wedh-*, extension of \**au-* 'weave' (6.33). Falk-Torp 1340 f.

ON *dūkr* (Dan. *dug*, Sw. *duk* now mostly 'tablecloth') fr. MLG *dōk, dūk* (Du. *doek*) = OHG *tuoh*, MHG *tuoch*, NHG *tuch*, etym.? Falk-Torp 164.

Dan. *tøj*, Sw. *tyg* (also 'gear, tackle', late ON *týgi* 'equipment, implement'), apparently borrowed fr. MLG *tūch* 'implement, armor, article of clothing': NHG *zeug* (OHG *gi-ziuc* 'equipment', etc.), MLG *tügen* 'make', MHG *ziugen* 'prepare, produce'. The transfer from 'equipment' to 'clothes, cloth' was through the application in warfare to 'armor'. Falk-Torp 1314 f. Weigand-H. 2.1320 f.

Du. *laken* (> ME *lake* 'fine linen'), OS *lacan* = MHG *lachen* (OHG *lahhan* usually 'a cover of cloth'): MLG *lak*, Lat. *laxus*, Ir. *lace* 'loose', hence orig. 'something pliant' or 'loose hanging'(?). Walde-P. 2.712 f. Falk-Torp 619. Franck-v. W. 368.

5. Lith. *milas*, Lett. *mila* (both usually 'woolen homespun'; OPruss. *milan* 'gawant') perh.: Grk. *μαλλός* 'tuft of hair'. Walde-P. 2.294.

Lith. *gelumbė*, orig. 'blue cloth' now esp. 'manufactured cloth': ChSl. *golq-bijū*, Russ. *golubij*, OPruss. *golimban* 'blue' (15.67).

Lett. *vadmala*, of Scand. orig., cf. Icel. *vadmál*, Sw. *vadmal* 'homespun', ON *vāð-mál*, lit. 'a measure of cloth', a unit of legal tender at fairly late date in the north. The orthography indicates a

direct borrowing rather than through LG *vādmāl, vādmāl, vādman*, etc. as Mühl.-Endz. 4.430.

Lett. *drēbe*, in pl. 'clothes', see 6.12.

Lett. *drāna*, prob. fr. \**der-* in *dirāt* 'tear' (cf. Lith. *drabužis* 'clothes', etc., 6.12). Mühl.-Endz. 1.494.

6. ChSl. *sukno* (Supr. with or without *plāsno* fr. *τρίκων* *πάκος* 'hair-cloth'), etc., general Slavic for 'cloth', orig. 'what is spun': ChSl. *sukati*, Boh. *soukatī*, etc. 'turn, wind' and (like Lith. *sukti*) used also for 'spin' (as 'spin' often fr. 'turn', 6.31). Walde-P. 2.470. Miklosich 333. Brückner 525.

ChSl. *plătū* (reg. for *basos* in Gospels, etc.), Pol. *plăt* 'piece of cloth, rag', Russ. *plătok* 'handkerchief', *plăt'e* 'dress', prob.: Lith. *plătus</*

## 6.26 LACE

|      |                        |      |                   |       |                      |
|------|------------------------|------|-------------------|-------|----------------------|
| NG   | <i>δαντίλλα</i>        | Dan. | <i>kniplinger</i> | Lith. | <i>karbatkos</i>     |
| It.  | <i>trina, merletto</i> | Sw.  | <i>spets</i>      | Lett. | <i>spice</i>         |
| Fr.  | <i>dentelle</i>        | NE   | <i>lace</i>       | ChSl. | <i>čipka</i>         |
| Sp.  | <i>encaje</i>          | Du.  | <i>kant</i>       | Boh.  | <i>krajky, čipky</i> |
| Rum. | <i>dantelă</i>         | NHG  | <i>spitzen</i>    | Pol.  | <i>koronki</i>       |
| Nlr. | <i>lāsa</i>            |      |                   | Russ. | <i>kruževno</i>      |
| W.   | <i>ysnoden</i>         |      |                   |       |                      |
| Br.  | <i>dantielez</i>       |      |                   |       |                      |

Lace as a well-known fabric dates from the 16th century A.D. (incipiently somewhat earlier; cf. Encycl. Brit. s.v. *lace*) so that words for 'lace' are confined to the modern languages.

They are mostly based on words for 'point, edge, tooth, peg, notch', with obvious relation to the appearance of the fabric. A few are from words for 'cord, thread' or 'bobbin', or verbs for 'fit' or 'turn around'.

1. It. *trina*, fr. Lat. *trinus* 'triple', presumably first applied to lace with groups of three points. REW 8910.

It. *merletto*, dim. of *merli* 'pinnacles, battlements' of a wall, this prob. (like a row of blackbirds perched on a wall) pl. of *merlo* 'blackbird'. Hornung, Z. rom. Ph. 21, 456. REW 5534a.

Fr. *dentelle*, dim. of *dent* 'tooth'. Hence Rum. *dantelă*, NG *δαντίλλα*, Br. *dantielez*.

Sp. *encaje*, fr. *encajar* 'fit, join' (in woodwork), cpd. of *caja* 'sheath, case', Lat. *capsa* 'repository, box'. A semantic parallel is seen in NE *insertion*, usually used of lace set in the body of a garment in contrast to that put on the borders.

2. W. *ysnoden* 'band, lace' and 'lace' as fabric (like NE *lace*): Ir. *snáth*, Br. *neud* 'thread', W. *nyddu* 'spin' (6.31).

3. Dan. *kniplinger* (pl.), fr. *kniple* 'make lace', fr. MLG *knuppeln* (with dissim.) = NHG *klöppeln*: LG *knuppel*, NHG *klöppel* 'bobbin'. Falk-Torp, 549.

NE *lace* (> Nlr. *lāsa*) same word as *lace* in *shoelace*, etc. (fr. OFr. *las*, *laz*, Lat. *laqueus* 'noose'), which came to be used esp. for ornamental braid (cf. *gold lace*) and (first through the similar function of lace ruffles?) 'lace' as the fabric in general. NED s.v.

Du. *kant*, lit. 'edge', fr. OFr. *cant* 'corner'. Franck-v. W. 291.

NHG *spitzen* (> Sw. *spets*), pl. of *spitze* 'point' (12.352).

4. Lith. *karbatkos* (pl., NSB; *karbat-kai* Lalis), fr. *karbas* 'notch, dent', *karbuoti* 'notch, indent', fr. Pol. *karb* 'notch', *karbować* 'notch, indent', fr. NHG *kerbe*, *kerben* id. Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 90.

Lett. *spice*, fr. LG or NHG *spitze*.

Lett. *knipele* (Dravneek; not in Mühl-Endz.), fr. MLG *knuppeln* 'make lace' (above, 3).

5. SCR. *čipka*, Boh. *čipky* (pl.), fr. dim. of SCR., Boh. *čep* 'peg' (cf. Boh. *čipek* 'little peg'). Boh. *krajky* (pl.), dim. of *kraj*, ChSl. *krajč* 'edge' (12.353). Cf. NE *edging* sometimes 'lace' (NED s.v. 4).

Pol. *koronka* or pl. *koronki*, dim. of *korona* (fr. Lat. *corōna*) 'crown' with development through 'coronet, chaplet, rosary', etc. Brückner 257.

Russ. *kruževno* (cf. ChSl. *kraživo* 'suturæ genus': Russ. *krug*, ChSl. *kragŭ* 'circle' (12.82), Russ. *kružiti* 'turn around'. Miklosich 142. Berneker 626 (without *kruževno*).

## 6.27 FELT (sb.)

|      |                       |      |                    |       |                     |
|------|-----------------------|------|--------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | <i>πῶος</i>           | ON   | <i>þöfi, flöki</i> | Lith. | <i>tuba</i>         |
| NG   | <i>seeris</i>         | Dan. | <i>felt</i>        | Lett. | <i>tuba</i>         |
| Lat. | <i>coacta</i>         | Sw.  | <i>fil</i>         | ChSl. | <i>pliat</i>        |
| It.  | <i>feltro</i>         | OE   | <i>felt</i>        | SCR.  | <i>pust</i>         |
| Fr.  | <i>feutre</i>         | ME   | <i>felt</i>        | Boh.  | <i>plst</i>         |
| Sp.  | <i>fieltro</i>        | NE   | <i>felt</i>        | Pol.  | <i>pilsń, pilsń</i> |
| Rum. | <i>pisla</i>          | Du.  | <i>vilt</i>        | Russ. | <i>vojlok</i>       |
| Nlr. | <i>feilt, beabhar</i> | OHG  | <i>filz</i>        |       |                     |
| W.   | <i>llawban</i>        | MHG  | <i>viltz</i>       |       |                     |
| Br.  | <i>feltr</i>          | NHG  | <i>filz</i>        |       |                     |

Words for 'felt', made of pressed hair or wool, are mostly from words denoting the process of manufacture as 'press', 'pound', etc.

1. IE *\*pil-so-*: Lat. *pilus* 'hair'. Walde-P. 2.71.

Grk. *πῶος*, also 'anything made of felt, cap, shoe, etc.' (NG 'hat'), Lat. *pilleus* 'felt hat, cap', prob. also ChSl. *pliatŭ* (on the formation cf. J. Schmidt, KZ 32, 387 f.), SCR. *pust*, Boh. *plst*, Pol. *pilsń, pilsń*. Hence Rum. *pisla* (through *\*pilsta*, cf. Tiktin, s.v.). But the Slavic forms may also be combined with the following group.

W. *llawban*, back-formation to vb. *llawbannu* 'felt', lit. 'full by hand', cpd. of *llaw* 'hand' and *pannu* 'full (cloth)'.

6. ON *þöfi*: *þafa* 'press', cf. *þaf* 'crowd, throng': Skt. *vi-*, *sam-tap-* 'press'. Hence, or at least fr. some Gmc. form of this group, Lith., Lett. *tuba*, OPruss. *tubo*. Falk-Torp 1250. Mühl-Endz. 4.277.

ON *flöki* (the usual word in Nlrel.): OE *flocan* 'clap', Goth. *flōkan* 'lament', i.e. 'beat the breast', Lat. *plangere* 'beat, lament'. Walde-P. 2.92. Falk-Torp 239.

7. Russ. *vojlok*, cf. Pol. *wojlok* 'felt saddle-blanket', fr. Tartar *qilik* 'covering'. Brückner 629.

## 6.29 LEATHER

|      |                       |       |                           |       |                   |
|------|-----------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk. | <i>σῦρος</i>          | Goth. | <i>(skauda, filleins)</i> | Lith. | <i>skūra</i>      |
| NG   | <i>seeris, tomapa</i> | ON    | <i>leðr</i>               | Lett. | <i>āda</i>        |
| Lat. | <i>corium</i>         | Dan.  | <i>læder</i>              | ChSl. | <i>koža, azno</i> |
| It.  | <i>cuoio</i>          | Sw.   | <i>läder</i>              | Boh.  | <i>kůže</i>       |
| Fr.  | <i>cuir</i>           | OE    | <i>leþer</i>              | Pol.  | <i>skóra</i>      |
| Sp.  | <i>cuero</i>          | ME    | <i>lether</i>             | Russ. | <i>koža</i>       |
| Rum. | <i>piele</i>          | NE    | <i>leather</i>            | Skt.  | <i>carman-</i>    |
| Ir.  | <i>lethar</i>         | Du.   | <i>leder</i>              | Av.   | <i>čarman-</i>    |
| Nlr. | <i>leathar</i>        | OHG   | <i>leder</i>              |       |                   |
| W.   | <i>lleðr</i>          | MHG   | <i>leder</i>              |       |                   |
| Br.  | <i>ler</i>            | NHG   | <i>leder</i>              |       |                   |

Words for 'leather' originate mostly in words for 'hide, skin', etc. Some, many of them loanwords, show specialization from 'piece', 'cut', etc.

1. Grk. *σῦρος*, orig. 'hide' (: OE *hyd*, etc., 4.12), but usually 'leather'. Cf. *σκυτοτόμος* 'leather-cutter' (Hom.), 'shoemaker', etc.

Grk. *δέρμα* 'skin, hide' (4.12) rarely used for 'leather', but often adj. *δερμάτινος* 'made of leather'.

NG *seeris*, fr. It. *pezza* 'piece of cloth, piece' = Fr. *pièce*, NE *piece*, fr. a Gallic *\*pettia*: Br. *pez* 'piece', W. *peth*

4. Lat. *coacta* ('felt' in Caesar BC 3.41; cf. also Plin. NH 8.73 *lanæ et per se coactæ vestem faciunt*), fr. pp. of *cōgere* 'compress'. Hence also late Lat. adj. *coactilis* 'made of felt' (Edict. Diocl.), sb. *coactile* 'felt', *coactiliarius* 'felt-maker'.

5. Nlr. *beabhar* 'beaver, beaver hat' and 'felt' (Dinneen) fr. NE *beaver*, used also of a sort of felted cloth in 18th cent. (cf. NED s.v. 4).

W. *llawban*, back-formation to vb. *llawbannu* 'felt', lit. 'full by hand', cpd. of *llaw* 'hand' and *pannu* 'full (cloth)'.

6. ON *þöfi*: *þafa* 'press', cf. *þaf* 'crowd, throng': Skt. *vi-*, *sam-tap-* 'press'. Hence, or at least fr. some Gmc. form of this group, Lith., Lett. *tuba*, OPruss. *tubo*. Falk-Torp 1250. Mühl-Endz. 4.277.

ON *flöki* (the usual word in Nlrel.): OE *flocan* 'clap', Goth. *flōkan* 'lament', i.e. 'beat the breast', Lat. *plangere* 'beat, lament'. Walde-P. 2.92. Falk-Torp 239.

7. Russ. *vojlok*, cf. Pol. *wojlok* 'felt saddle-blanket', fr. Tartar *qilik* 'covering'. Brückner 629.

*leder*, etc., uncertain whether cognate groups (*\*lethro-*) or orig. Celtic (*\*lethro-* fr. *\*plethro-*: Lat. *pellis*?) with early Gmc. borrowing. Pedersen 245. Or as orig. 'smoothed skin' (*\*lethro-* fr. *\*lethro-*): Grk. *λεῖος*, Lat. *lēvis* 'smooth'? Kluge-G. 350.

4. Goth. *skauda-* in *skaudaraip* (acc. sg.) 'thong': Grk. *σῦρος*, etc. (above, 1). Feist 430.

Goth. *filleins* (adj. translating *δερμάτι-*

vos 'leathern'): OHG *fel*, Lat. *pellis* 'hide' (4.12). Feist 152.

5. Lith. *skūra*, Lett. *āda*, orig. 'hide' (4.12).

6. ChSl., SCR., Russ. *koža*, Boh. *kůže*, orig. 'hide' (4.12).

Pol. *skóra* orig. 'hide' (4.12) or esp. *skóra wyprawna*, lit. 'tanned hide'. ChSl. *azno*, *jazno* (*\*azino*): Skt. *ajina-* 'hide, skin' (4.12). Berneker 35.

## 6.31 SPIN

|      |                         |       |                |       |                             |
|------|-------------------------|-------|----------------|-------|-----------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>νέω, νήσω, κλώσω</i> | Goth. | <i>spinnan</i> | Lith. | <i>verpti</i>               |
| NG   | <i>νέω</i>              | ON    | <i>spinna</i>  | Lett. | <i>vērpt, prest, sprest</i> |
| Lat. | <i>nēre</i>             | Dan.  | <i>spinde</i>  | ChSl. | <i>presti</i>               |
| It.  | <i>filare</i>           | Sw.   | <i>spinna</i>  | SCR.  | <i>presti</i>               |
| Fr.  | <i>filer</i>            | OE    | <i>spinnan</i> | Boh.  | <i>přísti</i>               |
| Sp.  | <i>hilar</i>            | ME    | <i>spinne</i>  | Pol.  | <i>prząść</i>               |
| Rum. | <i>loarce</i>           | NE    | <i>spin</i>    | Russ. | <i>prjast', sprjast'</i>    |
| Ir.  | <i>sni</i>              | Du.   | <i>spinnen</i> | Skt.  | <i>kṛt-</i>                 |
| Nlr. | <i>snit</i>             | OHG   | <i>spinnan</i> |       |                             |
| W.   | <i>nyddu</i>            | MHG   | <i>spinnen</i> |       |                             |
| Br.  | <i>neza</i>             | NHG   | <i>spinnen</i> |       |                             |

Words for 'spin' are mostly based on the notions of either 'turn' or 'stretch', in one group derived from the noun for 'thread'.

1. IE *\*(s)nē-*, *\*(s)nēi-* in words for 'spin', 'sew' (Gmc.), 'thread', 'needle' beside *\*sneu-* in words for 'sinew', primary sense 'turn, wind' or 'stretch'(?). Walde-P. 9.694. Ernout-M. 665 f. Pedersen 1.68, 2.633.

Grk. *νέω* (*\*σνήω*, cf. 3 sg. pres. *νή*, 3 sg. imperf. *νήσῃ*, etc.), *νήσω*, NG pop. *νήσω*; Lat. *nēre*; Ir. *sni-*, Nlr. *snit*, *snit-maim*, W. *nyddu*, Br. *neza*: OHG *nājan* 'sew'; Lett. *snāt* 'twist lightly' (as in spinning or esp. plaiting, cf. Mühl-Endz. 3.974), Skt. *snāyu-* and *snāvan-*, Grk. *νέρον* 'sinew'.

2. Grk. *κλώσω*, root connections? Walde-P. 1.464.

3. It. *filare*, Fr. *filer*, Sp. *hilar*, fr. VLat. *filāre* (CGL 5 passim), fr. Lat. *filum* 'thread' (6.38). REW 3293. Wartburg 3.539.

Rum. *loarce*, fr. VLat. *\*torcere*, Lat.

*torquere* 'turn around, twist' (10.13). REW 8798.

4. Goth. *spinnan*, etc., general Gmc., fr. IE *\*(s)nē-* in OHG *spannan* 'stretch', Lith. *pinti* 'plait', ChSl. *peti* 'stretch', etc. Walde-P. 2.660 ff. Falk-Torp 1122.

5. Lith. *verpti*, Lett. *vērpt*, with sbs. Lith. *varpstis* 'spool', *varpstė* 'spindle': Grk. *πάσσω* 'sew', fr. *\*wer-p-*, an extension of IE *\*wer-* 'turn, bend'. Walde-P. 1.276 f.

6. ChSl. *pręda*, *presti*, etc., general Slavic (Russ. *prjast'*, *sprjast'*) > Lett. *prest*, *sprest*, prob.: Lith. *spręsti* formerly 'span, measure' (now 'judge'), sb. *sprindis* 'span' (Leskien, Ablaut 346), perh. also ChSl. *prędati* 'spring, quiver' (common element 'be taut, tense'). Persson, Beitrage 873. Trautmann 278. Brückner 440.

7. Skt. *kṛt-* (3 sg. *kṛtati*): Grk. *κάραλος* 'basket', Lat. *crātis* 'wicker-work', etc., with interchange between notions of plaiting and spinning. Walde-P. 1.421.

## 6.32 SPINDLE

|      |                 |      |                         |       |                  |
|------|-----------------|------|-------------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | <i>ἀράκτος</i>  | ON   | <i>snalda</i>           | Lith. | <i>varpstė</i>   |
| NG   | <i>ἀράκτος</i>  | Dan. | <i>ten</i>              | Lett. | <i>spēršlica</i> |
| Lat. | <i>fūsus</i>    | Sw.  | <i>spindel</i>          | ChSl. | <i>vrēleno</i>   |
| It.  | <i>fuso</i>     | OE   | <i>spinel</i>           | SCR.  | <i>vrēleno</i>   |
| Fr.  | <i>fuseau</i>   | ME   | <i>spindle</i>          | Boh.  | <i>vrēleno</i>   |
| Sp.  | <i>huso</i>     | NE   | <i>spindle</i>          | Pol.  | <i>wrzeciono</i> |
| Rum. | <i>fus</i>      | Du.  | <i>spil</i>             | Russ. | <i>vereteno</i>  |
| Ir.  | <i>feras</i>    | OHG  | <i>spinnila, spilla</i> | Skt.  | <i>tarku-</i>    |
| Nlr. | <i>fearsad</i>  | MHG  | <i>spinnel, spindel</i> |       |                  |
| W.   | <i>guerthid</i> | NHG  | <i>spindel</i>          |       |                  |
| Br.  | <i>guerthid</i> |      |                         |       |                  |

Most of the words for 'spindle' are from verbs for 'turn' or 'spin'. One is cognate with words for 'twig, branch' with specialized application to the stick forming the 'spindle'.

1. Grk. *ἀράκτος*, NG pop. *ἀράκτος*, Skt. *tarku-*, fr. the root in Lat. *torquere* 'twist, turn' (10.13), OHG *drāhsil* 'roller', etc. Walde-P. 1.735.

2. Lat. *fūsus* (> Romance words), etym. dub. Connection with *fundere* 'pour' difficult semantically. Ernout-M. 405. Walde-H. 1.574.

3. Ir. *feras* 'distaff, spindle, axle' (cf. Laws, Gloss. s.v.), Nlr. *fearsad* (by metathesis), W. *guerthid*, Br. *guerthid*, ChSl., SCR. *vrēleno*, Boh. *vrēleno*, Pol. *wrzeciono*, Russ. *vereteno*: Skt. *varṭula-*, MHG *wirtel* 'spinning-ring' fr. IE *\*wert-* in Skt. *vr̥t-*, Lat. *vertere*, etc. 'turn' (10.12). Walde-P. 1.274 f. Pedersen 1.137.

5. Lith. *varpstė*: *verpti* 'spin' (6.31). Lett. *spēršlica* 'spindle' beside *prēšlica* 'distaff' (cf. *sprest* beside *prest* 'spin'), fr. Slavic, Pol. *przęslica*, Russ. *prjāslica*, etc. 'distaff', fr. the root in ChSl. *presti*, etc. 'spin' (6.31). Mühl-Endz. 3.1018. Brückner 440.

6. ChSl., SCR. *vrēleno*, etc., general Slavic, above, 3.

7. Skt. *tarku-*, above, 1.

## 6.33 WEAVE

|      |               |       |              |       |               |
|------|---------------|-------|--------------|-------|---------------|
| Grk. | <i>ἵφαίνω</i> | Goth. | <i>weva</i>  | Lith. | <i>austi</i>  |
| NG   | <i>ἵφαίνω</i> | ON    | <i>vefa</i>  | Lett. | <i>aust</i>   |
| Lat. | <i>texere</i> | Dan.  | <i>veve</i>  | ChSl. | <i>tákati</i> |
| It.  | <i>texere</i> | Sw.   | <i>vava</i>  | SCR.  | <i>tkati</i>  |
| Fr.  | <i>tejer</i>  | OE    | <i>wefan</i> | Boh.  | <i>tkati</i>  |
| Sp.  | <i>tejer</i>  | ME    | <i>weve</i>  | Pol.  | <i>tkać</i>   |
| Rum. | <i>teze</i>   | NE    | <i>weave</i> | Russ. | <i>tkat'</i>  |
| Ir.  | <i>figim</i>  | Du.   | <i>weven</i> | Skt.  | <i>u-</i>     |
| Nlr. | <i>fighim</i> | OHG   | <i>wēban</i> |       |               |
| W.   | <i>gweu</i>   | MHG   | <i>wēben</i> |       |               |
| Br.  | <i>gweu</i>   | NHG   | <i>wēben</i> |       |               |

3. Ir. *figim*, Nlr. *fighim*, W. *gweu*, Br. *gweu*: Skt. *vāgura-* 'net', perh. Lat. *velum* (*\*texlom*) 'curtain, veil, sail', OE *wēoce*, NE *wick*, etc.

2. Lat. *texere*, also 'build' (> It. *texere*, Fr. *tisser*, Sp. *tejer*, Rum. *teze*), fr. IE *\*teḡ-*, in Skt. *taḡsan-*, Grk. *τίκτω* 'carpenter', Lith. *tašyti*, ChSl. *tesati* 'hew', etc. Latin alone has specialized the root in this sense, but here also the primary sense was prob. 'construct artfully'. Walde-P. 1.717. Ernout-M. 1037 f.

3. ChSl. *tákati*, etc., general Slavic, prob. fr. the same root as ChSl. *tákati*, *tákati*, Russ. *tknuti*, etc. 'prick, stab, hit', whence 'weave' with reference to the manipulation of the shuttle(?). Trautmann 331. Brückner 571. Otherwise Walde-P. 1.716.

4. ON *vefstaðr*, or *vefr*, the older name for the loom, cpd. of *vefa* 'weave' and *staðr* 'that which is set up, stand' (IE *\*stā-*).

ON *vefstöll*, Dan. *vævestol*, Sw. *våvstol*, MHG *weberstuol*, NHG *webstuhl*, lit. 'weaving support or equipment', Gmc. *\*stōla-* (OE *stōl* 'chair', etc., 7.43) retaining its more primitive force. Falk-Torp 1172. Hellquist 1403.

ME *lome*, NE *loom*, fr. OE *gelōma* 'utensil, implement' (fr. the adv. *ge-lōme* = OHG *gilōmo* 'often', hence orig. 'a thing of frequent use') NED s.v.

Du. *wefgetouw*, cpd. of *getouw* = MLG *getouwe*, MHG *gezouwe* 'tool',

equipment, loom': Goth. *taujan* 'do, make'. Falk-Torp 1267. Franck-v. W. 192, 704 f.

5. Lith. *staklės* (pl.), cf. Lett. *stakle* 'post, fork', OPruss. *stakle* 'support', fr. IE *\*stā-*. Walde-P. 2.606. Mühl-Endz. 3.1040 f.

Lett. *stāve*: *stāvs* 'upright, standing', *stāvēt* 'stand', fr. IE *\*stā-*. Mühl-Endz. 3.1052 f.

Lett. *stelles*, fr. OS *stelle* 'rack, frame, weaver



The majority of the verbs for 'sew' belong to an inherited group.

1. IE \**syū-*, \**siu-*, \**siu-*. Walde-P. 2.514 ff. Ernout-M. 1003. Feist 425.

Lat. *suere*; Goth. *siujan*, ON \**siġja* (only in pl. pret. *sēdu*, and past pple. *sēðr*), Dan., Sw. *sy*, OE *siwian*, *sēowian*, ME *sewe*, *sowe*, NE *sew*, OHG *siuwan*, MHG *siuwen*; Lith. *siūti*, Lett. *šūt*; ChSl. *šiti*, Boh. *šiti*, Pol. *szyć*, Russ. *šit'*; Skt. *siu-*, *syū-*.

ON *sauma*, Sw. *sōmma*, denom. fr. ON *saumr* = OHG *soum*, OE *sēam* 'seam', fr. a Gmc. variant of the same root.

It. *cucire*, Fr. *coudre*, Sp. *coser*, Rum. *coase*, fr. the Lat. cpd. *con-suere* 'sew together'. REW 2174.

2. Grk. *πάτω*, NG pop. *ράβω* (new pres. to aor. *ῥραφα*, like *κόβω* 'cut', etc. : Lith. *verpti* 'spin' (6.31).

3. Ir. *uagim*, Nlr. *fuaghaim*, of disputed etym., perh. : Lat. *augēre*, Grk. *aἰζω*, Goth. *aukan* 'increase', ON *auka* 'increase, add'. A similar semantic change fr. 'add to' to 'fasten together', hence 'sew', is partially effected in Nicel. *auka saman* 'piece together'. Pedersen 1.54 (rejected by Walde-P. 1.22).

W. *gunio*, Br. *guriat* (for *n > r* in Br. cf. Pedersen 1.155), specialized fr. 'make' : Ir. *do-gnúu* 'do, make' (9.11). Pedersen 1.60.

4. OHG *nājan*, MHG *nājen*, NHG *nāhen*, Du. *naaien* : Grk. *νέω*, Lat. *nēre*, etc. 'spin' (6.31). The use of this root in the sense of 'sew' (cf. also Goth. *nēþla*, etc. 'needle', 6.36) instead of 'spin' is peculiar to Gmc. Cf. Grk. *πάτω* 'sew' : Lith. *verpti* 'spin'.

## 6.36 NEEDLE

|      |                      |       |               |       |                                      |
|------|----------------------|-------|---------------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>βελός, βελώνη</i> | Goth. | <i>nēþla</i>  | Lith. | <i>adata</i>                         |
| NG   | <i>belous</i>        | Let.  | <i>nāl</i>    | Let.  | <i>adata</i>                         |
| Lat. | <i>acus</i>          | Dan.  | <i>naal</i>   | ChSl. | <i>*igūla</i> (adj. <i>igūlinā</i> ) |
| It.  | <i>ago</i>           | Sw.   | <i>nāl</i>    | Boh.  | <i>jehla</i>                         |
| Fr.  | <i>aiguille</i>      | OE    | <i>nād</i>    | Pol.  | <i>igla</i>                          |
| Sp.  | <i>aguja</i>         | ME    | <i>needle</i> | Russ. | <i>igla</i>                          |
| Rum. | <i>ac</i>            | NE    | <i>needle</i> | Skt.  | <i>sūti-</i>                         |
| Ir.  | <i>snáthad</i>       | Du.   | <i>naald</i>  | Av.   | <i>sūkā-</i>                         |
| Nlr. | <i>snáthad</i>       | OHG   | <i>nādelā</i> |       |                                      |
| W.   | <i>nodwydd</i>       | MHG   | <i>nādele</i> |       |                                      |
| Br.  | <i>nadoz</i>         | NHG   | <i>nadel</i>  |       |                                      |

Words for 'needle' are mostly either derived from verbs for 'sew', or cognate with words denoting sharp pointed objects.

1. Grk. *βελός*, fr. *πάτω* 'sew' (6.36). Grk. *βελώνη* (replacing *βελός* in Att.), NG *βελόνα*, *βελόνι* : *βελός* 'spit', Lith. *gelti* 'sting, ache', etc. Walde-P. 1.689 f. Boisacq 118.

2. Lat. *acus* (> It. *ago*, Rum. *ac*; Fr. *aiguille*, Sp. *aguja* fr. MLat. dim. *acūcula*) : *acer* 'sharp', *aciēs* 'sharp edge or point', Grk. *ἀκρος* 'topmost', *ἀκίς* 'sharp object' ('needle' in Hipp.), Skt. *acri-*

'edge', etc. Walde-P. 1.28 ff. Ernout-M. 8. Walde-H. 1.11. REW 119, 130.

3. Ir. *snáthad*, Nlr. *snáthad*, W. *nodwydd*, Br. *nadoz*, fr. IE \**snō-* as in words for 'thread' (Ir. *snáthe*, etc., 6.38) beside \**snē-* in words for 'spin' (6.31). Walde-P. 2.694 f. Pedersen 1.85.

4. Goth. *nēþla*, ON *nāl*, OE *nād*, OHG *nādelā*, etc., general Gmc., fr. \**snē-* in words for 'spin', but in Gmc. 'sew', as OHG *nājan*, etc. (6.35).

Lith. *adata* : Lith. *adyti* 'darn, mend', Lett. *adīt* 'knit', outside root connection dub. Mühl.-Endz. 1.11.

5. ChSl. \**igūla* (adj. *igūlinā*, Gospels), SCR., Russ. *igla*, Boh. *jehla*, Pol. *igla*, OPruss. *ayculo*, etym. dub. Berneker 423. Brückner 189, 208.

6. Skt. *sūci-* : Skt. *śūka-* 'beard of grain, sting', Av. *sūkā-* 'needle', with Skt. *s* for *g*, perh. influenced by the init. of *siu-*, *syū-* 'sew' (6.35). Barth. 1582. Wackernagel-Debrunner, KZ 67.174 f.

## 6.37 AWL

|      |                         |       |                           |       |              |
|------|-------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|--------------|
| Grk. | <i>δρεας</i>            | Goth. | ...                       | Lith. | <i>yla</i>   |
| NG   | <i>sovðli</i>           | ON    | <i>alr</i>                | Let.  | <i>ilens</i> |
| Lat. | <i>sūbula</i>           | Dan.  | <i>syl</i>                | ChSl. | <i>šilo</i>  |
| It.  | <i>lesina</i>           | Sw.   | <i>syl</i>                | SCR.  | <i>šilo</i>  |
| Fr.  | <i>alène</i>            | OE    | <i>al</i>                 | Boh.  | <i>šidlo</i> |
| Sp.  | <i>lesna</i>            | ME    | <i>al, aule</i>           | Pol.  | <i>szdło</i> |
| Rum. | <i>sulā</i>             | NE    | <i>awl</i>                | Russ. | <i>šilo</i>  |
| Ir.  | <i>menad</i>            | Du.   | <i>els, priem</i>         | Skt.  | <i>āra-</i>  |
| Nlr. | <i>manadth (-aithe)</i> | OHG   | <i>ala, alansa, siula</i> | Av.   | ...          |
| W.   | <i>myrnawyd</i>         | MHG   | <i>ale, pfriem(e)</i>     |       |              |
| Br.  | <i>manawed</i>          | NHG   | <i>ahle, pfriem</i>       |       |              |

The 'awl', though used for other purposes, is primarily a shoemaker's tool, and many of the words for 'awl' are derived from the root for 'sew'. Others are connected with words for 'hole' or for 'prick'.

1. Root \**ēla-*, \**elā-*, without other known connections. Walde-P. 1.156. Falk-Torp 4. Kluge-G. 7.

Skt. *ārā-*; ON *alr*, OE *æl*, *eal*, *al*, ME *al* but mostly *aule*, *oule* (in form fr. OE *awul* 'fork', prob. a different word : ON *sōð-all* 'meat-fork', Lat. *aculeus* 'sting, spur', etc.), whence NE *awl*; OHG *āla*, MHG *āle*, NHG *ahle*; OHG *alansa*, fr. \**alesna* (> It. *lesina*, Fr. *alène*, Sp. *lesna*, *alesna*; REW 346), Du. *els* (NHG else 'sailmaker's awl'); Lith. *yla*, OPruss. *ylō*, Lett. *ilens*, all prob. fr. a Goth. \**ēla* (Mühl.-Endz. 1.836).

2. Derivs. of IE \**syū-* (6.35). Walde-P. 2.515. Falk-Torp 1226. Lat. *sūbula* (> Rum. *sulā*, NG *sovðli*; Dan., Sw. *syl*, OHG *siula* (NHG *sāule* dial. as 'awl'); ChSl. (late), SCR., Russ. *šilo*, Boh. *šidlo*, Pol. *szdło*.

3. Grk. *δρεας*, gen. *-αρος*, dim. *ὀρήτιον* : *ὀρή* 'hole' (orig. 'eye', cf. 4.21), as orig. \**ōrā-far-* neut. of adj. (cf. *ὀρήεις*), used with *ὀστέον* 'bone' or the like, for the well-known type of awl with hole in the end, like a heavy needle. Schwyzler, KZ 60.224 ff.

NG *sovðli*, fr. Lat. *sūbula* (above, 2). G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 3.61 ff.

4. Lat. *sūbula*, Rum. *sulā*, above, 2. It. *lesina*, Fr. *alène*, Sp. *lesna*, fr. Gmc., above, 1.

5. Ir. *menad*, etc., general Celtic, etym.? Walde-P. 2.222. Stokes 216.

6. ON *alr*, OE *æl*, etc., above, 1. OHG *siula*, etc., above, 2.

MHG, NHG *pfriem* : ON *prjōnn* 'knitting-needle', OE *prēon* 'pin' (6.63), Du. *priem* 'puncher, etc.', outside connection? Falk-Torp 848. Weigand-H. 2.415.

7. Baltic words, above, 1.

8. Slavic words, above, 2.

9. Skt. *ārā-*, above, 1.

## 6.38 THREAD

|      |                            |       |               |       |                    |
|------|----------------------------|-------|---------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | <i>νῆμα, κλωστήρ</i>       | Goth. | ...           | Lith. | <i>siūlas</i>      |
| NG   | <i>nēma, γνῆμα, κλωστή</i> | ON    | <i>þrāðr</i>  | Let.  | <i>pavediens</i>   |
| Lat. | <i>filum</i>               | Dan.  | <i>træd</i>   | ChSl. | <i>nitl, ništa</i> |
| It.  | <i>filo</i>                | Sw.   | <i>tråd</i>   | SCR.  | <i>nit</i>         |
| Fr.  | <i>fil</i>                 | OE    | <i>þræð</i>   | Boh.  | <i>nit</i>         |
| Sp.  | <i>hilo</i>                | ME    | <i>threde</i> | Pol.  | <i>nić</i>         |
| Rum. | <i>fir</i>                 | NE    | <i>thread</i> | Russ. | <i>nit', nitka</i> |
| Ir.  | <i>snáthe</i>              | Du.   | <i>draad</i>  | Skt.  | <i>sūtra-</i>      |
| Nlr. | <i>snáth</i>               | OHG   | <i>fadam</i>  |       |                    |
| W.   | <i>edau</i>                | MHG   | <i>vadem</i>  |       |                    |
| Br.  | <i>neud</i>                | NHG   | <i>faden</i>  |       |                    |

1. Derivs. of IE \*(s)nē-, \*(s)nēi- in words for 'spin' (6.31). Walde-P. 2.694 f.

Grk. *νῆμα*, NG pop. *γνῆμα*; Ir. *snáthe*, Nlr. *snáth*, Br. *neud*; ChSl. *nitl, ništa*, etc., general Slavic.

2. Grk. *κλωστήρ*, NG *κλωστή* : *κλώθω* 'spin' (6.31).

3. Lat. *filum* (> Romance words) : Lith. *gysla*, Lett. *džišla*, OPruss. *-gishlo*, ChSl. *žila* 'vein', etc. Walde-P. 1.670. Ernout-M. 360. Walde-H. 1.497 f.

4. W. *edau*, MW *adaud* (pl.), OHG *etem* (gl. *instila*), OHG *fadam*, MHG *vadem*, NHG *faden*, orig. 'a measure of thread from tip to tip of the outstretched arms' : Ir. *aítheamh*, OE *faþm* 'fathom', orig. 'embrace', ON *faðmr* 'embrace' (IE \**pel-* in Grk. *περάννυμι* 'spread out', Lat. *palēre* 'stand open', etc.). The

parallel semantic development in Welsh and German is remarkable. Walde-P. 2.18. Pedersen 1.132. Falk-Torp 208 f.

5. ON *þrāðr*, Dan. *træd*, Sw. *tråd*, OE *þræð*, ME *threde*, NE *thread*, Du. *draad* (NHG *draht* 'wire'), fr. a Gmc. \**þrēðu-* : OE *þrāwan*, OHG *drājan*, etc. 'turn around, twist' (10.13). Walde-P. 1.729. NED s.v. *thread*.

6. Lith. *siūlas*, and with different suffix Skt. *sūtra-*, fr. Lith. *siūti*, Skt. *siu-* 'sew' (6.35).

Lett. *pavediens*, prob. formed with agent-noun suffix *-iens* (cf. Endz., Gr. 235 f.) fr. *pavedu*, *pavest* 'lead a distance' (cpd. of *vest*, Lith. *vesti* 'lead'), with development of sense 'thread' through a measure (as in NHG *faden*, etc., above, 4), or through the notion of guidance (in stories like the myth of Ariadne?)

7. ChSl. *nitl*, etc., above, 1.

Many of the verbs listed mean simply 'color' and are used alike for 'dye' (cloth) and 'paint' (a board, house, etc.). But several are from the notion of 'dip', specifically applicable to the process of dyeing cloth.

1. Grk. *βάπτω* 'dip' (Hom. +), hence 'dye', cf. *βαφῆ* 'dipping, dye', *βαφείς* 'dyer', NG *βάφω* (new pres. to aor. *ῥαφα*) : ON *k(v)efja* 'submerge, overwhelm', OSW. *kvaf* 'depth of the sea', etc. Walde-P. 1.674. Boisacq 114. Falk-Torp 504.

2. Lat. *tingere* 'dip, soak', hence 'dye' > It. *tingere*, Fr. *teindre*, Sp. *teñir* 'dye, stain', cf. *tinctus* 'a dipping, dyeing', *tinctor* 'dye' : Grk. *τέγω* 'wet, moisten', OHG *thunkōn*, *dunkōn* 'dip, soak'. Walde-P. 1.726. Ernout-M. 1041. REW 8750.

Lat. *inficere*, lit. 'put into', hence esp. 'put into a dyeing vat, dye, color' (cf. *infector* 'dye'), cpd. of *facere* 'do, make'. Ernout-M. 324.

Lat. *faciāre*, rarely 'dye' (wool), mostly 'paint the face', deriv. of *fācus* name of a plant and the dye made from it, 'rouge', borrowed fr. Grk. *φῶκος* id. Ernout-M. 396.

Rum. *boi* (cf. *boiangiu* 'dye') : *boia* 'dye' fr. Turk. *boya* 'dye, paint'. Lokotsch 328.

Rum. *vāpsi*, reg. vb. for 'paint', but also and orig. 'dye', fr. Grk. aor. infn. *βάψαι* (above, 1), perh. through Slavic (late ChSl. *vapsati* 'stain', etc.). Tiktin 1713.

3. Ir. *dathaigim* (quotable?), Nlr. *dathuighim* deriv. of Ir. *dath* 'color, dye' (15.61).

W. *lliwio*, Br. *liwa* both also 'paint', derivs. of W. *liw*, Br. *liou* 'color, dye, paint' : Ir. *li* 'color', Lat. *liuor* 'bluish color', etc. Walde-P. 2.715. Pedersen 1.51.

4. ON *lita*, deriv. of *litr* 'color', orig. 'complexion, appearance' : Goth. *wlits*, OE *wlite* 'appearance, form'. Walde-P. 1.293. Falk-Torp 679.

OHG *farawen*, MHG *verwen*, NHG *färben*, Du. *verven*, Dan. *farve*, Sw. *färga*, derivs. of sbs. OHG *farawa*, etc. (MLG *verve* > Dan. *farve*, Sw. *färg*) 'dye, paint, color' : OHG *faro* 'colored', Grk. *περκνός* 'dark, livid', Skt. *prçni-* 'speckled', etc. Walde-P. 2.45. Falk-Torp 206.

OE *ðægian*, ME, NE *dye*, derivs. of OE *ðeah*, *deag* 'dye', NE *dye*, prob. : OE *ðægol*, OHG *tougal* 'secret, hidden', but root connection and semantic sequence dub. (see 17.36). Walde-P. 1.838.

OE *telgan* (only in gl.) deriv. of *telg* 'dye, paint', etym.?

5. Lith. *parvuoti*, Lett. *pervoti*, Boh. *barviti*, Pol. *barwić*, *farbować*, SCR. *farbat*, derivs. of the nouns for 'dye, paint', these loanwords of different periods fr. MHG *varve*, MLG *verwe*, or NHG *farbe* (above, 4).

Lith. *dažyti*, orig. 'dip' hence 'dye' (cf. *dažas* 'dye, color'), etym.? Walde-P. 1.786.

Lett. *krāsuot*, deriv. of *krāsa* 'dye, paint', loanword fr. Slavic (cf. Russ. *krasit'*, below, 6).

6. SCR. *bojadisati*, also 'paint', deriv. of *boja* 'dye, paint', this from Turk. *boya* id. Russ. *krasit'*, 'adorn' hence 'dye, paint', fr. *krasa* 'beauty, adornment' : late ChSl. *krasa* 'beauty', OBoh. *krasa* 'light, splendor', etc. Berneker 607. Walde-P. 1.418 ff.

7. Skt. *ra(ñ)jaya-*, caus. of *ra(ñ)j-* 'be bright, colored, red' (cf. *rāga-* 'coloring, dyeing', *rakta-* 'colored, red') : Grk. *ῥίζω* 'dye', *ῥεγέω* or *ῥαγέω* 'dye' (all rare). Walde-P. 2.366.

6.41-6.59. The attempt to set up even approximate synonyms meets with more than the usual difficulty in the case of articles of dress, owing to the radical differences in the costume of various peoples and periods. Thus there are so many kinds of cloaks and coats with their distinctive names that it is difficult to select the most important, and in the case of some words even the assignment to one or the other group is arbitrary. Conversely, there is nothing in early periods like the modern trousers, which evolved from the short breeches or the long stockings or leggings. The early Cretan figurines show a remarkably modern woman's costume with separate jacket and skirt, but there was nothing similar among the Greeks or Romans of the classical period. Their 'tunic', a jersey-like garment, might

from the point of view of function be called a 'coat' (and is in fact generally rendered by words for 'coat' in modern versions of the NT, e.g. Lk. 6.29 *ἱμάτιον-χιτῶν*, 'cloak'-'coat'), or a 'shirt'. A long coat may become the modern man's 'coat' or the woman's 'skirt' (NHG *rock*). There is overlapping between 'shoes' and 'stockings' and between 'stockings' and 'trousers', so that words of the same cognate group may denote any one of the three (as derivs. of Lat. *calceus* 'shoe').

Loanwords are notably numerous, several of oriental origin, and often showing a radical change of application.

A mine of information on medieval and later European costume is Viollet-le-Duc, Dict. rais. du mobilier français, vols. 3, 4.

## 6.41 CLOAK

|      |   |       |   |       |                             |
|------|---|-------|---|-------|-----------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>ἱμάτιον, χλαῖνα, φάρος</i>                     | Goth. | <i>vasti, hakuls</i>                            | Lith. | <i>apsiaustas, ploščius</i> |
| NG   | <i>manōias</i> (lit.)                             | ON    | <i>feldr, skikkja, kápa</i>                     | Let.  | <i>mētelis</i>              |
| Lat. | <i>toga, pallium, paenula, lacerna, mantellum</i> | Dan.  | <i>kaabe, kappe</i>                             | ChSl. | <i>plášť, riza</i>          |
| It.  | <i>mantello, cappa</i>                            | Sw.   | <i>kappa, mantel</i>                            | SCR.  | <i>plášť, kobanica</i>      |
| Fr.  | <i>manteau</i>                                    | OE    | <i>hacete, scicceles, wæ-fels, meniel, pall</i> | Boh.  | <i>plášť</i>                |
| Sp.  | <i>manto, capa</i>                                | ME    | <i>cloke, mantel, pall</i>                      | Pol.  | <i>plaszcz</i>              |
| Rum. | <i>manta</i>                                      | NE    | <i>cloak</i>                                    | Russ. | <i>plášť</i>                |
| Ir.  | <i>lenn, brat, matal</i>                          | Du.   | <i>mantel</i>                                   | Skt.  | <i>drāpi-, prādrā-</i>      |
| Nlr. | <i>cloca, brat</i>                                | OHG   | <i>hachul, mantel</i>                           |       |                             |
| W.   | <i>mantell, cochl, clog</i>                       | MHG   | <i>mantel</i>                                   |       |                             |
| Br.  | <i>mantell</i>                                    | NHG   | <i>mantel</i>                                   |       |                             |

Under 'cloak' are grouped the more important words for a loose outer garment, without defining their more special form, even where this is known, and without attempting to include all the special varieties of cloaks, some of which are rather 'shawls' or 'capes'. For the great variety of Greek and Roman cloaks, cf. Daremberg et Saglio s.v. *pallium*.

1. Grk. *ἱμάτιον* 'garment' (6.12), esp. 'cloak'.

Grk. *χλαῖνα* (> Lat. *laena* 'rough

woolen cloak', perh. through Etruscan, *χλαῖνις*, orig.? Boisacq 1062. Ernout-M. 518. Walde-H. 1.749.

Grk. *φάρος φάρος*, *φάρα* : *φάρα*, *πλέκων* Hesych., *φορμός* 'woven basket', Lith. *burva* 'a sort of garment', *buré* 'sail' Walde-P. 1.64.

Grk. *μαντιά* (Aesch. of a Liburnian cloak), later *manōias* as Byz. and NG (lit.; but *μαντία* 'military cloak or overcoat'), doubtless a loanword, but source?

2. Lat. *toga* : *tegere* 'cover' (12.26).

Lat. *pallium* (> OE *pæll*, ME, NE

'layer', ChSl. *platū* 'cloth' (6.21). Brückner 420.

SCR. *kabanica*, fr. It. *gabbano* 'rain-coat', fr. Pers., Arab. *ḡabā* 'upper garment, cloak'. Berneker 464. REW 4648. Lokotsch 971.

## 6.412 OVERCOAT

||
||
||



often used for the ordinary coat of a business suit.

Sp. *americana* 'the American', the current term in Spain for the coat of a business suit.

Sp. *saco* 'sack' and 'coat' (in Am. Sp. esp. the usual word), fr. Lat. *saccus*, Grk. *σάκος* 'sack' (above, 1).

Rum. *haină* 'garment' (6.12), also 'coat' according to informant and some dictionaries.

3. Ir. *fúan*, perh. cpd. (\**uo-ouno-*, \**uo* fr. \**upo*), fr. the root of Lat. *ind-uere* 'dress' (6.11). Walde-P. 1.109. Stokes 281.

Ir. *inar* (with *i-* for *e-* by connection with *i-n* 'in'): Ir. *anart* 'shirt', Grk. *ἐναρ* 'spoils'. Pedersen 1.178. Adversely Walde-P. 2.5.

Nir. *casóg*, fr. NE *casock*, fr. Fr. *casaque*, orig. a military cloak and perh. belonging with Fr. *cosaque* 'cossack'. NED s.v. Lokotsch 1143.

W. *col*, fr. NE *coat*.

Br. *jupen*, fr. Fr. *jupon* 'skirt', formerly (Molière) 'man's coat reaching to the knees', dim. of *jupe* 'skirt' (6.46).

4. Goth. *paída* (reg. for *χιτών*), OE *pād* (mostly in cpds., as *here-pād* 'coat of mail'), early loanword fr. the same source (Thracian?) as Grk. *βαῖρα* 'coat of skins'. Walde-P. 2.104. Feist 381 f.

OE *rocc*, OHG, MHG, roc, NHG *rock* (ON *rokkr* in this sense rare and Sw. *rock* fr. MLG), with Ir. *rucht* 'tunic', MW *rhuch* a kind of coat, prob. : ON *rokkr*, OHG *rocko*, NHG *rocken*, NE *rock*, etc. 'distaff', both groups fr. some root meaning 'spin'(?). Walde-P. 2.374. Falk-Torp 909 f. Loth, RC 42.62 f.

But more commonly OE *tuneca*, OHG *tunihha*, etc. fr. Lat. *tunica* (as in NT, Lk. 6.29, etc.).

Dan. *frakke*, through NHG *frack*, fr. Fr. *frac* 'dress coat', this prob. fr. NE *frack* (cf. NED s.v. 5), itself fr. Fr. *frac* 'monk's garment', this perh. fr. OHG *hroc* beside *roc* (above). Falk-Torp 271. Gamillscheg 437, 444. Weigand-H. 1.572. REW 4212.

But more commonly OE *tuneca*, OHG *tunihha*, etc. fr. Lat. *tunica* (as in NT, Lk. 6.29, etc.).

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## 6.45 COLLAR

|      |                                 |      |                         |       |                                       |
|------|---------------------------------|------|-------------------------|-------|---------------------------------------|
| NG   | κόλλωρο, γκαῖς                  | ON   | (late) <i>kragi</i>     | Lith. | <i>apikaklė</i> ( <i>kalmierius</i> ) |
| It.  | <i>collo, colletto, collare</i> | Dan. | <i>krave, fljip</i>     | Lett. | <i>apikakle</i>                       |
| Fr.  | <i>col, collet</i>              | Sw.  | <i>krage</i>            | SCR.  | <i>ogrica, jaka</i>                   |
| Sp.  | <i>cuello</i>                   | ME   | <i>coler</i>            | Boh.  | <i>limec</i>                          |
| Rum. | <i>guler, guleras</i>           | NE   | <i>collar</i>           | Pol.  | <i>kotnierz</i>                       |
| Nir. | <i>colleir, bōna</i>            | Du.  | <i>kraag, boord(je)</i> | Russ. | <i>vorotnik, vorotniček</i>           |
| W.   | <i>coler</i>                    | MHG  | <i>krage, gollier</i>   |       |                                       |
| Br.  | <i>gouzougenn</i>               | NHG  | <i>kragen</i>           |       |                                       |

In the older languages there are no words for 'collar' as part of a garment, but only as an article of adornment, 'necklace' (6.75). Most of the words are for those for 'neck', a few from words for other circular forms or for 'hem, border, flap'.

1. Derivs. of Lat. *collum* 'neck' (4.28), either directly or fr. Lat. *collāre* 'band or chain for the neck'. REW 2042, 2053.

a. It. *collo*, Fr. *col*, Sp. *cuello*, also 'neck' (obsolete as 'neck' in French, being replaced by *cou*), hence the dims. It. *colletto*, Fr. *collet*.

b. It. *collare* (> NG *κόλλωρο*); Rum. *guler*, dim. *guleras*, perh. through MHG *goller*, *koller* (variants of *gollier*, etc.) or Hung. *galler* (cf. Tiktin 707); ME *coler*, NE *collar* (> Nir. *colleir*, W. *coler*); MHG *gollier*, *kollier*, etc., fr. Fr. *collier*; Pol. *kotnierz* (> Lith. *kalmierius*), through MHG dial. *kolner* for *koller* (Brückner 247).

2. NG *γκαῖς*, fr. Turk. *yaka* 'collar', whence also SCR., Bulg. *jaka*. Miklosich, Turk. Elem. 1.314.

3. Nir. *bōna*, *pōna*, also 'inclosure',

2. NG *γκαῖς*, fr. Turk. *yaka* 'collar', whence also SCR., Bulg. *jaka*. Miklosich, Turk. Elem. 1.314.

3. Nir. *bōna*, *pōna*, also 'inclosure',

## 6.46 SKIRT

|      |                          |      |               |       |                          |
|------|--------------------------|------|---------------|-------|--------------------------|
| NG   | φοῦσα                    | Dan. | <i>skjort</i> | Lith. | <i>marginė</i>           |
| It.  | <i>gonnella, sottana</i> | Sw.  | <i>skört</i>  | Lett. | <i>lindrakis, kedele</i> |
| Fr.  | <i>juppe</i>             | ME   | <i>skunja</i> | SCR.  | <i>sukně</i>             |
| Sp.  | <i>faldia</i>            | NE   | <i>skirt</i>  | Boh.  | <i>sukně</i>             |
| Rum. | <i>fusid</i>             | Du.  | <i>rok</i>    | Pol.  | <i>spodnica</i>          |
| Nir. | <i>sciorta</i>           | NHG  | <i>rock</i>   | Russ. | <i>jubka</i>             |
| W.   | <i>sgyrt</i>             |      |               |       |                          |
| Br.  | <i>broz, lostenn</i>     |      |               |       |                          |

ME *cote*, NE *coat*, fr. OFr. *cote* (Fr. *cotte* now 'petticoat'), MLat. *cotta*, fr. Gmc., cf. OHG *chozzo*, OS *cot* 'coarse woolen stuff, woolen garment' (further etym. dub., Walde-P. 1.671). REW 4747. NED s.v. *coat*, sb.

Du. *jas* : Fris. *jas*, MLG *jesse*, orig. unknown. Franck-v. W. 279.

5. Lith. *švarkas*, Lett. *svārki*, etym. dub. Mühl.-Endz. 3.1144. Buga, Kalba ir Senovė 289.

6. ChSl. *riza*, usual rendering of *χιτών* (but also *ιμάτιον* etc.), see 6.12.

ChSl. *srāčica* (renders *χιτών*, less commonly *ιμάτιον*; Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 322), beside less common *srak* (cf. also Russ. *sorocka* 'chemise', perh. loanword fr. Gmc. word for 'shirt', OE *serc*, etc. (6.44). So Falk-Torp 960. Not mentioned by Stender-Petersen.

SCR. *kaput*, through Turk. *kaput* 'cloak with sleeves', fr. It. *capotto* 'raincoat with cowl', fr. MLat. *cappa* 'cloak' (6.41).

Boh. *kabát*, fr. Byz. *καβάτος, καβάδιον* 'a sort of long cloak', this fr. Pers. *qabā*. Berneker 464. Lokotsch 971.

Pol. *surdut*, fr. Fr. *surtout*, lit. 'overcoat', formerly used for 'overcoat' (hence NE *surtout*, cf. NED s.v.).

Pol. *suknia* 'garment' (6.12), also used for 'coat'.

Russ. *kaftan* (the old word for 'coat', now the peasant's coat), fr. Turk. *kaftān* 'long coat'. Berneker 468. Lokotsch 774.

Russ. *pidžak* (now the reg. word), fr. NE *pea-jacket* = Du. *pij-jakker* 'short heavy coat' worn esp. by sailors (cpd. of ME *pee*, Du. *pij* id., etym. unknown, cf. NED s.v. *pee*, sb.), Franck-v. W. s.v. *pij*), evidently introduced after Peter the Great's return from Holland and England.

7. Skt. *kañcuka-*, fr. *kañc-* 'bind' : Lat. *cingere* 'gird'. Walde-P. 1.400. Skt. *utariya-*, fr. *utara-* 'upper'.

Russ. *pidžak* (now the reg. word), fr. NE *pea-jacket* = Du. *pij-jakker* 'short heavy coat' worn esp. by sailors (cpd. of ME *pee*, Du. *pij* id., etym. unknown, cf. NED s.v. *pee*, sb.), Franck-v. W. s.v. *pij*), evidently introduced after Peter the Great's return from Holland and England.

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## 6.44 SHIRT

|      |                                       |      |                              |       |                               |
|------|---------------------------------------|------|------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| Grk. | ( <i>χιτών</i> )                      | ON   | <i>serkr, skjorta</i>        | Lith. | <i>marškiniai</i>             |
| NG   | <i>παιῖμα</i>                         | Dan. | <i>skjorte</i>               | Lett. | <i>kreklis</i>                |
| Lat. | <i>(tunica)</i> , late <i>camisia</i> | Sw.  | <i>skjorta</i>               | ChSl. | <i>riza, srāčica, košulja</i> |
| It.  | <i>camisia</i>                        | OE   | <i>serc, scyrtle, hemeþe</i> | SCR.  | <i>košulja, rubača</i>        |
| Fr.  | <i>chemise</i>                        | ME   | <i>sherte</i>                | Boh.  | <i>košile</i>                 |
| Sp.  | <i>camisa</i>                         | NE   | <i>shirt</i>                 | Pol.  | <i>koszula</i>                |
| Rum. | <i>cămașă</i>                         | Du.  | <i>hemd</i>                  | Russ. | <i>rubāška</i>                |
| Ir.  | <i>lène, caimmse, anart</i>           | OHG  | <i>hemidi</i>                | Skt.  | <i>gāmulya-</i>               |
| Nir. | <i>laine</i>                          | MHG  | <i>hemde</i>                 |       |                               |
| W.   | <i>crys</i>                           | NHG  | <i>hemd</i>                  |       |                               |
| Br.  | <i>krez</i>                           |      |                              |       |                               |

Grk. *χιτών*, Lat. *tunica*, already given under 'coat', were the nearest equivalents of 'shirt' in the classical period.

Grk. *χιτωνίσκος* and *χιτωνιον* were applied to a short *χιτών* or woman's shift.

Grk. *ὑπένδυμα, ὑπενδύτης* 'undergarment', Lat. *tunica interior* and Lat. *subcūcula* (fr. \**sub-uere*, parallel to *ind-uere*, ex-uere) would be a sort of undershirt.

But the use of a linen shirt under a woolen tunic first appears in the 4th century A.D. Cf. Marquardt, Röm. Privatleben 470, 552.

1. Derivs. of IE \**kem-* seen also in words for 'covering', 'sky', etc. But the Gallo-Lat. form prob. fr. Gmc. Walde-P. 1.386 f. Walde-H. 1.147 f. OE *hemeþe*, OHG *hemidi*, MHG *hemde*, NHG, Du. *hemd*; Gallo-Lat. *camisia* (> Romance forms and Ir. *caimmse*, Byz. *καμίσιον*, NG *ὑπο-κάμισο*; Fr. > NE *chemise*, now only for woman's undergarment, replacing *smock* and *shift*); Skt. *gāmulya-*.

2. Ir. *lène*, Nir. *laine*, etym. dub., perh. : OW *lein*, W. *llain*, etc. 'linen' (6.23), though the exact relation is obscure. Pedersen 1.311. Pokorny, KZ 45, 361 f.

Ir. *anart* : *inar* 'coat' (6.43). Pedersen 1.178.

W. *crys*, Br. *krez* = Ir. *criss* 'girdle' : Russ. *čerez*, Pol. *trzos* 'money-belt'. Walde-P. 1.423. Pedersen 1.42 f.

3. ON *serkr* (Dan. *særk*, Sw. *särk* not the usual words), OE *serc*, ME *serke* (Se. *sark* still the usual word for 'shirt'), prob. : Skt. *sarj-*, Toch. A *sark* 'wreath'.

4. Lith. *marškiniai* (pl.) : *marška* 'piece of linen cloth', also 'fishing-net' (perh. : ChSl. *mržža* 'net', etc.). Walde-P. 2.273. Berneker 2.39.

Lett. *kreklis*, prob. : Lith. *kreklas*, OPruss. *kracian* 'breast'; or : OE *hrægel* 'garment', etc. (6.12). Leskien, Bildung d. Nom. 453. Walde-P. 1.483. Mühl.-Endz. 2.272.

5. ChSl. *riza, srāčica, sraky* (rendering *χιτών*), see 6.12 and 6.43.

Late ChSl., SCR. *košulja*, Pol. *koszula*, fr. MLat. *casula* 'cloak with a hood' (orig. 'little hut', dim. of *casa* 'hut'), whence also Boh. *košile* through MHG *kāsele* 'part of a priest's garment'. Berneker 586.

SCR. *rubāča*, Russ. *rubāška* (Boh. *rubāš* 'short undershirt') : ChSl. *qabū* 'cloth' (6.21).

6. Skt. *gāmulya-*, above, 1.

The Cretan representations of the Minoan female dress show a distinct skirt, but there is nothing corresponding in classical Greek or Roman costume.

Several of the words entered are used for 'skirt' in general, including 'undershirt, petticoat', but those used only for the latter are not included.

1. NG *φοῦσα* (> Rum. *fusid*), a shortened form of NG *φουστάν* 'dress' (6.42).

2. It. *gonnella*, in earliest use a long coat with skirts (cf. Encycl. Ital. s.v.) dim. of *gonna*, fr. MLat. *gunna* 'fur coat' (see under NG *γούνα* 'fur', 6.28). REW 3919.

It. *sottana* (whence the Fr., NE *soutane* of Roman Catholic priests), fr. MLat. *subtana*, fr. Lat. *subtus* 'below, under'. REW 8402.

Fr. *juppe*, dim. *jupon*, fr. Arab. *ḡubbah* 'cotton undergarment'. REW 3951. Lokotsch 737.

Sp. *falda*, through OProv. fr. Gmc., OHG *falt* 'fold', etc. through use like that of ON *faldr* 'hem of a garment'. REW 3162. Brückner 473.

5. Lith. *apikaklė*, Lett. *apikakle*, cpds. of *api* 'around' and Lith. *kaklas*, Lett. *kakls* 'neck' (4.28).

6. SCR. *ogrica* fr. *grlo* 'throat' (4.29). Berneker 369.

Boh. *limec*, fr. *lem* 'border, hem', a loanword of disputed orig. Berneker 700. Brückner 290.

Russ. *vorotnik*, dim. *vorotniček*, fr. word for 'neck', ChSl. *vratū*, etc. (4.28).

2. It. *gonnella*, in earliest use a long coat with skirts (cf. Encycl. Ital. s.v.) dim. of *gonna*, fr. MLat. *gunna* 'fur coat' (see under NG *γούνα* 'fur', 6.28). REW 3919.

It. *sottana* (whence the Fr., NE *soutane* of Roman Catholic

## 6.51 SHOE

|      |                               |       |        |       |                        |
|------|-------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | ὑπόδημα, πῶδον, κρηπίς        | Goth. | skōhs  | Lith. | kurpė                  |
| NG   | ὑπόδημα, παπούτσι             | ON    | skōr   | Lett. | kurpe                  |
| Lat. | calceus (accus)               | Dan.  | sko    | ChSl. | sapogū, čėrevij        |
| It.  | scarpa, calzatura             | OE    | scōh   | Boh.  | obuša, cipela, postola |
| Fr.  | chaussure, soulier            | ME    | sho    | Pol.  | trzewik, obuwie        |
| Sp.  | zapato, calzado               | NE    | shoe   | Russ. | sapog, bašmak, obuv'   |
| Rum. | ghetă, încălțăminte           | Du.   | schoen | Skt.  | upānah-, pādūkā-       |
| Ir.  | bróc (accrann, cūa-rān, assa) | OHG   | scuoh  | Av.   | aōhra-                 |
| Nir. | brōg                          | MHG   | scuoh  |       |                        |
| W.   | esgid                         | NHG   | schuh  |       |                        |
| Br.  | botez, arc'henad              |       |        |       |                        |

Under 'shoe' are considered the words of most general application to footwear, with omission of many that denote special types of shoes. For the great variety of such special types among the Greeks and Romans, cf. Pauly-Wissowa s.v. *Schuh*, with references.

1. Grk. ὑπόδημα : ὑπόδοι 'bind under', δέω 'bind' (9.16).

Grk. πῶδον (in Hom. 'sandal') : ποῖς, gen. ποδός 'foot'.

Grk. κρηπίς (> Lat. *crepida*), Lith. *kurpė*, Lett. *kurpe* : Ir. *cairem*, W. *crydd*, Br. *kere* 'cobbler', SCr. *krplje* 'snowshoe', prob. fr. a \**kerep-* beside \*(s)ker- 'cut'. Walde-P. 1.425.

NG pop. παπούτσι, fr. Turk. *pabuş* (Pers. *pāpūš*, lit. 'foot-covering', cpd. of *pā-* 'foot' and *pūš* fr. *pūšidan* 'cover'). Lokotsch 1625.

2. Lat. *calceus*, whence or fr. MLat. \**calcea* and other derivs., It. *calzatura*, Fr. *chaussure*, Sp. *calzado*, Rum. *încălțăminte* 'footwear' : Lat. *calx*, -cis 'heel'. Ernout-M. 138. REW 1496-98.

Lat. *soccus*, a sort of low shoe worn by Greeks and comic actors (important only for the borrowed Gmc. words for 'sock' 6.49), loanword, like *τύχος*, *τύχης* (Hesych.) 'a sort of shoe'. Ernout-M. 948.

It. *scarpa*, perh. as 'leather shoe' fr. OHG *scharpe* 'leather purse'. Brück, Z. rom. Ph. 40.647. REW 7981c.

Fr. *soulier*, with change of suffix fr. OFr. *souler*, Prov. *sollar*, fr. MLat. \**sub-tellare*, fr. *subtel* 'hollow of foot'. REW 8397. Gamillscheg 812.

Sp. *zapato* (It. *ciabatta*, Fr. *savate* 'worn-out shoe'), fr. Pers. *čabat* 'bast shoe'. Hence also W. *hars*, *čebot* 'boot', etc. REW 2448. Lokotsch 379.

Rum. *ghetă* (pl. *ghete*), through It. *ghetta* fr. Fr. *guitre* 'gaiter', fr. Gmc., cf. MHG, NHG *rist* 'instep', OE *uryst* 'wrist'. REW 9577.

3. Ir. *accrann*, prob. (with metathesis for *arcc-*) : W. *archen* 'clothing, shoe', OW *archenatou* 'shoes', Br. *arc'hena* 'put shoes on', arc'henad 'shoe', perh. through notion of 'covering, protection' : Lat. *arcere* 'inclose, prevent'. Stokes KZ 41.381. Walde-P. 1.80.

Ir. *cūarān* : MW *cūran* 'boot', perh. fr. the root \*(s)keu- 'cover' as W. *esgid*, Goth. *skōhs*, etc. (below). Walde-P. 2.547. Otherwise Pedersen 1.176 (: ChSl. *čėrevij*, etc., below, 6).

Ir. *as(s)a*, *ass* (K. Meyer, Contrib. 138), etym.? Walde-P. 2.3. Walde-H. 1.99.

Ir. *bróc*, Nir. *brōg*, prob. fr. ON *brók*, pl. *bræk* 'breeches' (6.48), which were sometimes provided with feet, called specifically *leistabræk* (in contrast to *leistalauser bræk*). Leather breeches of this sort are still used by Icelandic and Faroese fishermen. Zimmer, KZ 30.87 f.

Falk, Altwestnordische Kleiderkunde 118.

W. *esgid*, perh. fr. \**ped-skūto-*, cpd. of IE \**pēd-* 'foot' and \**skeu-* fr. \*(s)keu- 'cover' as in Grk. *σκῆρος* 'leather', etc. (6.29). Walde-P. 2.549. Osthoff, Z. celt. Ph. 6.398 ff.

Br. *botez*, fr. Fr. *botte* 'boot' (6.52).

4. Goth. *skōhs*, ON *skōr*, OE *scōh*, OHG *scuoh*, etc., general Gmc., prob. fr. \**skōu-*ko-, IE \**skeu-* 'cover'. Walde-P. 2.548. Falk-Torp 1016. Feist 434.

5. Lith. *kurpė*, Lett. *kurpe* : Grk. *κρηπίς*, etc. (above, 1).

6. ChSl. *sapogū* (usual word for *ὑπόδημα* in Gospels, etc.; Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 393), Russ. *sapog* (esp. 'boot'), but also used for 'shoe', instead of *bašmak* regarded as somewhat vulgar, etym.?

ChSl. *čėrevij*, Boh. *stěvic*, Pol. *trzewik*, SCr. dial. *crevlja* (cf. *crevljar* 'cobbler'), ORuss. *čereviji* (pl.), Bulg. *črēve* (pl.),

perh. as orig. 'leather, hide', fr. IE \*(s)ker- 'cut'. Berneker 151.

SCr. *postola*, fr. Turk. *postol* 'soldier's shoe'. Lokotsch 1667.

SCr. *cipela* (cf. Slov. *cipele* 'ladies' shoes'), fr. Hung. *cipő*, *cipello* 'shoe'. Berneker 130.

Russ. *bašmak*, fr. Turk. *bašmak* 'shoe, sandal' (cf. SCr. *pašmag*, Pol. arch. and dial. *baszmag* 'sort of shoe'). Berneker 45.

ChSl. *obuvi* (rare), SCr. *obuća*, Boh. *obuv*, Pol. *obuwie*, Russ. *obuv'* : ChSl. *ob-uti*, Lith. *auti* 'wear shoes', Av. *aōhra-* 'shoe', IE \**eu-*, in Lat. *ind-uere* 'dress' (6.11).

7. Skt. *upānah-*, fr. *upa-nah-* 'tie under' (cf. Grk. ὑπόδημα).

Skt. *pādūkā-* (rarely *pādū-*) fr. *pad-* 'foot'.

Av. *aōhra-* : Lith. *auti*, ChSl. *ob-uti* 'wear shoes', etc. (above, 6). Barth. 42.

## 6.52 BOOT

|      |                         |      |               |       |                         |
|------|-------------------------|------|---------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | κόδορος, ἐνδορίς        | ON   | bōti, styffil | Lith. | batas, čėbatas, sapašas |
| NG   | στίβαλα, μπότα          | Dan. | stōvel        | Lett. | zābals                  |
| Lat. | colturnus, pēdō, caliga | Sw.  | stōvel        | SCr.  | čizma                   |
| It.  | stivale                 | ME   | bote          | Boh.  | bota                    |
| Fr.  | botte                   | NE   | boot          | Pol.  | but                     |
| Sp.  | bota                    | Du.  | laars         | Russ. | sapog                   |
| Rum. | cizmă                   | OHG  | stiefel       |       |                         |
| Nir. | buatais                 | MHG  | stival        |       |                         |
| W.   | botas                   | NHG  | stiefel       |       |                         |
| Br.  | heuz                    |      |               |       |                         |

1. Grk. *κόδορος*, whence Lat. *colturnus* (esp. 'tragedian's boot'), a loanword, perh. of Lydian orig. J. S. Jongkees, JHS 55.80.

Grk. *ἐνδορίς* : *ἐνδορος* 'running'.

2. Lat. *pēdō* (esp. 'soldiers' and wagoners' boot') : Grk. (Hom., etc.) *πῆρα* 'leather bag, wallet' (whence late Lat. *pēra* 'wallet'), *πῆριν* 'scrotum', root connection? Boisacq 781.

Lat. *caliga*, perh. (but difficulties), fr. cpd. \**calco-liga* : *calz* 'heel', *calceus*

'shoe', and *ligare* 'bind'. Kent, BSL 26.110 ff. Ernout-M. 134. Walde-H. 1.138.

It. *stivale*, fr. Prov. *estibal* = OFr. *estivel* 'boot', fr. *estive* 'pipe', Lat. *stīps* 'stake'? So REW 8264.

But the objection to the old deriv. fr. MLat. *aestivālia*, lit. 'belonging to the summer' (fr. Lat. *aestivus*, fr. *aestus* 'summer'), but actually described as 'high boots', is invalid. Cf. esp. Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 487 f.

Hence NG *στίβαλα*, late ON *styffil*, Dan. *stōvel*, Sw. *stōvel*, late OHG *stifil*, MHG *stival*, NHG *stiefel* (cf. Falk-Torp 1201).

OFr. *bote* (> ME *bote*, NE *boot*), Fr. *botte*, Sp. *bota*, orig. much disputed, but prob. belongs with Fr. *piéd bot* 'club-foot', fr. Gmc., LG *butt* 'stumpy', etc. Wartburg 1.667 f. Gamillscheg 123. REW 1239a.

Hence NG *μπότα*, Boh. *bota*, Pol. *but*, older *bot* > Lith. *batas* (Berneker 77); late ON *bōti* fr. ME *bote* (cf. Falk, Altwestnordische Kleiderkunde 137 f.); Nir. *buatais*, W. *botas(en)* prob. fr. ME *boles* (pl.).

Rum. *cizmă* (through Hung. *csizma*),

SCr., Bulg. *čizma*, fr. Turk. *čizme* 'boot'. Tiktin 370. Lokotsch 431. Berneker 158.

Rum. *ciobolă* (Mold.), Lith. *čėbatas*, through Slav. cf. Russ. dial. *čebot*, etc. fr. Turk., cf. Kasan. *čabata* 'boot' (whence also Sp. *zapato* 'shoe', 6.51). Lokotsch 379. Berneker 159.

3. Br. *heuz*, through OFr. *houze* fr. Gmc., cf. OHG *hosa* 'legging, stocking' etc. (6.49). Henry 162.

4. Du. *laars* = MLG *lërse*, contracted fr. \**lëder-hose*, cf. OHG *lederhosa* 'leather-stocking'. Franck-v. W. 366.

5. Russ. *sapog* (> Lith. *sapašas*, Lett. *zābaks*), see 6.51.

## 6.53 SLIPPER

|      |                             |      |           |       |                   |
|------|-----------------------------|------|-----------|-------|-------------------|
| NG   | παντόφλα                    | Dan. | teffel    | Lith. | šliurė, pantaplis |
| It.  | pantofola                   | Sw.  | toffel    | Lett. | tupelė            |
| Fr.  | pantoufle                   | NE   | slipper   | SCr.  | papuča            |
| Sp.  | pantufa, zapatilla          | Du.  | pantoffel | Boh.  | pantofel          |
| Rum. | papuc, pantof               | NHG  | pantoffel | Pol.  | pantofel, patynek |
| Nir. | slipēir                     |      |           | Russ. | tuflja, tufel     |
| W.   | yslopan                     |      |           |       |                   |
| Br.  | arc'henad-kambr, pantoufenn |      |           |       |                   |

For the 'slipper' intended for house wear only modern words are listed. For earlier periods the nearest approximation would be words for 'sandal', as Grk. *σάνδαλον*, Lat. *solea* (> Goth. *salja*), or for a light 'shoe', some of which are included in 6.51.

1. MLat. *pantofla* (1482, Du Cange), It. *pantofola* (> NG *παντόφλα*), Fr. *pantoufle* (> NE *pantofle* now obs.), Sp. *pantufa*, prob. the creation of a 15th cent. humanist, based upon a fictitious Grk. \**παντό-φελλος* (no such cpd. is quotable for any period). Hence also, through Fr. or It., NHG *pantoffel* (> Boh., Pol. *pantofel*, Lith. *pantaplis*, Rum. *pantof*), Du. *pantoffel*, and the shortened early Du., LG *toffel*, *tuffel*

(> Dan. *teffel*, Sw. *toffel*, Lett. *tupelė*, Russ. *tuflja*, *tuflja*). REW 6208a. Franck-v. W. 488. Falk-Torp 1314.

Sp. *zapatilla*, dim. of *zapato* 'shoe' (6.51).

Rum. *papuc*, SCr. *papuča*, fr. Turk. *pabuş*, source of NG *παπούτσι* 'shoe' (6.51).

2. Nir. *slipēir*, fr. NE *slipper*.

W. *yslopan*, evidently the same word as the archaic *llopan*, *llopan* 'boot, buskin, shoe' (for preservation of initial *s* by prothetic *y*- cf. *ysnoden* 'lace', 6.26), fr. ME *sloppe*, *slop* an unidentified form of footwear, the name of which seems identical with *sloppe* for other articles of clothing 'loose jacket, gown, wide breeches, etc.' (cf. NED s.v.).

Br. *arc'henad-kambr* (Vallée, who gives also *pantoufenn*), lit. 'chamber-shoe'.

3. ME *slypper*, NE *slipper*, fr. the OE vb. *slip*, cf. the rare OE *slīpe-scōh* 'slip-shoe', NE *slip*.

## 6.54 SHOEMAKER, COBBLER

|      |   |      |                       |       |                           |
|------|---|------|-----------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| Grk. | ὑπόδημαποιός, σκούτο-ποιός, νεοροράφος  | ON   | skōlari               | Lith. | kurpius, kurpininkas      |
| NG   | σαργγάρης, παπουτοῦ-σίτορ, calceolarius | Dan. | skomager              | Lett. | kurpnicks                 |
| Lat. | calzolaiō, ciabattino                   | Sw.  | skomakare             | ChSl. | sapogostielc, sapož- nika |
| It.  | cordonnier, savetier                    | OE   | scōhere, scōhwyrhta   | SCr.  | postolar, obučar, čizmar  |
| Fr.  | zapatero                                | ME   | scōmakere, cobelere   | Boh.  | švec, obučník             |
| Sp.  | cizmar                                  | NE   | shoemaker, cobbler    | Pol.  | szeuc                     |
| Rum. | cizmar                                  | Du.  | schoenmaker           | Russ. | sapožnik, bašmačnik       |
| Ir.  | cairem                                  | OHG  | sūlāri, scuohbuoz     | Skt.  | pādūkt-, pādūkā-          |
| Nir. | grēasaidhe, coibléir                    | MHG  | schuochwyrhte         |       | carmakāra-                |
| W.   | crydd                                   |      | schuochsūlare         |       |                           |
| Br.  | kere                                    | NHG  | schuhmacher, schuster |       |                           |

A distinction between 'shoemaker' and 'cobbler' as 'one who mends shoes' is rarely maintained and is ignored here. Most of the words are based on some of those for 'shoe' or 'boot', either derivs. or cpds. with agent-nouns of vbs. for 'make' or 'sew'. A few are words for 'leatherworker', or simply 'sewer' in specialized application.

1. Grk. ὑπόδημαποιοῦς (IG 2<sup>1</sup>.1559.48, etc., also lit. NG), cpd. of ὑπόδημα 'shoe' (6.51) and -ποιός 'maker'.

Grk. σκούτοποιός, cpd. of σκῆτος 'leather' (6.29) and -ποιός 'cutter' (τῆμνω 'cut'), used for 'leatherworker' in general (cf. Hom. Il. 7.221), but esp. 'shoemaker', as also the deriv. σκούρις.

Grk. νεοροράφος, lit. 'cord-sewer', cpd. of νεῦρον 'nerve, fibre, cord' and -ράφος fr. *ράπτω* 'sew' (6.36).

Late Grk. *σαργγάρης* (6th cent. pap., Byz.; *σαργγάρης* Hesych.), NG *σαργγάρης*, fr. late *σαργγάρ* (also *σαργγάρ*, freq. Byz.) a kind of 'shoe', through Syrian fr. a Persian word = Av. *zanga-* 'ankle' :

4. Lith. *šliurė*, fr. LG dial. *schlorre*, *schlurre* 'slipper', fr. *schlorren*, *schlurren* 'shuffle in walking' (Weigand-H. 2.740).

5. Pol. *patynek*, *patynka*, fr. It. *patino* 'sort of shoe', now 'skate', fr. Fr. *patin* 'shoe with wooden sole, skate', fr. *patte* 'paw'. Brückner 399. REW 6301.

work', Ir. *grēss* 'art', of dub. etym. (cf. Macbain 205).

4. ON *skōari*, OE *scōhere* (both rare), fr. ON *skōr*, OE *scōh* 'shoe' (6.51).

Dan. *skomager*, Sw. *skomakare*, ME *scōmakere*, NE *shoemaker*, Du. *schoenmaker*, NHG *schuhmacher*, all obvious cpds. of words for 'shoe' and 'maker'.

OE *scōhwyrhta*, MHG *schuochwyrhte*, cpds. of words for 'shoe' and agent-nouns of OE *wyrcan*, OHG *wurchen* 'make' (9.11).

ME *cobelere*, NE *cobbler*, etym.? NED s.v.

OHG *scuohbuoz*, *scuohbuozare*, cpds. of word for 'shoe' and agent-nouns fr. *buozan* 'make better' = Goth. *bōtjan* 'avail, profit' (cf. OE *bōt* 'help, remedy').

5. Lith. *kurpius*, *kurpininkas*, Lett. *kurpnicks*, fr. Lith. *kurpė*, Lett. *kurpe* 'shoe' (6.51).

6. ChSl. *sapogostielc* (late), cpd. of *sapogū* 'shoe' and *stielc* 'sewer' = Boh. *švec*, Pol. *szeuc* 'shoemaker', agent-nouns of ChSl. *šiti* 'sew', etc. (6.36).

ChSl. *sapožnikū* (late), Russ. *sapožnik*, fr. ChSl. *sapogū*, Russ. *sapog* 'shoe', 'boot' (6.51).

SCr. *postolar*, fr. *postola* 'shoe' (6.51). SCr. *obučar*, Boh. *obuvnik*, fr. SCr. *obuća*, Boh. *obuv* 'footwear, shoe' (6.51).

SCr. *čizmar*, fr. *čizma* 'boot' (6.52). Russ. *bašmačnik*, fr. *bašmak* 'shoe' (6.51).

7. Skt. *pādūkt-, pādūkāra-*, cpds. of *pādū* = *pādūkā* 'shoe' (6.51) and agent-nouns of *kr-* 'do, make'.

Skt. *carmakāra-*, also 'leatherworker' (in general), fr. *carmān* 'hide, leather' (6.29) and *kāra-* (as above).

## 6.55 HAT; CAP

|      |                          |      |                  |       |                            |
|------|--------------------------|------|------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| Grk. | πίτασος, πῶδος, κυνή     | ON   | hōtr; hūfa       | Lith. | skrybėlė; kepurė           |
| NG   | καπίλλο; σκούφος, κασέτο | Dan. | hat, hue; kasket | Lett. | cepure                     |
| Lat. | pilleus, petasus         | Sw.  | hatt; mössa      | SCr.  | šesir, klobuk; kapa, šapka |
| It.  | cappello; berretto       | ME   | hatt; carpe      | Boh.  | klobouk; čepice, čapka     |
| Fr.  | chapeau; casquette       | NE   | hat; cap         | Pol.  | kapelus; czapka            |
| Sp.  | sombrero; gorra          | Du.  | hoed; muts, pet  | Russ. | šljapa; šapka              |
| Rum. | pălărie; sapcă           | OHG  | huot; mütze      | Skt.  | čiraḥṣṭaka, čiras- trā     |
| Ir.  | caipín                   | MHG  | huot; mütze      | Av.   | zaōša-                     |
| Nir. | hata; caipin, bairēad    | NHG  | hut; mütze       |       |                            |
| W.   | het; cap                 |      |                  |       |                            |
| Br.  | tok; kalabousenn         |      |                  |       |                            |

'Hat' and 'cap' are given in this order in the list, where a clear distinction can be made. In most cases 'cap' or 'hood', according to the modern notion, would better describe the types of headgear worn in ancient and medieval times.

1. Derivs. of MLat. *cappa* 'a sort of headgear' (cf. It. *cappa*, Sp. *capa* 'cloak', 6.41).

It. *capello* (> NG καπέλλο), Fr. *chapeau*, fr. dim. MLat. *cappellus*; OE *cæppe*, ME *cappe*, NE *cap* (> W. *cap*, Nir. *caipin* with dim. suffix); SCr. *kapa*,

*kapice*, SCr., Russ. *šapka*, Boh. *čapka*, Pol. *czapka* (*czapa*), the Slavic forms with *š-* and *č-* perh. through Fr. *chape* 'cope' (cf. Berneker 483 f.); Pol. *kapelusz* fr. It. *cappelluccio* deriv. (now depreciatory, 'old worn-out hat') of *cappello*; Rum. *șapcă* fr. Slav. *cap*.

2. Grk. *πίτασος* (> Lat. *petasus*) fr. *πετα-* of *πεταίνω* 'spread out'. Walde-P. 2.18.

Grk. *πῶδος*, Lat. *pilleus*, orig. words for 'felt' (6

## 6.59 VEIL

|      |              |      |                |       |                       |
|------|--------------|------|----------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | κάλυμμα      | ON   | lin            | Lith. | šyras, šydas, nometas |
| NG   | βέλο         | Dan. | slør           | Let.  | škidrauts, plūvurs    |
| Lat. | (vēlum)      | Sw.  | flor, slöja    | Scr.  | veo, koprena          |
| It.  | velo         | ME   | veile          | Boh.  | závo                  |
| Fr.  | voile        | NE   | veil           | Pol.  | kweś, welon           |
| Sp.  | velo         | Du.  | sluier         | Russ. | vual'                 |
| Rum. | vâl          | MHG  | sloier, sleier |       |                       |
| Ir.  | caille, fial | NHG  | schleier       |       |                       |
| Nir. | caille       |      |                |       |                       |
| W.   | gorchudd     |      |                |       |                       |
| Br.  | guel         |      |                |       |                       |

Words for 'veil' are partly based on the notion of 'covering', 'something wrapped about', or 'dragging, trailing'. But several are in origin names of some fine fabric such as is used for veils.

1. Grk. κάλυμμα, fr. καλύπτω 'cover' (12.26).

2. Lat. vēlum, mostly 'curtain' or 'sail', rarely if ever quotable as woman's 'veil', in this sense the source of It. velo (> NG βέλο, Scr. vao, Pol. welon fr. It. velone), Fr. voile (> ME veile, vail, NE veil, Russ. vual'), Sp. velo, Rum. vâl (cf. Tiktin 1710), Ir. fial, Br. guel; prob. fr. \*vexlum, cf. dim. vexillum, fr. IE \*weg-, in Ir. figim 'weave' (6.33). Walde-P. 1.247. Ernout-M. 1082. REW 9184. Pedersen 1.208. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 141 f.

3. Ir. caille, fr. Lat. pallium 'covering', esp. 'cloak' (6.41). Pedersen 1.235. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 119.

W. gorchudd, cpd. of gor- 'on' (= Ir. for-, fr. \*upor) and cudd 'covering': cuddio 'hide' (12.27).

4. ON lín 'linen' (6.23), also 'bridal veil'.

ON blöja 'cloth used for covering, burial sheet, bed-covering', etc., but reg word for 'veil' in Nicel.: Norw. blöje 'swaddling clothes', Dan. blø'sheet', Lat. floccus 'flock of wool', etc. Walde-P. 2.217. Falk-Torp 80.

MLG slöier (> Dan. slør), MHG sloier, sleier, NHG schleier, Du. sluier,

also the shorter form MDu. slöie, (> Sw. slöja): MDu. sloien 'drag', ON slæða 'drag', slæður 'trailing gown' (Gmc. \*slöd-). Falk-Torp 1073, 1074. Franck-v. W. 621. Hellquist 998.

Sw. flor, 'fine cloth, crepe, gauze', used also commonly for 'veil', fr. LG flor 'crepe, gauze', fr. Fr. velours 'velvet' (fr. Prov. velos id., Lat. villōsus 'hairy'). Falk-Torp 240. REW 9334.

5. Lith. šyras 'crepe', used also for 'veil' (Lalis, Kurschat), fr. NHG dial. schir 'fine cloth' (: adj. schier, NE sheer, etc.). Alminauskis 126.

Lith. šydas (fr. LG side 'silk'), also used for 'veil' (Lalis, Gailius-Slaža).

Lith. nometas 'headdress or veil of married women' (cf. Lalis and NSB s.v.), cpd. of nuo 'down, from, away' and deriv. of mesti 'throw', i.e. something 'thrown over and down' from the head.

Let. škidrauts, lit. 'a thin cloth', cpd. of škidrs 'thin, loose woven' and auts 'piece of cloth' (cf. priekšauts 'apron', 6.47). Mühl-Endz. 4.39, 1.231.

Let. plīvurs: plīvuo 'flutter, flicker', plīva 'thin dry skin, thin layer'.

6. Scr. koprena 'gauze, crepe', used also for 'veil' = ChSl., ORuss., Bulg. koprina 'sort of silk'. Berneker 564.

Boh. závoj: zaviti 'wrap up, swathe', cpd. of ríti 'wind' (10.14).

Pol. kweś, fr. Fr. coiffe 'headdress'. Brückner 287.

## 6.61 POCKET

(In a Garment)

|      |          |      |                |       |                   |
|------|----------|------|----------------|-------|-------------------|
| NG   | tasca    | Dan. | lomme          | Lith. | kišenė (delmonas) |
| It.  | pocche   | Sw.  | ficka          | Let.  | k'ėša             |
| Fr.  | bolsillo | ME   | pocket, pousse | Scr.  | špēdlik           |
| Rum. | buzunar  | NE   | pocket         | Boh.  | kapsa             |
| Nir. | pōca     | Du.  | zak            | Pol.  | kieszė            |
| W.   | logell   | MHG  | tasche         | Russ. | karman            |
| Br.  | godell   | NHG  | tasche         |       |                   |

Words for 'pocket' in a garment, unknown in ancient costume, are from those for 'bag, sack' or the like.

1. NG τσέπη, SCR. džep, through Turk. cep id., fr. Arab. ġaib 'pocket, wallet, sack'. Lokotsch 641.

2. It. tasca, fr. Gmc., cf. MHG tasche (below, 4).

Fr. poche (> ME pousse, NE pouch), fr. Frank. \*pokka = OE pocca 'bag' (cf. ME poket, below, 4). REW 6631.

Sp. bolsillo, dim. of bolsa 'purse, pouch, bag' = Fr. bourse, It. borsa, fr. MLat. byrsa 'hide, leather, leather bag', fr. Grk. βύρσα 'hide'. REW 1432.

Rum. buzunar, orig.? Tiktin 248.

3. Nir. pōca, fr. OE-ME poke 'bag', cf. ME poket (below, 4).

W. logell, also 'chest, receptacle', fr. Lat. locellus, dim. of locus 'place'. Loth, Mots lat. 182.

Br. godell, fr. god 'fold in a garment' = W. cod 'bag, pouch, purse, scrotum', fr. OE codd 'bag'. Henry 136.

4. Dan. lomme (Sw. dial. lomma, Fris. lomm), perh. loanword fr. Celtic, cf. Ir. lumman 'covering', Nir. luman 'coarse cover, bag, pod': Ir. lomm, W. llwm 'bare, naked'. Walde-P. 2.418. Falk-Torp 654. Hellquist 588.

Sw. ficka (Dan. fikke 'a little pouch'), fr. MLG vicke, back-formation to ficken 'stick on, fasten', fr. It. ficcare 'fix' (MLat. \*figicare for Lat. figere 'fix, fasten').

Russ. karman, fr. Turk. dial. karman 'pocket'. Lokotsch 1097. Otherwise

ME poket, NE pocket, fr. Anglo-Norm. pokete (13th cent. Godefroy), dim. of

ONorm.Fr. poke = ON poki, OE pocca, pohha 'bag', etc., these prob. (with common notion of 'blown up, swollen'): Lat. bucca 'cheek', etc. Walde-P. 2.116 f. NED s.v. pocket.

Du. zak, MDu. sack (NHG sack also locally 'pocket' or 'wallet'; Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 514) = MLG sak, OHG sac(ch), OE saec, etc. 'sack', fr. Lat. saccus, fr. Grk. σάκος 'coarse cloth, sack', a Semitic loanword (cf. NG σακκάκι 'coat', 6.43).

MHG tasche, tesche, NHG tasche, fr. OHG tasca, dasca 'pouch, bag', orig. dub. Walde-P. 1.766. Falk-Torp 1249.

5. Lith. kišenė, kišėnius (for earlier kešenė, etc., i after kišti 'stick in, thrust in'), Lett. k'ėša (for \*kešene felt as dim. form), fr. Pol. kieszeń (below, 6). Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 92. Mühl-Endz. 2.371.

Lith. delmonas, dalmonas (old word for 'pocket', but not in NSB), fr. Pol. dolman 'Hussar's jacket' (orig. Turk.; Berneker 206), with curious shift of sense.

6. Scr. džep, see under NG τσέπη (above, 1).

Boh. kapsa (Pol. kapsa 'box, sack, wallet'), fr. Lat. capsa 'case, chest, repository'. Berneker 485.

Pol. kieszeń, prob. (fr. its shape): kieszka, Russ. kiška 'gut, intestine'. Berneker 503, 679. Brückner 229.

Russ. karman, fr. Turk. dial. karman 'pocket'. Lokotsch 1097. Otherwise

## 6.62 BUTTON

|      |          |      |        |       |                           |
|------|----------|------|--------|-------|---------------------------|
| NG   | κουμπι   | Dan. | knap   | Lith. | saga, knypkis (guzi- kas) |
| It.  | botton   | Sw.  | knap   | Let.  | puoga                     |
| Fr.  | bouton   | ME   | botoun | Scr.  | puce, dugme               |
| Sp.  | botón    | NE   | button | Boh.  | knofik                    |
| Rum. | nasture  | Du.  | knoop  | Pol.  | guzik                     |
| Nir. | enaipe   | NHG  | knopf  | Russ. | pugovica                  |
| W.   | botum    |      |        |       |                           |
| Br.  | nozelenn |      |        |       |                           |

Ornamental buttons have been found dating back even to prehistoric times (e.g. perforated tin buttons from Italy). But it was apparently not till the 14th or 15th cent. A.D. that they came into use as fastenings for garments, eventually replacing in large measure the pins or lacings of earlier dress.

The words for 'button' originate mostly in those meaning originally 'knob, knot' or the like.

1. NG κουμπι, fr. κουβιον, dim. of Byz. κούβος 'knot, roll, band', prob. : σκαμβός, Ir. camm 'crooked', etc. (12.74). Walde-P. 2.539 f.

2. Fr. bouton, whence It. bottone, Sp. botón, ME botoun (> W. botum), NE button, fr. Fr. bout 'end, point' (12.35). REW 1228c.

Rum. nastur(e), fr. It. nastro 'band, ribbon', MLat. nastola, fr. Gmc., cf. OHG nestila, NHG nestel 'lace' for fastening clothing, with Rum. shift fr. such 'lace' to the 'button' serving the same purpose. REW 5840.

3. Nir. enaipe (Mir. enap 'button, lump, stud', fr. ON knapp (below, 4). K. Meyer, Contrib. 397.

W. nozelenn, fr. MLat. nōdellus, dim. of nōdus 'knot'. Henry 213.

4. Dan. knap, Sw. knapp (ON knapp 'knob', OE cnæpp 'point', LG knapp

'summit of a mountain'), likewise NHG knopf (Dan. knop, MLG knoppe, Du., NE knop 'bud'), Du. knoop, all through 'knob, knot', fr. various extensions of \*gen- in words for 'press together', etc. Walde-P. 1.581 f. Falk-Torp 544.

5. Lith. saga, dim. sagutė (now preferred, cf. NSB s.v. guzikas; formerly a kind of fastening for the washing): segti 'fasten', sagtis, Lett. sagts, OPruss. sagis 'buckle', Skt. saj- 'hang on', etc. Walde-P. 2.480 f. Leskien, Ablaut 365. Trautmann, Altpruss. 416 f.

Lith. knypkis, fr. MLG knoepeke, dim. of knoppe (above, 4).

Lith. guzikas, fr. Pol. guzik (below, 6). Lett. puoga, fr. the same source as ChSl. pagy 'knob', etc. (below, 6).

6. Scr. puce (\*pug-ce), Pol. pugvica (obs.), Russ. pugovica, fr. ChSl. pagy 'knob, tassel, cluster', prob. a Gmc. loanword, cf. Goth. puggs, OE pung, etc. 'money wallet'. Brückner 401. Feist 385. Stender-Petersen 396.

Scr. dugme, fr. Turk. düğme 'button'. Lokotsch 540.

Boh. knofik, Pol. (arch.) knafik, dim. of MHG knofel, knoufel, itself dim. of knopf (above, 4). Berneker 530.

Pol. guzik, dim. of guz 'knob, bruise' = Scr. guz, Boh. huze 'rump, breech': Lith. gūžys 'Adam's apple, crop', etc. Berneker 342 f. Brückner 164.

## 6.63 PIN

|      |                    |      |                    |       |         |
|------|--------------------|------|--------------------|-------|---------|
| Grk. | πείρη, πόρη, ιερέη | ON   | dálkr, nesti       | Lith. | spilka  |
| NG   | καρφίτσα; πόρη     | Dan. | naal               | Let.  | kniepe  |
| Lat. | acus; fibula       | Sw.  | nål                | Scr.  | špēdlik |
| It.  | spillo             | OE   | dalc, prēon        | Boh.  | špēdlik |
| Fr.  | épingle            | ME   | preen, pygn        | Pol.  | spilka  |
| Sp.  | alfiler            | NE   | pin                | Russ. | bulavka |
| Rum. | ac (cu gâmlăie)    | Du.  | speld              | Skt.  | sūci-   |
| Ir.  | delg, sē           | OHG  | spinula            |       |         |
| Nir. | biorān, dealg      | MHG  | spenel, stecknadel |       |         |
| W.   | spilenn            | NHG  | stecknadel         |       |         |
| Br.  |                    |      |                    |       |         |

The 'pin' for fastening clothing, though in ultimate origin a simple pointed object like a thorn or pointed piece of bone, was in ancient (even prehistoric) Greece, Italy, and other parts of Europe mostly of the 'safety-pin, clasp-pin' form, ornamental as well as practical (cf. Ebert, Reallex. s.v. Fibel; J. L. Myres, Who Were the Greeks? 405 ff.). This is now often distinguished by the use of the Lat. fibula (so archaeologists) or terms like Fr. broche, NE brooch, etc. (fr. Lat. adj. broccus used of 'projecting' teeth), NHG spange (OE spang 'clasp'), etc. But the modern words listed are those which are used for the common straight pin (though many are also used more comprehensively, like NE pin for breastpin, etc.).

A few of the words are from verbs for 'pierce', 'fasten', or 'set in'. But more are cognate with words for other pointed objects such as 'needle', 'thorn', 'awl', 'spit'.

1. Grk. πείρη, περονίς, πόρη, fr. the root of πείρω 'pierce'. Walde-P. 2.39. Boisacq 757 f.

Grk. (Hom.) ιερέη: ιε-ινι 'put in'. Walde-P. 1.199. Boisacq 253.

NG καρφίτσα, dim. of καρφίον, dim. of Grk. κάρφος 'dry stick'.

2. Lat. acus 'needle' (6.36) and 'pin'. Hence Rum. ac (cu gâmlăie), lit. 'needle with a head'.

Lat. fibula, fr. figere 'fasten, fix'. Ernout-M. 355, 358 f. Walde-H. 1.492.

It. spillo, spilla, Fr. épingle, Br. spilenn, fr. Lat. spinula, dim. of spīna 'thorn'. Hence also prob. (rather than cognate, as Walde-P. 2.634) OHG spinula, MHG spenel, Du. speld (MDu. spelle fr. \*spenle). REW 8154. Falk-Torp 1122. Franck-v. W. 643.

Sp. alfiler, fr. Arab. al hīl 'needle'. REW 4129b. Lokotsch 865.

3. Ir. delg, Nir. dealg, ON dálkr, OE dalc, dalc, orig. 'thorn' (as still also in Irish): Lith. dilgė 'nettle', dilgus 'pricking, burning'. Walde-P. 1.865 f. Pedersen 1.106.

Ir. sēl, see under Nir. seod 'jewel' (6.72).

Nir. biorān, dim. of bior 'spit, lance, point' (bior- in cpds. 'pointed'), Ir. bir, W. ber 'spit, lance', Lat. veru 'spit, dart', etc. Pedersen 1.144.

4. ON nesti (Nicel. nisti 'disk-shaped brooch'), fr. nestā 'fasten': MHG nesten 'stitch, fasten' (IE \*ned-, in Lat. nōdus 'knot', etc.). Walde-P. 2.328.

Dan. naal, Sw. nål 'needle' (6.36), also 'pin', for which also esp. Dan. knappe-naal, Sw. knappnål, lit. 'button-needle'.

OE prēon, ME preen, prene: ON prjōnn 'knitting needle', MLG prīn, prēne, MHG pfrieme 'awl' (6.37), orig.? Falk-Torp 848.

ME pygn, NE pin, in modern use since latter part of 14th cent., fr. OE pinn = late ON pinni, OS pin, Du. pin 'peg, point' perh.: Ir. bonn 'horn, point'.

Walde-P. 2.109 f. Falk-Torp 827.

Du. speld, OHG spinula, MHG spenel, fr. Lat. spinula (above, 2).

Boh. špendlik (dim.), fr. NHG spān-nadel, a pop. transformation of OHG spinula (above) through connection with spannen 'stretch' (cf. Grimm s.v.).

Pol. szpilka, dim. of szpila, MHG spille 'spindle' (6.32), but confused with MHG spenel 'pin' (above, 2). Brückner 554.

Russ. bulavka, dim. of bulava 'club' (= Pol. bulawa id.): Slov. bula, Boh. boule 'boil', prob. fr. Gmc., cf. OHG biule 'swelling', Goth. uf-bauljan 'swell up'. Berneker 100.

6. Scr. žioda, dial. špioda, fr. MHG spille 'splinter'(?). Rječnik Akad. 2.38. SCR. bačenska, babljača, batuška (all

given in Rječnik Akad.; which is common?), etym.?

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## 6.71 ADORNMENT

(Personal)

|      |                             |      |                 |       |                      |
|------|-----------------------------|------|-----------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | κόσμος                      | ON   | skraut, prjōdi  | Lith. | papušalas            |
| NG   | στολίδι                     | Dan. | smykke, pryðsel | Let.  | ruota, greznams      |
| Lat. | mundus, ornatus, ornamentum | Sw.  | prydnad, smykke | ChSl. | ukrašenije           |
| It.  | ornamento                   | OE   | gearwe          | Boh.  | okrasa               |
| Fr.  | parure                      | NE   | adornment       | Pol.  | ozdoba, okrasa       |
| Sp.  | adorno                      | Du.  | versiering      | Russ. | ukrašenje            |
| Rum. | podoadă                     | OHG  | garawi          | Skt.  | bhūṣaṇa-, alamākāra- |
| Ir.  | cumalach, ornaid            | MHG  | gerwe, gesmuc   | Av.   | paša-                |
| Nir. | ornaidheacht, sciamh-aht    | NHG  | schmuck         |       |                      |
| W.   | addurnaid, trusiad          |      |                 |       |                      |
| Br.  | kinklou, bragerézou         |      |                 |       |                      |

Collective terms for articles of 'adornment' are mostly based on still more comprehensive notions, like 'arrangement', 'equipment', 'preparation', or what is 'suitable', 'beautiful', 'clean'.

1. Grk. κόσμος, orig. 'orderly arrangement', then specialized in two directions, 'adornment' and 'world'. See 1.1.

NG στολίδι, στόλισμα, fr. class. Grk. στολίσ (gen. -idos), στόλισμα 'garment': στόλιος 'equipment', στόλλω 'make ready, equip'. Walde-P. 2.643. Boisacq 907 f.

2. Lat. mundus (usually in this sense only 'woman's adornment'; the sense 'world' borrowed fr. Grk. κόσμος, see

1.1): adj. mundus 'clean, elegant' (15.87).

Lat. ornatus, ornamentum (both words are used in the sense of 'personal adornment, embellishment' as well as 'furnishings, equipment'), fr. ornare 'put in order, equip, adorn', for \*ōrdināre: ōrdō (-inis) 'order, row', this perh. fr. the root \*ar- 'fit' in Grk. ἀράρισκω, Lat. artus, etc., but details dub. Hence, directly or new formations fr. vbs. derived fr. Lat. ornare, It. ornamento, Sp. adorno, Ir. ornaid, Nir. ornaidheacht, W. addurnaid, ME ornement (fr. OFr. ornement), NE adornment (fr. OFr. aournement, with spelling-pronunciation

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Pol. ozdoba, with vb. ozdobić 'decorate': ChSl. po-doba 'what is suitable', 'enough' 'good', etc. (16.71). Berneker 203 f. Brückner 91.

7. Skt. bhūṣaṇa, fr. bhūṣ- 'be busy with, attend upon', caus. 'adorn', extension of bhū- 'become, be'. Walde-P. 2.141.

Skt. alamākāra-, fr. alam-kr- 'prepare', lit. 'make sufficient', cpd. of alam 'enough' and kr- 'do, make'.

Av. piš-, paša-: Skt. piṣ-, peṣas 'ornament', fr. vb. Av. piš- 'color, adorn', Skt. piṣ- 'adorn': Lat. pingere 'paint', Grk. ποικίλος 'many-colored'. Walde-P. 2.9. Barth. 818, 907.

## 6.72 JEWEL

|      |                              |      |                     |       |                     |
|------|------------------------------|------|---------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | λίθος                        | ON   | gimsteinn, górssemi | Lith. | brangenybė, brangus |
| NG   | κόσμημα, διαμαντικό, ργδαίρι | Dan. | jewel               | Let.  | akmuo               |
| Lat. | gemma                        | Sw.  | jewel               | Scr.  | dragulj             |
| It.  | gioiello                     | ME   | gimstān, gim        | Boh.  | klenot, drahoakam   |
| Fr.  | bijou, joyau                 | NE   | juele, gem          | Pol.  | klenot              |
| Sp.  | joya, alhaya                 | Du.  | juwel, kleinnod     | Russ. | dragocennost'       |
| Rum. | giuvar                       | OHG  | gimma               | Skt.  | ratna, mañi-        |
| Ir.  | (sót)                        | MHG  | gimme, kleinót      |       |                     |
| Nl.  | seed                         | NHG  | jewel, kleinnod     |       |                     |



root in *rhwyne* 'bind' (Ir. *con-riug* 'bind together'), Lat. *corrigia* 'strap', etc.). Morris Jones 136, 163.

Br. *bizou*, fr. *biz* 'finger'.

4. Goth. *figgragulþ*, lit. 'finger-gold'.

ON *hringr*, OE *hring*, OHG *ring*, etc., general Gmc. (except Goth.): ChSl. *kragŭ* 'circle', Umbr. *cringatrō* 'shoulder band', etc. Walde-P. 2.570.

5. Lith. *žiedas*, also 'bloom, blossom', pl. 'menses'. Orig. perh. 'bud', as the semantic source for all the meanings, and therefore first applied to a ring with a setting (cf. Lat. *gemma* 'bud, gem', Fr. *baguette* fr. Prov. *baguette* 'berry'):

Lith. *žydėti* 'bloom', *žysti* 'open (of flowers)'. Walde-P. 1.544.

Lett. *gredzens*, perh.: ON *krákr*, *krókr* 'hook, bend', *kraki* 'pole with hook on end, anchor'. Walde-P. 1.593 ff. Mühl-Endz. 1.646.

6. ChSl. *prástenŭ*, SCR. *prsten*, Boh. *prsten*, Pol. *pierscień* (Russ. *perstén* now replaced by *kol'co*), fr. ChSl. *prástu*, etc. 'finger'.

Russ. *kol'co*, dim. of *kolo* 'circle, wheel' (obs. or dial.) = ChSl. *kolo* 'wheel' (10.76). Berneker 548.

7. Skt. *aṅguliya-*, *aṅguliya-*, fr. *aṅguli-* 'finger, toe'.

## 6.74 BRACELET

|      |                     |      |          |       |                          |
|------|---------------------|------|----------|-------|--------------------------|
| Grk. | φάκιον, φαί         | ON   | baugr    | Lith. | apyrankė                 |
| NG   | βραχιόλι            | Dan. | armband  | Lett. | apruoce                  |
| Lat. | brachiale, armillae | Sw.  | armband  | SCR.  | narukvica, grivna        |
| It.  | braccialeto         | OE   | bēag     | Boh.  | náramek                  |
| Fr.  | bracelet            | ME   | bēg      | Pol.  | naramiennik, bransoletka |
| Sp.  | bracaleto, pulsera  | NE   | bracelet | Russ. | braslet                  |
| Rum. | brățară             | Du.  | armband  | Skt.  | kañkana-, karabhā-       |
| Ir.  | foil, fail          | OHG  | boug     |       | ṣaṇa-                    |
| Nir. | brāsilēad           | MHG  | bouc     |       |                          |
| W.   | breichled           | NHG  | armband  |       |                          |
| Br.  | trovec'h            |      |          |       |                          |

Words for 'bracelet' are mostly derived from those for 'arm' (4.31), a few from verbs for 'turn, wind around', or 'bend'.

1. Grk. *φάκιον* orig.? Boisacq 1075.

Grk. *φαί* used for various objects of spiral shape, prob. 'armlet' in Hom. II. 18.401, fr. the root of *ἐλίσσω*, Lat. *volvere*, etc. 'turn around' (10.13).

Late Grk., Byz. *βραχιόλιον*, fr. *βραχίων* 'arm'. Hence also (but through Lat. *brachiale*) late Grk. *βραχιόλιον* and *βραχιόλιον*, the latter Byz. and NG (*βραχιόλι*).

2. Lat. *brachiale*, fr. *brachium* 'forearm' (fr. Grk. *βραχίων*). Hence Rum. *brățară* and the dims. It. *braccialeto*, Fr. *bracelet* (> NE *bracelet*, Russ. *braslet*; also Pol. *bransoletka*, Brückner 38), Sp. *bracaleto*. Ernout-M. 116. REW 1254.

Lat. *armillae* (pl.; sg. late), fr. *armus* 'upper arm, shoulder'. Ernout-M. 74.

Sp. *pulsera*, fr. *pulse* 'pulse' and 'wrist' (where pulse is felt), Lat. *pulsus* 'blow, push'.

3. Ir. *foil, fail*: Grk. *φαί* (above, 1). Windisch, IF 3.76.

Nir. *brāsilēad*, fr. NE *bracelet*, whence also W. *breichled* but prob. influenced by *breichiau* pl. of *braich* 'arm'.

Br. *trovec'h*, cpd. of *tro* 'turn' and *brec'h* 'arm'.

4. ON *baugr*, OE *bēag* (also 'ring, collar'), ME *beg*, OHG *boug*, MHG *bouc*: OE *biagan*, Goth. *biagan* 'bend' (9.14).

NHG, Du. *armband* (Dan. *armband*, Sw. *armband*, by semantic borrowing), lit. 'arm-band'.

5. Lith. *apyrankė*, Lett. *apruoce* (also

'cuff, ruffle at wrist') fr. *api-*, *ap-* 'about' and *ranka*, *ruoka* 'hand, arm'.

6. SCR. *bulg. grivna* = ChSl. *grivina* 'necklace' (6.75).

SCR. *narukvica*, Boh. *náramek*, Pol. *naramiennik*, all dim. cpds. of *na-* 'on' and the words for 'arm', SCR. *ruka*, Boh. *rámě*, Pol. *ramię*.

## 6.75 NECKLACE

|      |                                   |      |                           |       |                      |
|------|-----------------------------------|------|---------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | δρμος, στρεπτός, περι-<br>βραχίων | ON   | men, halsgjörð            | Lith. | kaklaryšis, kariėiai |
| NG   | ρεπάριος                          | Dan. | halsbaand                 | Lett. | kakla ruota          |
| Lat. | monile, torquēs                   | Sw.  | halsband                  | ChSl. | monisto, grivna      |
| It.  | collana                           | OE   | mene, healsbēag, sig(e)le | SCR.  | derdan               |
| Fr.  | collier                           | ME   | coler                     | Boh.  | náhrdelná            |
| Sp.  | collar                            | NE   | necklace                  | Pol.  | naszytnik            |
| Rum. | colțier, ghiordan                 | Du.  | halsnoer                  | Russ. | ożerel'e (monisto)   |
| Ir.  | muínce, muintorc, basc            | OHG  | menni, halsboug, halsgolt | Skt.  | kañhikā-, kañha-     |
| Nir. | muínce                            | MHG  | halsboug, halsgolt        | Av.   | minu-                |
| W.   | guddf'dorch, glein-dorch          | NHG  | halsband                  |       |                      |
| Br.  | tro-c'houzoug                     |      |                           |       |                      |

Most of the words for 'necklace' are derivs. or cpds. of those for 'neck' or 'throat' (4.28, 4.29) and so often parallel to those for 'collar' or 'necktie'. A few are from verbs for 'string together', 'turn around'.

1. Grk. *δρμος*, fr. the root of *είρω* 'string together', Lat. *serere* 'bind together, entwine', etc. Cf. ON *sórn* 'necklace of stones, pearls, or the like'. Walde-P. 2.499 f.

Grk. *στρεπτός* and *στρεπτός*, sb. use of vbl. adj. of *στρέφω* 'turn, roll, twist'. Walde-P. 2.632.

Grk. *περίβρασιον*, *περίδερσις*, deriv. of *περί* 'about' and *δέρω* 'neck'.

Br. *trovec'h*, cpd. of *tro* 'turn' and *brec'h* 'arm'.

2. Lat. *monile*: Ir. *muínce*, OW *mince*, ON *men* (also *hals-men*), OE *mene*, *myne* (also *heals-mene*), OHG *menni*, Av. *minu-*, ChSl. *monisto* (cf. Berneker 2.76), Gallo-Grk. *μανιάκτις*, *μανιάκτις*, *μάνος* 'Celtic necklace': Ir. *muín*, OW *mun*, Skt. *manya-* 'neck', ON *mun*, OE *manu*, OHG *mana* 'mane'. Walde-P. 2.305. Ernout-M. 628.

Lat. *torquēs*: *torquēre* 'turn around, twist' (10.13). Hence Ir. *torc*, W. *torch* in Ir. *muín-torc*, W. *guddf'dorch*, *glein-dorch* (W. *guddf'dorch*, *gleiniau* 'gems, beads'). Ernout-M. 1047. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 183.

It. *collana*, fr. *collo* (Lat. *collum*) 'neck'.

Fr. *collier* (> Rum. *colier*), Sp. *collar*, fr. Lat. *collāre* 'band or chain for the neck' (for captives, animals, etc.), fr. *collum* 'neck'. ME *coler* (also 'collar'), fr. OFr. *collier*, *collier*.

Rum. *ghiordan*, SCR. *derdan*, fr. Turk. *gerdan* 'neck, necklace', fr. Pers. *gardan* 'neck'. Lokotsch 675. Tiktin 675.

3. Ir. *muínce*, *muintorc*, above, 2.

Ir. *basc*, perh.: W. *baich* 'burden, load', Lat. *fascis* 'bundle', etc. Pedersen 1.77. Walde-H. 1.459.

W. *guddf'dorch*, *glein'dorch*, see above, 2.

Br. *tro-c'houzoug* (Vallée), cpd. of *tro* 'twisted' and *gouzoug* 'neck'.

4. ON *men*, OE *mene*, OHG *menni*, above, 2.

ON *halsgjörð*, lit. 'neck-girdle' (cf. 6.57).

OE *sig(e)le* 'necklace' beside *sig(e)l* 'brooch', fr. Lat. *sigillum* 'little image, seal'. Generalized first through 'signet-ring' to other pieces of jewelry? Falk-Torp 953 f. NED s.v. *seal*, sb.<sup>2</sup>.

OE *healsbēag*, OHG *halsboug*, *halspouc*, MHG *halsboug*, lit. 'neck-ring', cf. ON *baugr* 'bracelet' (6.74).

NE *necklace*, cpd. of *lace* (6.26), but here used in older sense 'noose, cord'. NED s.v.

Du. *halssnoer*, lit. 'neck-cord', cpd. of *snoer* = NHG *schnur* 'cord'.

OHG, MHG *halsgolt*, lit. 'neck-gold'. (Cf. Goth. *figgragulþ* 'finger-ring', 6.73).

NHG *halsband* (Dan. *halsbaand*, Sw. *halsband* by semantic borrowing), lit. 'neckband'.

## 6.81 HANDKERCHIEF

|      |                        |      |                          |       |          |
|------|------------------------|------|--------------------------|-------|----------|
| NG   | μαντίλι                | Dan. | lemmetørklæde            | Lith. | nosinė   |
| It.  | fazzoletto, pezzuola   | Sw.  | nåduk                    | Lett. | slaucis  |
| Fr.  | mouchoir               | NE   | handkerchief             | SCR.  | maramica |
| Sp.  | pañuelo                | Du.  | zakdoek                  | Boh.  | kapesník |
| Rum. | batistă, basma         | NHG  | taschentuch, schnupftuch | Pol.  | chustka  |
| Nir. | ciarsūr                |      |                          | Russ. | platok   |
| W.   | cadach (poced), hances |      |                          |       |          |
| Br.  | mouchouer, mouched     |      |                          |       |          |

Words for 'handkerchief' are listed only for the modern languages. For such words as Grk. *χειρόμακτρον*, Lat. *mantēle*, etc., which might have served also as handkerchiefs, see 'towel' (6.82).

But Lat. *sūdarium*, lit. 'sweat-cloth' (: *sūdor* 'sweat'), used esp. for wiping the face, was in fact much like a 'handkerchief'. Cf. Daremberg et Saglio s.v. *orarium*. Hence Grk. *σοῦδάριον* (NT, etc.) rendered lit. as 'sweat-cloth' in OE *swāt-lin*, OHG *sueiz-lahhan*, -*tuoh*, but

5. Lith. *kaklaryšis* (also 'necktie'), fr. *kaklas* 'neck'.

Lith. *kariėiai*, pl. of *karielis* 'bead' (orig. 'coral'), used for 'bead necklace' (NSB, Lalis).

Lett. *kakla* (gen. sg. of *kakls* 'neck') with *ruota* 'adornment' (6.71), or *bante* 'band' (fr. NHG).

6. ChSl. Russ. *monisto* (Russ. arch. or local): Lat. *monile* (above, 2).

ChSl. *grivna*, fr. *griva* 'mane': Skt. *grivā-* 'neck', etc. Berneker 352.

ChSl. (late) *ogrŭlŭ*, *ożrŭlŭ*, Russ. *ożerel'e*: ChSl. *grŭlo*, Russ. *gorlo*, etc. 'throat' Miklosich 63.

Boh. *náhrdelník*, Pol. *naszytnik*, dim. cpds. of *na-* 'on' and the words for 'throat, neck', Boh. *hrdlo*, Pol. *szyja*.

7. Skt. *kañhikā-* (rare), fr. *kañha-* 'neck'. Also *kañha-bhāṣā-* cpd. with *bhāṣ-* in caus. 'adorn' (cf. *bhāṣaṇa-*, 6.71).

2. It. *fazzoletto*, fr. late Lat. *faciāle* 'face-cloth, towel' (gl. to *προσώπιον*, etc., cf. NG *προσώπι*, 6.82), deriv. of *faciēs* 'face'. REW 3128a.

It. *pezzuola*, dim. of *pezza* 'piece of cloth'.

Fr. *mouchoir*, fr. *moucher* 'blow the nose', MLat. *muccāre*, fr. Lat. *mucus* 'snot'. REW 5706.

Sp. *pañuelo*, dim. of *pano* 'cloth' (6.21).

Rum. *batistă*, also 'cambric (cloth)', fr. Fr. *batiste* 'cambric' (named for a certain Bâtiste de Cambrai, who developed a famous linen factory in the 13th cent.).

Rum. *basma* (also 'kerchief'), fr. Turk. *basma* 'printed cloth'. Lokotsch 264.

5. Lith. *nosinė*, fem. of adj. *nosinis* 'of the nose'.

Lett. *slaucis*: *slaucīt* 'wipe off'.

6. SCR. *maramica*, dim. of *marama*, *mahrāma* 'rag, cloth', orig. 'veil (of a married woman)', through Turk. fr. Arab. *mahrāma* 'holy, forbidden, wife': Arab. *harām* 'forbidden'. Lokotsch 1361.

Boh. *kapesník*, fr. *kapsa* 'pocket'. Pol. *chustka*, dim. of *chusta* ('linen cloth' (6.21)).

Russ. *platok*: ChSl. *platŭ* 'cloth, rag', etc. (6.21).

## 6.82 TOWEL

|      |                 |      |                  |       |                         |
|------|-----------------|------|------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | χειρόμακτρον    | ON   | handklæði, þurka | Lith. | rankšluostis (ab-rūsas) |
| NG   | προσώπι         | Dan. | haandklæde       | Lett. | driels                  |
| Lat. | mantēle         | Sw.  | handduk          | ChSl. | račnikā                 |
| It.  | asciugamano     | OE   | handclāf         | SCR.  | ručnik, peškir          |
| Fr.  | serviette       | ME   | handclāf         | Boh.  | ručník                  |
| Sp.  | toalla          | NE   | towel            | Pol.  | ručník                  |
| Rum. | prosop, peșchir | Du.  | handdoek         | Russ. | polotence               |
| Nir. | tuaille         | OHG  | dwaehilla        | Skt.  | gātramānjani-           |
| W.   | lliaîn, tywel   | MHG  | dwehel           |       |                         |
| Br.  | lien            | NHG  | handtuch         |       |                         |

4. Dan. *lemmetørklæde*, cpd. of *lomme* 'pocket' and *tørklæde* 'kerchief, neck-cloth' (cpd. of *tør* 'dry' and *klæde* 'cloth').

Sw. *nåduk*, lit. 'nose-cloth'.

NE *napkin* (6.83), formerly used also, and still Sc., for 'handkerchief', NED s.v. 2.

NE *handkerchief*, cpd. of *kerchief*, ME *curchef*, fr. OFr. *couver-chief*, lit. 'cover-head', a cloth for covering the head, a sort of woman's headgear. NED s.v.

Du. *zakdoek*, NHG *taschentuch*, lit. 'pocket-cloth'.

NHG *schnupftuch*, fr. *schnupfen* 'snuff', MHG *snuipfen* 'puff, blow, snort'.

5. Lith. *nosinė*, fem. of adj. *nosinis* 'of the nose'.

Lett. *slaucis*: *slaucīt* 'wipe off'.

6. SCR. *maramica*, dim. of *marama*, *mahrāma* 'rag, cloth', orig. 'veil (of a married woman)', through Turk. fr. Arab. *mahrāma* 'holy, forbidden, wife': Arab. *harām* 'forbidden'. Lokotsch 1361.

Boh. *kapesník*, fr. *kapsa* 'pocket'. Pol. *chustka*, dim. of *chusta* ('linen cloth' (6.21)).

Russ. *platok*: ChSl. *platŭ* 'cloth, rag', etc. (6.21).

1. Grk. *χειρόμακτρον*, cpd. of *χείρ* 'hand' and *μάκτρον*, also 'towel' (but quotable only late): *μάσσω* 'knead' (5.54).

NG *προσώπι* (> Rum. *prosop*), lit. 'for the face', fr. *ὄψις* 'face'.

NG *περόστρα* (pop. for 'towel' or 'napkin', latter in urban use), fr. It. *pezzetta* 'piece of cloth', dim. of *pezza* 'piece'.

2. Lat. *mantēle* ('towel, napkin', late 'tablecloth'), fr. \**man-terg-sli-*, cpd. of *manus* 'hand' and deriv. of *tergere* 'wipe off'. Ernout-M. 589. Walde-H. 2.32.

It. *asciugamano*, Fr. *essuie-main*, cpds. of It. *asciugare*, Fr. *essuyer* 'wipe'.

(Lat. *ezsūcare* 'deprive of juice') and It. *mano*, Fr. *main* 'hand'.

Sp. *toalla*, fr. Gmc. (see below, 4), OHG *dwaehilla*, etc.).

Rum. *peșchir*, SCR. *peșkir*, fr. Turk. *peșkir* 'towel' (orig. Pers.). Lokotsch 1660.

3. W. *lliaîn*, Br. *lien*, lit. 'linen' (6.23).

4. ON *handklæði*, Dan. *haandklæde*, OE *handclāf*, Sw. *handduk*, Du. *handdoek*, NHG *handtuch*, all lit. 'hand-cloth'.

## 6.83 NAPKIN

|      |                        |      |           |       |                |
|------|------------------------|------|-----------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | χειρόμακτρον           | Dan. | serviet   | Lith. | serveta        |
| NG   | περόστρα               | Sw.  | servet    | Lett. | servjete       |
| Lat. | mappa, mantēle         | ME   | napkin    | SCR.  | ubrus, ubrusac |
| It.  | tovagliuolo, salvietta | NE   | napkin    | Boh.  | ubrousek       |
| Fr.  | serviette              | Du.  | servet    | Russ. | salfelka       |
| Sp.  | servilleta             | NHG  | serviette |       |                |
| Rum. | servet                 |      |           |       |                |
| Nir. | naipcin                |      |           |       |                |
| W.   | napcyn                 |      |           |       |                |
| Br.  | servietenn             |      |           |       |                |

Words listed under 'towel' (6.82) would in earlier periods cover the 'napkin' wherever such an article was in use, and so definitely Grk. *χειρόμακτρον* and Lat. *mantēle*. Cf. Daremberg et Saglio s.v. *mantile* and *mappa*.

The majority of the mod. Eur. words

ON *þurka*: *þurka* 'wipe off', þurr, Goth. *þursus* 'dry'.

OHG *dwaehilla*, *dwehilla*, MHG *dwehel*, *twehel*, *zwehel*, etc., fr. OHG *dwaahan*, Goth. *þwahan*, etc. 'wash' (9.36). Hence MLat. *toacula*, (It. *tovaglia* 'tablecloth'), OFr. *toaille* (> ME *towaille* > Nir. *tuaille*, NE *towel* > W. *tywel*), Sp. *toalla* (fr. Prov. *toalha*). Lett. *dvielis* fr. MLG *dwele* (Mühl-Endz.

## 6.94 OINTMENT

|      |                   |       |                  |       |                         |
|------|-------------------|-------|------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | ἀλοιφή, ἀλοιφή    | Goth. | salbōns          | Lith. | tepalas, mostis         |
| NG   | ἀλοιφή            | ON    | smyrsl           | Lett. | smēre                   |
| Lat. | unguentum, unguen | Dan.  | salve            | ChSl. | masť                    |
| It.  | unguento          | Sw.   | salva            | SCR.  | masť, pomast            |
| Fr.  | onguent           | OE    | sealf, smyrels   | Boh.  | masť                    |
| Sp.  | unguento          | ME    | oignement, salve | Pol.  | masć                    |
| Rum. | unsoare, alifie   | NE    | ointment (salve) | Russ. | mas'                    |
| Ir.  | onagān            | Du.   | zalf             | Skt.  | añjana-, añjas-, lipťi- |
| Nl.  | ungad             | OHG   | salba            |       |                         |
| W.   | ennaint, eli      | MHG   | salbe            |       |                         |
| Br.  | traet             | NHG   | salbe            |       |                         |

1. Grk. ἀλοιφή, ἀλοιφή (> Rum. *alifie*), fr. ἀλοιφή 'anoirt', as Skt. *lipťi-* 'lip-' 'anoirt': Grk. λίπος 'fat', Lith. *lipťi* 'stick', etc. Walde-P. 2.403.

Grk. χρίμα, χρίσμα, fr. χρίω 'anoirt', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.646.

2. Lat. *unguentum, unguen*, Skt. *añjana-*, *añjas-* (cf. OHG *ancho*, Ir. *imb*, etc. 'butter', 5.89): Lat. *unguere* 'anoirt', Skt. *añj-* 'rub, anoirt'. Walde-P. 1.181. Ernout-M. 1126.

Hence, fr. Lat. *unguentum*, or new derivs. of *unguere*, It., Sp. *unguento*, Fr. *unguent*, Rum. *unsoare* (fr. perf. stem of *unge*), Ir. *ongain*, Nl. *ungad* (Ir. *onagān* 'an anointing', fr. *ongim*, Lat. *unguere*), W. *ennaint* (fr. OFr. *enoirt*, past pple. of *enoindre*, Lat. *in-unguere*; cf. Pedersen 1.224), ME *oignement* (OFr. *oignement*, MLat. *\*unguimentum*), NE *ointment* (with *-t-* from *anoirt*).

3. W. *eli*: OBr. *eli* 'redolent', fr. Lat. *olēre* 'smell'(?). Pedersen 1.197. Loth, Mots lat. 163.

Br. *traet*, abstracted fr. the borrowed

Fr. *traiter* in the sense 'médicamenter'. Henry 270.

4. Goth. *salbōns*, OE *sealf*, ME, NE *salve*, OHG *salba*, MHG, NHG *salbe*, Du. *zalf*, MLG *salve* (> Dan. *salve*, Sw. *salva*): Skt. *sarpis-* 'clarified butter', *srpra-* 'fatty, smooth', Toch. A *šalyp* 'fat, oil'. Walde-P. 2.508. Feist 407 f. NED s.v. *salve*, sb.1.

ON *smyrsl*, OE *smyrels* (Dan. *smørrelse* 'grease', Sw. *smörjelse* 'unction'): ON *smyrva*, *smyrja*, OE *smieruan* 'anoirt', ON *smör* 'butter, fat', Ir. *smiur*, W. *mer* 'marrow', etc. Walde-P. 2.690 f. Falk-Torp 1086 f.

5. Lith. *tepalas*, fr. *tepti* 'smear, grease, oil', Lett. *teptid*. Trautmann 319. Lith. *mostis*, fr. WhRuss. *masť* = ChSl. *masť* (below, 6).

Lett. *smēre*, fr. MLG *smēr* 'grease': ON *smör* 'butter' (cf. ON *smyrsl*, above).

6. ChSl. *masť*, SCR. *masť*, pomast, Boh. *masť*, Pol. *masć*, Russ. *mas'*: ChSl. *mazati* 'ἀλείφειν', Grk. *μαγνῆναι* 'knead', etc. Walde-P. 2.226 f. Berneker 2.23 f.

7. Skt. *lipťi-* and *añjas-*, above, 1, 2.

## 6.95 SOAP

|      |             |      |               |       |        |
|------|-------------|------|---------------|-------|--------|
| NG   | σαποῖν      | ON   | þvāl, lauðr   | Lith. | muilas |
| Lat. | sāpō (late) | Dan. | sābe          | Lett. | ziēpes |
| It.  | sapone      | Sw.  | sāpa, tēd     | SCR.  | sāpun  |
| Fr.  | savon       | OE   | sāpe, lēapōr  | Boh.  | mýdlo  |
| Sp.  | sabun       | ME   | sōpe          | Pol.  | mýdlo  |
| Rum. | sāpun       | NE   | soap          | Russ. | mylo   |
| Nl.  | galluanach  | Du.  | zeep          |       |        |
| W.   | sebon       | OHG  | seipfa, seifa |       |        |
| Br.  | soavon      | MHG  | seife         |       |        |
|      |             | NHG  | seife         |       |        |

Soap was unknown to the Greeks and Romans of the classical period, its place being taken by ointment or special kinds of earth as agents, for any of which in Greek might be used *ρόμμα* fr. *ρόπω* 'cleansing, wash' or *σμήμα*, *σμήγμα* fr. *σμάω* 'wipe, wash'. Cf. Pauly-Wissowa s.v. *Seife*.

Pliny mentions *sāpō* as a Gallic invention for coloring the hair red, used also by the Germans (HN 28.191, *prodest ei sapo*; Gallorum hoc inventum rutilandis capillis; fit ex sebo et cinere . . . duobus modis, spissus et liquidus, uterque apud Germanos maiore in usu viris quam feminis), but the word is of Germanic origin; whence it was widely borrowed. The few other words for 'soap' are mostly derived from verbs for 'wash'.

1. OE *sāpe* (> Icel. *sāpa*, Norw. *saapa*, Sw. *sāpa*), OHG *seipfa*, *seifa*, MHG, NHG *seife*, Du. *zeep*, MLG *sēpe* (> Dan. *sābe*, Lett. *ziēpes*), fr. Gmc. *\*saip(i)ōn* (cf. Finn. loanword *saippio*), prob.: OE *sipian* 'drip', with reference

to the process of manufacture (or through an intermediate 'resin', the cognate OE *sāp*). Walde-P. 2.468. Falk-Torp 1229 f. Hence late Lat. *sāpō*, -ōnis, It. *sapone* (> NG *σαποῖν* > Turk. *sabun* > SCR. *sapun*), Fr. *savon* (> Br. *soavon*), Sp. *jabon*, Rum. *sāpun*, W. *sebon* (learned borrowing).

2. Nl. *galluanach*, *gallūnach*, apparently fr. *gall* 'stone' and *uanach* 'foaming, frothing'.

3. ON *þvāl*, Sw. *tvål* = OE *þwēal*, OHG *duahal*, Goth. *þwahl* 'washing, purification': Goth. *þwahan*, OE *þwēan*, ON *þvā*, etc. 'wash' (9.36). Hellquist 1253.

ON *lauðr*, OE *lēapōr* 'washing-soda', fr. *\*lou-tro-*: Ir. *luath*, W. *lludw*, Br. *ludu* 'ashes' and Lat. *lavāre*, Grk. *λαίω* 'wash'. Walde-P. 2.441. Falk-Torp 568. NED s.v. *lather*, sb.

4. Boh. *mýdlo*, Pol. *mydło*, Russ. *mylo* (> Lith. *muilas*): ChSl. *myti* 'wash' (9.36).

*πρόμα* 'be in motion, be', Skt. *car-* 'move, perform', etc., IE *\*k<sup>u</sup>el-*. Development fr. 'turn, move' through 'be busy with'. Cf. Lat. *versāri* 'remain, dwell', fr. *vertere* 'turn'. Walde-P. 1.514 f. Ernout-M. 204 ff. Walde-H. 1.246.

Lat. *sedēre* 'sit, remain', whence Rum. *ședea* 'sit' and also 'dwell'; cpd. *residēre* 'remain, abide', rarely 'dwell', whence Fr. *résider* (> NE *reside*), Sp. *resider* 'reside'.

Lat. *morārī*, *dēmōrārī* 'delay' (14.24), in VLat. also 'dwell' (so *morārī* and *commorārī* in Peregrination), whence Sp. *sāpō*, -ōnis, It. *sapone* (> NG *σαποῖν* > Turk. *sabun* > SCR. *sapun*), Fr. *savon* (> Br. *soavon*), Sp. *jabon*, Rum. *sāpun*, W. *sebon* (learned borrowing).

2. Nl. *galluanach*, *gallūnach*, apparently fr. *gall* 'stone' and *uanach* 'foaming, frothing'.

3. ON *þvāl*, Sw. *tvål* = OE *þwēal*, OHG *duahal*, Goth. *þwahl* 'washing, purification': Goth. *þwahan*, OE *þwēan*, ON *þvā*, etc. 'wash' (9.36). Hellquist 1253.

ON *lauðr*, OE *lēapōr* 'washing-soda', fr. *\*lou-tro-*: Ir. *luath*, W. *lludw*, Br. *ludu* 'ashes' and Lat. *lavāre*, Grk. *λαίω* 'wash'. Walde-P. 2.441. Falk-Torp 568. NED s.v. *lather*, sb.

4. Boh. *mýdlo*, Pol. *mydło*, Russ. *mylo* (> Lith. *muilas*): ChSl. *myti* 'wash' (9.36).

3. Ir. 3 sg. *atreba* 'habitat', Nl. *aitreabhaím*, cpd. of *ad-* and *trebaim* 'inhabit, cultivate', Nl. *treabhaím* 'cultivate, plow': Ir., OW, OBr. *treb* 'dwelling', Osc. *tríbūm* (*\*trēbo-*) 'building', Umbr. *trebeit* 'versatur', Lat. *trabs* 'beam', Lith. *troba* 'building', OE *þorp*, OHG *dorf* 'village'. Walde-P. 1.757.

Nl. *comhnuighim*, fr. *comhnaidhe* 'dwelling, abiding', Ir. *comnaide*, beside *irnaide*, Nl. *irnaidhe* 'waiting, watching', vbl. n. of Ir. *ar-neut* 'I expect', this a cpd. of *\*ni* 'down' and *\*sed-* 'sit'.

'House' is understood here as 'dwelling-house'. There is overlapping, on the one hand, with 'building' in general, on the other, with 'dwelling', 'home'. The former notion is more dominant etymologically, the majority of the words reflecting the notion of 'build', 'cover', or some other feature of the construction. But some come from 'remain, rest, stand, dwell', etc. Regardless of their etymology, words for 'house' may also be used for 'building', but still more generally for 'home' and for 'household, family'. They commonly supply the phrases answering to NE *at home*, as Gr. *οἶκος*, NGr. *σὸ σπίτι*, It. *a casa*, Fr. *chez moi*, etc. (cf. fr. Lat. *casa*), NHG *zu hause*, Lith. *namie*, Russ. *doma*, etc.

Hence the common dictionary definition 'house, home' for most of the words listed here. But they do not correspond to NE *home* in its widest sense. Cf. below 7.122. Words for 'dwelling', derived from the verbs for 'dwell' (7.11), though they cover 'dwelling house', like Lat. *habitatō*, Rum. *locuință*, NHG *wohnung*, NE *dwelling*, Skt. *vegman-*, etc. are not included in the list, unless they are the common words for 'house', as Grk. *οἶκος*.

1. IE *\*domo-*, *\*domu-* 'house', fr. *\*dem-* 'build' in Gr. *δῆμος*, etc. (9.44). Walde-P. 1.786 ff. Ernout-M. 281 ff. Gr. *δῶμος* (mostly poet.); Lat. *domus*; ChSl. *domā*, etc., general Slavk; Dam. (Vedic), Av. *dmāna-*, *nmāna-*.

2. IE *\*weik-*, *\*wik-*, *\*woiko-*. Walde-P. 1.231. Ernout-M. 1103. Grk. *οἶκος*, *οἰκία* 'house', Lat. *vicus* 'group of houses, village', Goth. *weihs* 'village', ChSl. *vīst* 'village', Skt. *viç-* 'settlement, house, clan, people', Av. *vis-* 'dwelling, village', OPers. *við-* 'royal court, palace, family', Skt. *vegman-*, Av. *vāšma* 'dwelling', Lett. *nams* 'kitchen', etc., also 'house' (but less usual than *māja*), etym. dub. Possibly: Grk. *δῶμος*, etc.

3. NG *spiti*, the reg. word for 'house' in the spoken language, fr. Lat. *hospitium* 'lodging, inn', VLat. 'house'. Cf. Arch. lat. Lex. 8.194; Peregrination 25.7 *vadent se unusquisque ad ospitium suum*.

4. It., Sp. *casa*, Rum. *casă* (cf. Fr. *chez moi*, etc. 'at home'), fr. Lat. *casa* 'cottage, hut', (7.13).

Fr. *maison*, fr. Lat. *mansio* 'staying' later 'stopping place, station, lodging', fr. *manēre* 'remain' (12.16).

5. Ir. *tech*, Nl. *tech*, W. *ty*, Br. *ti*: Grk. *στέγος*, *stēgos* 'roof', *στέγω*, Lat. *tegere* 'cover', NHG *dach* 'roof', etc. (7.15). Walde-P. 1.620 ff. Pedersen 1.98 f. Cf. Cret. *stēga* 'house' (so in Law Code, where *oikia* is 'household'), Lat. *tectum* 'roof' and frequently 'house'. Cf. also Grk. *στέγος* 'roof', at Cyrene 'house'.

6. Goth. *-hūs* (*gudhūs* 'temple'), ON, OE, OHG *hūs*, etc., general Gmc., etym. much disputed, but prob.: Grk. *κεῖθε*, OE *hȝdan* 'hide', IE *\*keudh-*, or fr. a parallel *\*keut-* (Lat. *cutis*, OHG *hūt* 'skin'), or *\*keus-* (OE *hosa* 'husk' and 'leg-covering, hose', etc.), all extensions of IE *\*(s)keu-* 'cover'. Walde-P. 2.546 ff., 551. Falk-Torp 433. Feist 223.

Goth. *gards* 'house', rarely 'court': ON *garðr* 'yard, court', OE *geard*, NE *yard*, etc. (7.15).

Goth. *razn*, ON *rann* (poet.), OE *arn* (esp. 'place' in cpds., but also 'house'): Goth. *rasta* 'mile', OHG *rasta*, OE *raest* 'rest', NE *rest*, etc. Walde-P. 1.144. Falk-Torp 878, 882.

7. Lith. *namai* (pl.), less frequently sg. *namas*, the usual word for 'house' as 'home' (cf. *namie* 'at home', *namo eti* 'go home'), Lett. *nams* 'kitchen', etc., also 'house' (but less usual than *māja*), etym. dub. Possibly: Grk. *δῶμος*, etc.

'plowed land': OE *erian*, Lat. *arāre* 'plow', etc. Walde-P. 1.78.

OE *sittan* 'sit' is also frequently 'dwell'. Cf. Grk. *κάθημαι*, Lat. *sedēre*, *residēre*, above, 1, 2.

ME *dwelle*, NE *dwell*, fr. OE *duellan* 'lead astray, stupefy, hinder, delay': ON *dvelja* 'delay, put off', refl. *dveljask* 'stay', Sw. *dvaljas* 'dwell', OHG *tuellan* 'delay', all caus. forms of Gmc. *\*dwell-* in OHG *tuellan* 'be benumbed, torpid', OE *gedwolen* 'gone astray', Goth. *dvals* 'foolish', IE *\*dhwel-* in Grk. *θολός* 'dirt', Ir. *dall* 'blind', etc. The development is fr. 'confuse, lead astray' to 'hinder, delay', then intr. 'delay, linger', whence 'dwell' as often. Walde-P. 1.842 f. Falk-Torp 169. NED s.v. *dwell*, vb.

ME, NE *live* 'live' = 'be alive' (4.74), also 'live' = 'dwell' fr. the 13th cent. and now virtually displacing *dwell* in spoken use.

5. Lith. *gyventi*, Lett. *dzīvot*, ChSl. *žiti*, SCR. *živjeti*, Russ. *žit'*, all meaning 'live' = 'be alive' (4.74) and also 'live' = 'dwell'.

Lett. *mājuot*, fr. *māja* 'house' (7.12).

6. ChSl. *vitati* (cf. Mt. 13. 32 of birds 'lodging'), *obitati* (*\*obā-vitati*), Russ. *obitat'* 'dwell' (Russ. *viat'* 'soar', Boh. *vitati*, Pol. *vitać* 'welcome'): Lith. Lett.

*vieta* 'place' (12.11), root connection? Trautmann 345.

ChSl. *prebývati* 'remain', SCR. *prebivati* 'dwell', Boh. *obývati* 'dwell', Russ. *prebývati* 'sojourn, reside', cpds. of ChSl. *byvati* iter. of *byti* 'be' (9.91); Boh. *bydleti*, denom. of *bydlo* 'dwelling', fr. the same root.

SCR. *stanovati*, fr. *stan* 'dwelling', this: ChSl. *stanū* 'camp', Boh. *stan* 'tent', Skt. *sthāna-* 'place', fr. IE *\*stā-* 'stand'. Walde-P. 2.606.

Pol. *mieszkać*, now the usual word for 'dwell', formerly 'delay, linger, tarry' (so Boh. *meškati*, Russ. *meškať*), fr. *\*mieszka* (*Mieszka* as a name) a pop. abbr. of the Slavic word for 'bear' (3.73). Development fr. 'move clumsily like a bear' (so the borrowed Lith. dial. *meškiuoti*) to 'move slowly, linger', etc. Berneker 2.30. Brückner 335.

7. Skt. *vas-*, the usual word for 'dwell', Av. *vah-* (less common): Goth. *visan*, OE, OHG *vesan* 'be' and 'abide, remain', IE *\*wes-*, of which the primary sense was prob. 'abide, dwell'. Walde-P. 1.306 ff. Feist 567.

Skt. *ksi-* (less usual than *vas-*), Av. *ši-* (the usual word for 'dwell'): Grk. *κρίω* 'build, found', *κρίσις* 'foundation', etc. Walde-P. 1.504.

## 7.12 HOUSE

|      |                     |       |             |       |                     |
|------|---------------------|-------|-------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | οἶκία, οἶκος, δῶμος | Goth. | gards, razn | Lith. | namai, butas        |
| NG   | οἶκος               | ON    | hūs, rann   | Lett. | māja, nams          |
| Lat. | domus               | Dan.  | hus         | ChSl. | domā, chramā, chyzū |
| It.  | casa                | Sw.   | hus         | SCR.  | kuća, dom           |
| Fr.  | maison              | OE    | hūs, arn    | Boh.  | dām                 |
| Sp.  | casa                | ME    | hus, hous   | Pol.  | dom                 |
| Rum. | casă                | NE    | house       | Russ. | dom                 |
| Ir.  | tech                | Du.   | huse        | Skt.  | grha-, dama-nmāna-  |
| Nl.  | tech                | OHG   | hūs         | Av.   |                     |
| W.   | ty                  | MHG   | hūs         |       |                     |
| Br.  | ti                  | NHG   | haus        |       |                     |

OE *eardian*, fr. *eard* 'native land, country, home', this prob. like OHG *art*

## 6.96 MIRROR

|      |                      |       |                  |       |                      |
|------|----------------------|-------|------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | κάτοπτρον, κάτοπτρον | Goth. | skuggwa          | Lith. | veidrodis (zerkolas) |
| NG   | κατόπτρον            | ON    | skuggja, spegill | Lett. | spuogulis, spiezēlis |
| Lat. | speculum             | Dan.  | spejl            | ChSl. | zrcalo, *ogledalo    |
| It.  | specchio             | Sw.   | spejel           | SCR.  | ogledalo (zrcalo)    |
| Fr.  | miroir               | OE    | glæs             | Boh.  | zrcadlo              |
| Sp.  | espejo               | ME    | mirour, glas     | Pol.  | zwierciadło          |
| Rum. | oglinđă              | NE    | mirror, glass    | Russ. | zerkalo              |
| Ir.  | scáthán              | Du.   | spiegel          | Skt.  | ādarṣa-, darpaṇa-    |
| Nl.  | scáthán              | OHG   | spiegel, scūcar  |       |                      |
| W.   | drych                | MHG   | spiegel          |       |                      |
| Br.  | meleour              | NHG   | spiegel          |       |                      |

Words for 'mirror' are mostly from verbs for 'look', with a few from words for 'shadow' or other sources. The common use of the word for the material 'glass' in the sense of 'mirror' seems to be peculiar to English.

1. Grk. *κάτοπτρον* beside *κατόπτρις* 'spy', etc., deriv. of *κατά* and the root of *ἐφωμαι*, *ἐφωπα* fut. and aor. to *ὄρω* 'see'. Hence also, with transposition, Att. *κάτοπτρον*, NG *κατόπτρις* (for *θ* cf. *καθόραω*).

2. Lat. *speculum*, fr. *\*spec-* 'look' in cpds. *-specere*, etc. (15.52). Hence It. *specchio*, Sp. *espejo*, OHG *spiegel*, MHG, NHG, Du. *spiegel*, MLG *spēgel* (> ON *spegill*, Dan. *spejl*, Sw. *spejel*, Lett. *spiezēlis*). Ernout-M. 961. REW 8133. Falk-Torp 1115.

OFr. *miradoir*, *miroir*, *mirour* (> ME *mirour*, NE *mirror*), Fr. *miroir*, fr. *\*miratōrium*, deriv. of Lat. *mirāre* (*mirārī*) 'wonder at' in the later sense of 'look' as in It. *mirare*, Fr. *mirer*, etc. (15.52). REW 5603. NED s.v. *mirror*. Rum. *oglinđă*, fr. Slavic, see below, 6.

3. Ir. *scáthán*: *scáth* 'shade, shadow' (1.63). Cf. Goth. *skuggwa*, etc. (below, 4).

W. *drych* (also 'sight, appearance'): Ir. *drech* 'face, appearance', Grk. *δέρκομαι*, Skt. *drç-* 'see', etc. (15.51). Walde-P. 1.807. Pedersen 1.42.

Br. *meleour*, with dissim. of liquids,

fr. OFr. *miroir* or the same source (above, 2). Loth, Mots lat. 186. Pedersen 1.491.

4. Goth. *skuggwa*, ON *skuggja*, OHG *scūcar*: ON *skuggi*, OE *scūa*, etc. 'shade, shadow' (1.63). Falk-Torp 1045. Feist 435.

OE *glæs* 'glass' as material (9.74), also as 'mirror', and so NE *glass* (with or without *looking-*) commonly to the present day (look in the glass

## 7.13 HUT

|      |                            |       |            |
|------|----------------------------|-------|------------|
| Grk. | καλύβη, καλία, κλισία      | Goth. | .....      |
| NG   | καλύβα, καλύβη             | ON    | .....      |
| Lat. | casa, tugurium             | Dan.  | hytte      |
| It.  | casupola, tugurio, capanna | Sw.   | hydda      |
| Fr.  | hutte, cabane              | OE    | cot        |
| Sp.  | huta, cabana, choza        | ME    | cot, hutte |
| Rum. | colibă, bordeiu            | NE    | hut        |
| Ir.  | both, bothán               | Du.   | hut        |
| Nir. | both, bothán               | OHG   | hutta      |
| W.   | buth, cut                  | MHG   | hutte      |
| Br.  | log, logell                | NHG   | hutte      |

Words for 'hut' are from those denoting 'cover', 'rounded or hollow shape', or some special manner or material of construction. Some are diminutives of those for 'house'.

1. Grk. καλύβη fr. the stem of καλύπτω 'cover', also καλία and Skt. cālā- 'house, stall, hut' fr. the same root, IE \*kel- 'cover, hide' in Lat. *occulere*, *cēlare*, Fr. *celim*, OE *helan*, etc. (12.26, 12.27). Walde-P. 1.432 ff.

NG καλύβα is, through Turk., the source of SCR. *koliba*, Rum. *colibă*, etc. Berneker 546.

Grk. κλισία, Hom. κλισίη ('hut', also 'couch'): κλίνω 'incline, recline', κλισίη 'couch', Goth. *hleipra* 'tent' (7.14), etc., IE \*klei-. Walde-P. 1.490. Boisacq 470 f.

2. Lat. *casa*, etym. dub., perh. as orig. 'wickerwork', fr. \*kat- in Lat. *catēna* 'chain', *cassis* 'net', etc. Walde-P. 1.338. Walde-H. 1.175 f.

It. *casupola*, dim. of *casa*, after it had become 'house'. REW 1752.

Lat. *tugurium* (> It. *tugurio*), *tegurium*, fr. *tegere* 'cover' (12.26). Ernout-M. 10.20.

Late Lat. *capanna* (Isid. 15.12.2 *tugurium casula est* . . . *hunc rustici capannam vocant*), orig. dub., perh. fr. *cannaba* 'booth' with form influenced by *capere*. Hence It. *capanna*, Sp. *cabaña*, NE *cabin*, etc. Ernout-M. 146. Walde-H. 1.156. REW 1624.

headquarters, emperor's tent', this fr. Lat. *cors*, *cortis* 'court' (7.15).

Rum. *gatră*, see below, 6, SCR. *šator*, etc.

3. Ir. *pupall*, etc., above, 2.

Br. *telt*, fr. OE *teld* (below, 4). Henry 262.

Br. *tinell*, fr. Fr. *tonnelle* 'arbor, bower'.

4. Goth. *hleipra*, *hlīja* : Grk. κλισία 'hut' (7.13), κλίνω 'couch', κλίνω 'incline, recline', Lat. *inclinare* 'incline', Umbr. *kletram* 'litter', etc. Walde-P. 1.490. Feist 263.

ON *tjald*, Dan. *telt*, Sw. *tält*, OE *teld*, *geteld*, ME *teld*, *tild* (NE *tild*), MLG *telt* (> Lett. *telt*), OHG (*gi*)*zelt*, MHG (*ge*)*zelt*, NHG *zelt* : OE *beteldan* 'cover' (but this prob. fr. *teld*), outside root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.811. Falk-Torp 1253.

5. Lith. *palapinė*, neolog. for loanword *šėtra*, 'tent', used also for 'arbor' and formed fr. *lapas* 'leaf' under influence of NHG *laube*, *laubhütte*. Fraenkel, Z. sl. Ph. 6.87.

Lith. *šėtra*, fr. Russ. *šater* (below, 6).

## 7.15 YARD, COURT

|      |              |       |                   |       |                       |
|------|--------------|-------|-------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | αὐλή         | Goth. | rīhsns, gards     | Lith. | kiemas                |
| NG   | αὐλή         | ON    | garðr             | Lett. | pagalms               |
| Lat. | cōhors, aula | Dan.  | gaard             | ChSl. | dvorā                 |
| It.  | cortile      | Sw.   | gård              | SCR.  | avlija, dvor(ište)    |
| Fr.  | cour         | OE    | geard             | Boh.  | dvůr                  |
| Sp.  | patio        | ME    | zerd, hawe        | Pol.  | dziędziniec, podwórce |
| Rum. | curtie       | NE    | yard              | Russ. | dvor                  |
| Ir.  | cuirt        | Du.   | hof, binne-plaats | Skt.  | aṅgana-               |
| Nir. | bannrach     | OHG   | hof               | Av.   | .....                 |
| W.   | yard         | MHG   | hof               |       |                       |
| Br.  | porz         | NHG   | hof               |       |                       |

The words listed here, while not altogether synonymous in their range, are intended to cover those commonly applied to the enclosed area attached to a house, whether outside or an inner court. Many of the words for 'court' have developed secondary meanings such as 'hall, palace, estate' and, with Fr. *cour*

leading the way, 'royal retinue', 'assembly of judges', etc. Some are now used only in such secondary senses and no longer applied to a 'courtyard', and so are omitted from the list.

Some that originally belonged to this group have come to denote the cultivated 'garden' (as Lat. *hortus*, NE *gar-*

6. In ChSl. the Grk. σκηνή is taken over as *skiniĭ*, once is rendered by *krovā* 'roof' (7.26), once (Supr.) by *kašta* : Bulg. *kūšta*, SCR. *kuča* 'house' (7.12).

SCR. *šator*, Pol. *szator*, Russ. *šater*, Rum. *gatră*, fr. Turk. *çadır*, NPers. *čādar* 'tent'. Berneker 133. Lokotsch 380.

Boh. *stan* : ChSl. *stanŭ* 'camp', SCR. *stan* 'dwelling', Skt. *sthāna* 'place', fr. IE \*stā- 'stand'. Walde-P. 2.606. Development of 'tent' through the military 'headquarters' tent', as in Rum. *cort*, above, 2.

Pol. *namiot* : Russ. *namet* 'cover, roof, large tent', etc., cpd. of *na-* 'upon' and *met-* 'throw'. Berneker 240. Brückner 354.

Russ. *palatka*, dim. of *palata* 'official chamber, palace', fr. Byz. παλάτιον, fr. Lat. *palātium*. Development through 'headquarters' tent'.

7. Skt. *vastragṛha-* (rare), lit. 'clothing-house', cpd. of *vastra-* 'cloth, dress' and *gṛha-* 'house'.

rounded shape. Walde-P. 1.555 ff., 560. Falk-Torp 570.

OHG *hutte*, MHG, NHG *hütte* (> Fr. *hutte* > ME *hutte*, NE *hut*, Sp. *huta*; also > Dan. *hytte*), also ODan. *hutte*, Sw. *hydda*, all : Grk. κεύθω, OE *hýdan* 'hide', etc. and so ultimately connected with OE *hūs* 'house' etc. (7.12). Walde-P. 2.546 ff., 551. Falk-Torp 445.

5. Lith. *bakūzė* (NSB, etc.), fr. MLG *backhūs* 'bakehouse'. Alminauskis 28.

Lith. *gryčia*, *grinčia*, shortened form of old *gryničia* 'servants hall', 'smoke-house' fr. WhRuss. \**gridnica*. Berneker 139. Skardžius 78.

6. Boh. *chatrě* beside dial. *chal* = Pol., Russ. dial. *chata*, loanword fr. Iran., Av.

## 7.14 TENT

|      |                         |       |                      |       |                 |
|------|-------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | σκηνή                   | Goth. | hleipra, hlīja       | Lith. | palapinė, šėtra |
| NG   | σκηνή, τίτρα            | ON    | tjald                | Lett. | telta           |
| Lat. | tabernāculum, tentorium | Dan.  | telt                 | ChSl. | skintĭj, kašta  |
| It.  | tenda, padiglione       | Sw.   | tält                 | SCR.  | skator          |
| Fr.  | tente, pavillon         | OE    | (ge)teld             | Boh.  | stan            |
| Sp.  | tienda, pabellón        | ME    | tente, teld, pavilon | Pol.  | namiot, szater  |
| Rum. | cort, gatră             | NE    | tent                 | Russ. | palatka, šater  |
| Ir.  | pupall                  | Du.   | tent                 | Skt.  | vastagṛha-      |
| Nir. | pavilān, puball         | OHG   | (gi)zelt             | Av.   | .....           |
| W.   | pabell                  | MHG   | (ge)zelt             |       |                 |
| Br.  | telt, tinell            | NHG   | zelt                 |       |                 |

Words for 'tent' come from those denoting 'cover', 'stretch', 'shade', or simply 'dwelling'. Some denoted, at first, the military headquarters' tent. One group reflects the 'butterfly' appearance of the open tent.

1. Grk. σκηνή, Dor. σκᾱνά : σκιά 'shade' (1.63), etc. Walde-P. 2.535. Boisacq 874 f.

2. Lat. *tabernāculum*, dim. of *taberna* in its earlier sense of 'dwelling, hut', this prob. fr. \**trabernā-* : Lat. *trabs* 'beam', Osc. *trībūm* 'building', Umbr. *trebeit kot*, *kote* (NHG *kot*, *kote* 'hovel', Du. *kot* 'hovel, sty, kennel'; fr. Gmc., OFr. *cotage* > NE *cottage*), fr. an extension of IE \**geu-* in words denoting hollow or

Lat. *tentorium*, fr. *tendere* 'stretch', pple. *tentus* (19.32). Replaced by MLat.

den cognate with NE *yard*, etc.), and so are entered under that head (8.13).

1. Grk. αὐλή (> Lat. *aula*; NG > Turk. *avlu* > SCR. *avlija*), prob. at first an enclosed space near the house where the cattle slept, a 'cattleyard': αἰῶς 'place for sleeping', αἰῶνος 'cottage, fold, stable', fr. the root of *iaōs* 'sleep'. Walde-P. 1.19 ff. Boisacq 100.

2. Lat. *cōhors*, *cohorts* (later *cōrs*, *cōrtis*, also *curs* or *curtis*): Lat. *hortus* 'garden', Grk. χόρος 'farmyard', Ir. *gort* 'field of grain', W. *garth* 'enclosure, garden', Br. *garz* 'hedge', Skt. *hr-* 'take, hold, carry', Osc. *heriad* 'capiat', etc. Hence OFr. *cort*, *curt*, *court* (> ME *curt*, *court*, NE *court*), Fr. *cour*, Rum. *curte* (It., Sp. *corte* in secondary senses), deriv. It. *cortile*. Walde-P. 1.603. Ernout-M. 461. Walde-H. 1.242 f. REW 2032.

Sp. *patio*, prob. orig. a learned deriv. of Lat. *patēre* 'lie open'.

3. Ir. *cuirt*, fr. Lat. *cors*, *cortis*. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 134.

Nir. *bannrach* (with *b* fr. *m*, as often), fr. Ir. *mainder* (guttural stem, e.g. gen. pl. *mandrach*) 'enclosure, pen, fold', this, through MLat. *mandra*, fr. Grk. μάνδρα 'fold, pen for animals'.

W. *iard*, fr. NE *yard*.

Br. *porz*, fr. Lat. *porta* 'gate'. Loth, Mots lat. 197. Cf. the relation of 'door' and 'court' in Slavic, below, 6.

4. Goth. *rīhsns*, etym.? Feist 400. Goth. *gards*, rarely 'court', mostly 'house' (6.12), ON *garðr*, Dan. *gaard*, Sw. *gård*, OE *geard*, ME *zerd*, NE *yard* (OHG *garto*, MHG, NHG *garten* 'garden'), uncertain whether fr. IE \**ghordho-* : Skt. *grha-* 'house', or fr. \**ghorlō-* : Lat. *cohors* 'court', *hortus* 'garden', etc. (above, 2), in either case fr. the same root. Walde-P. 1.608. Walde-H. 1.243. Falk-Torp 292 f. Feist 197 f.

*kata-* 'chamber, storeroom', NPers. *kad* 'house'. Berneker 385 f.

Boh. *chalupa*, Pol. *chatupa*, orig. dub. Berneker 383. Brückner 175 f.

Russ. *chižina*, dim. of *chiža* : Ukr. *chyža* 'hut', ChSl. *chyžŭ* 'house', Bulg. *hiža* 'hut', etc., early loanword fr. Gmc., OHG *hūs*, etc. (7.12). Berneker 414. Stender-Petersen 240 ff.

Russ. *lačuga*, older *alačuga*, fr. Turk. *alačuk* 'hut of cloth or bark'. Berneker 682. Lokotsch 49.

7. Skt. *kuṭi-*, *kuṭi-* fr. \**kṛt-* : Skt. *kṛt-* 'twist', Grk. κάραλος 'basket', Lat. *crātis* 'wickerwork', etc. Walde-P. 1.421. Skt. *gālā-*, above, 1.

*tenta*, fem. of pple., whence Byz., NG *τέντα*, Fr. *tente* (> ME *tente*, NE *tent*, Du. *tent*); also MLat. *tenda* (with *d* from *tendere*), whence It. *tenda* 'tent, awning', Sp. *tienda* 'tent, shop', Rum. *tinădă* 'forecourt, vestibule'. Ernout-M. 1026. REW 8639.

Lat. *pāpiliō* 'butterfly' and a kind of open 'tent' : OE *fīfald* 'butterfly', etc., prob. fr. IE \**pel-* in Grk. πάλλω 'shake', etc. Hence It. *padiglione*, Fr. *pavillon* (> ME *pavilon* > Nir. *pailiūn*, NE *pavilion*), Sp. *pabellón*, also Ir. *pupall*, Nir. *puball*, W. *pabell*. Walde-P. 2.52. Ernout-M. 730. REW 6211.

Lat. *tentorium*, fr. *tendere* 'stretch', pple. *tentus* (19.32). Replaced by MLat.

Rum. *cort*, fr. Byz. κόρη 'military

ME *hawe* ('yard' e.g. in Chaucer, NE obs. *haw*), fr. OE *haga* 'hedge, hedged or fenced-in enclosure', OHG *hag* 'enclosure', beside OE *hegg*, etc. 'hedge'. Walde-P. 1.337. NED s.v. *haw*, sb.1.

OHG-NHG *hof* (Du. *hof* 'court' and 'garden'; 'yard' also expressed by *plaats* 'place' or *binneplaats*; ON *hof* 'temple', Norw. *hov* 'small hill', OE *hof* 'house, building'), etym. dub., perh. : OHG *hubil* 'hill', etc. Walde-P. 1.373. Falk-Torp 414. Weigand-H. 877.

5. Lith. *kiemas* : Lith. *kaimas*, Lett. *ciems* 'village', all loanwords fr. Gmc. or (with confusion of gutturals) cognate with Goth. *haims* 'village', etc., fr. IE \**kei-* 'lie'. Walde-P. 1.360.

Lett. *pagalms*, prob. as orig. 'open space' : ChSl. *golŭ* 'bare', OHG *kalo* 'bald', etc. Cf. OPol. *gola* 'open place'. Mühl-Endz. 3.27.

6. ChSl. *dvorŭ*, etc., general Slavic (but Pol. *dwór* 'court' only in secondary senses, as also Lith. *dvaras* fr. Pol. or Russ.; for 'courtyard' Pol. *podwórze*, cpd. with *po* 'in, about') : Lat. *forum* 'public place, market-place', both prob., as orig. the 'doorway with the adjacent court', related to the words for 'door', W. *iard*, fr. NE *yard*.

Br. *porz*, fr. Lat. *porta* 'gate'. Loth, Mots lat. 197. Cf. the relation of 'door' and 'court' in Slavic, below, 6.

4. Goth. *rīhsns*, etym.? Feist 400. Goth. *gards*, rarely 'court', mostly 'house' (6.12), ON *garðr*, Dan. *gaard*, Sw. *gård*, OE *geard*, ME *zerd*, NE *yard* (OHG *garto*, MHG, NHG *garten* 'garden'), uncertain whether fr. IE \**ghordho-* : Skt. *grha-* 'house', or fr. \**ghorlō-* : Lat. *cohors* 'court', *hortus* 'garden', etc. (above, 2), in either case fr. the same root. Walde-P. 1.608. Walde-H. 1.243. Falk-Torp 292 f. Feist 197 f.

Pol. *dziedziznica*, formerly only 'court of a palace' : Pol. *dziedzina*, Boh. *dědina* 'inherited property, inheritance', deriv. of ChSl. *dědi*, Boh. *děd*, etc. 'grandfather'. Berneker 191. Otherwise ( : ChSl. *děle* 'child', etc.) Brückner 108 f.

7. Skt. *aṅgana-* 'walking' and (as place for walking) 'court, yard', fr. *aṅg-* 'go'.

## 7.21 ROOM (In a House)

|      |                            |       |                       |       |                                  |
|------|----------------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|----------------------------------|
| Grk. | οἶκος, δῶμα, etc.          | Goth. | .....                 | Lith. | kambarys (stuba)                 |
| NG   | δομάτιο(ν), κάμαρα         | ON    | stofa                 | Lett. | istaba (kambaris)                |
| Lat. | conclāve (cubiculum, etc.) | Dan.  | værelse, stue         | ChSl. | .....                            |
| It.  | stanza, camera             | Sw.   | rum                   | SCR.  | soba (odaja, komora)             |
| Fr.  | chambre                    | OE    | cofa                  | Boh.  | světnice, pokoj (jizba, komnata) |
| Sp.  | cuarto (pieza)             | ME    | chambre, roume        | Pol.  | pokój, izba (komnata)            |
| Rum. | odăie, cameră              | NE    | room (chamber)        | Russ. | komnata, pokoj                   |
| Ir.  | camra                      | Du.   | kamer                 | Skt.  | veṅman-, cālā                    |
| Nir. | seomra                     | OHG   | camara, cheminādā     | Av.   | .....                            |
| W.   | ysafell                    | MHG   | stube, gemach, kamer  |       |                                  |
| Br.  | kambr                      | NHG   | zimmer, stube, gemach |       |                                  |

Words for 'a room' come in part by specialization from those denoting 'dwelling, abode', 'building', 'covering', 'space', etc.; in part by extension from those denoting originally a special room, as a 'bathroom, heated room', 'rest-room', 'light-room'.

1. In Greek 'a room' is generally expressed by words that are also used for 'house, dwelling' (7.12), as οἶκος, οἶκμα δῶμος, δῶμα, δομάτιον, τέγος (properly 'roof' 7.62), or words denoting a special room, as ἀνδρών 'man's room, γυναικῶν 'woman's room', θάλαμος mostly 'bedroom' (: ὅλος 'vaulted building', etc. Walde-P. 1.864), μέγαρον 'large hall' (etym.? Walde-P. 1.590), etc. Of these, δομάτιον, the NG lit. word for 'room', has been taken over in the pop. language (hence δομάτιον not δώματι) and is now more common than κάμαρα (below, 2) for 'room' in general (as πόσα δωμάτια; 'how many rooms?').

2. Lat. *conclāve*, cpd. of *clāvis* 'key' (7.24), hence a place that can be locked up. Otherwise only words for special rooms, as *cubiculum* mostly 'bedroom', fr. *cubāre* 'recline'; *triclinium* 'dining-room', orig. the couch on three sides of the table, fr. Grk. τρικλινιον.

Lat. *camera* (also *camara*) 'vaulted roof', fr. Grk. κάμαρα, was used in VLat. for 'room'. Hence Byz., NG κάμαρα, κάμερα, It. *camera*, Fr. *chambre* (> ME

Fr. *chambre*, NE *chamber* now esp. 'bedroom', etc.; ME > Nir. *seomra*; Fr. > Br. *kambr*, Rum. *cameră*; Ir. *camra*; OHG *camara*, MHG, Du. *kamer* (MLG > Lith. *kambarys*, Lett. *kambaris*), NHG *kammer*, Dan. *kammer*, Sw. *kammar*; SCR., Boh., Pol. *komora*, etc. Many of these are no longer common words for 'room', but are used for 'bedroom', 'storeroom', 'pantry', 'small room', 'official chamber', etc. REW 1545. Falk-Torp 489. Berneker 555 ff.

It. *stanza*, fr. \**stantia*, like *substantia*, etc., fr. Lat. pple. *stāns*, *stantis*, hence lit. a 'standing place'. REW 8231.

Sp. *pieza* 'piece' also frequently used for 'room', of Celtic orig. REW 6450.

Sp. *cuarto*, 'a fourth' and commonly 'room', fr. Lat. *quartum* 'fourth'. Development through 'region, district, dwelling place', as in NE *quarter* in local sense and *quarters*, *headquarters*, etc. (NED s.v. III).

Rum. *odăie* through Slavic fr. Turk. *oda* 'room' (see below, 6).

3. Ir. *camra*, Nir. *seomra*, Br. *kambr*, above, 2.

W. *ysafell*, fr. Lat. *stabulum* 'standing-place, stall'. Pedersen 1.219.

4. ON *stofa* 'sitting-room, main room', OE *stofa* 'bathroom' (gl. Lat. *balneum*), OHG *stuba* 'bathroom, heated room', MLG *stove* 'bathroom, heated

room' (> ME *stove*, 7.32), MHG *stube* 'bathroom, dining-room, etc., NHG *stube* 'room'. Generalization fr. 'bathroom' to any 'heated room', then any 'room'. Prob. an old loanword fr. the group It. *stufa*, Fr. *étuve* 'hothouse, stove' (7.32), though some regard it as a native Gmc. word related to OHG *stoban*, NHG *stieben* 'be dusty' as if used of steam. Falk-Torp 1188 f. Weigand-H. 2.995. REW 3108 (against connection of Gmc. and Romance words). Meringer, IF 18.273 ff. Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 507.

From Gmc. come Lith. *stuba* (the reg. word in Pruss. Lith., as in Kurschat, Leskien's *Leesebuch*, etc.), Lett. *istaba* (through ORuss. *istuba*, Mühl-Endz. 1.711), Boh. *jizba*, Pol. *izba*, SCR. *soba* (through Hung. *szoba*), etc. Berneker 436 ff. Stender-Petersen 247 ff.

Goth., ON, OE, OHG *rām* 'space, place' (: Av. *ravah-* 'space', Lat. *rūs* 'country', etc. Walde-P. 2.356), hence also 'a room' in ME *roume*, NE *room*, Sw. *rum*.



Walde-P. 2.500, 528. Ernout-M. 927. REW 7867.

It. *toppa*, 'patch' and 'lock', beside *toppo* 'block', loanword fr. Gmc., MLG, NE *top*, etc. Cf. NE *top* in sense of 'cover' of a utensil, as *top* of a kettle.

Rum. *broască* 'frog' (etym.? REW 1329. Tiktin 227), applied first to a kind of hasp (from resemblance in shape; cf. NE *frog* on a garment), then to any lock.

3. Ir. glass, Nlr. *glas* : (or fr.?) ME *clasp* 'fastening'. Pedersen 1.75.

W. *clo* : Lat. *clāvis* 'key', etc. (7.24).

Br. *krogen-alc* 'house', fr. *krogen* 'shell' and *alc* 'house' 'key' (7.24), lit. 'shell of the key'. Cf. *krogen ar penn* 'shell of the head' = 'skull'.

Br. *potailh*, *potenn*, prob. a loanword fr. Fr. *poteau* 'post, stake', with semantic development through 'barrier' or 'bar' to 'lock'. Henry 226.

4. ON *læss*, Dan. *laas*, Sw. *lås*, perh., as orig. a metal plate used as a bolt, fr. Gmc. \**lamsa* : ON *lamar* 'hinges', Lat. *lamina* 'thin metal plate', etc. Walde-P. 2.385. Falk-Torp 614. Adversely Walde-H. 1.755.

ON *loka* (lok 'cover, lid'), OE *loc*, ME

## 7.24 KEY

|      |                   |       |           |       |                        |
|------|-------------------|-------|-----------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | κλεις             | Goth. | .....     | Lith. | rakias                 |
| NG   | κλει              | ON    | lyktill   | Lett. | slēdzeklis, slēdzamais |
| Lat. | clāvis            | Dan.  | nygle     | ChSl. | ključ                  |
| It.  | chiave            | Sw.   | nyckel    | Scr.  | ključ                  |
| Fr.  | clef              | OE    | cæg       | Boh.  | klíč                   |
| Sp.  | llave             | ME    | keie      | Pol.  | klucz                  |
| Rum. | cheie             | NE    | key       | Russ. | ključ                  |
| Ir.  | eochar            | Du.   | slutel    | Skt.  | kuñcikā-               |
| Nlr. | eochar            | OHG   | sluz(z)il | Av.   | .....                  |
| W.   | allwedd (agoriad) | MHG   | sluzel    |       |                        |
| Br.  | alc'houez         | NHG   | schlüssel |       |                        |

1. IE \**klāu-*, *klāui-*, denoting the wooden peg which was the primitive 'key', cognate with words meaning 'peg' or 'nail' as Lat. *clāvus*, Ir. *clō*, and with verbs meaning 'hook' as Lith. *klūdi*, or 'shut' as Lat. *claudere*. Walde-P. I,

loke, NE *lock* : Goth. *galūkan*, ON *luka*, OE *lūcan* 'shut, fasten, lock' (12.25).  
OE *clūstor*, fr. Lat. *claustrum* (above, 2).

Du. *slot*, OHG *sloz*, etc. beside Du. *slutel* 'key', etc., see 7.24.

5. Lith. *jūtrina* 'lock' built into doors, etc. in contrast to a 'padlock', fr. Russ. *nutrina* 'inner part' (Senn).

Lith. *spyna* (in part esp. 'padlock') : Lett. *spine* 'iron clamp' and 'padlock', perh. loanword fr. or cognate with Lat. *spina* 'thorn, spine' and orig. applied to the pin fastening a hasp. Walde-P. 2.653.

Lett. *atslēga* 'lock' or 'key', see 7.24.

6. Late ChSl. *zamka*, Boh., Pol. *zamek*, Russ. *zamok* (SCR. *zamka* 'trap') : ChSl. *zamknati*, Russ. *zamknut* 'shut', cpd. of ChSl. *māknati* 'move' : Lith. *mukti* 'flee', Skt. *muc-* 'release', etc. Walde-P. 2.254. Brückner 644.

SCR., Bulg. *brava*, Alb. *bravë*, orig.? Berneker 82.

7. Skt. *tāla*-, *tālaka*-, rarely 'lock, bar', *tāla*- usually 'fan-palm' : Lat. *tālea* 'rod, bar', etc. Walde-P. 1.705.

1. Grk. *θυρίς* dim. of *θύρα* 'door' (7.22). Cf. Port. *janela* fr. dim. of Lat. *iānuā* 'door'.

NG *παράθυρο*, *παράθυρι*, fr. class. Grk. *παράθυρος* 'side door'.

2. Lat. *fenestra*, orig. dub., perh. loanword from Etruscan. Ernout-M. 344 f. Walde-H. 1.478.

Hence It. *fenestra*, OFr. *fenestre* (> ME *fenestre*; Br. *prenest(r)*, influenced by *prenna* 'shut', Henry s.v.), Fr. *fenêtre*, OSp. *pinestra*, Rum. *ferestră*; Ir. *senister*, W. *fenestr*; Sw. *fönster*, OHG *venstar*, NHG *fenster*. REW 3242. Pedersen 1.221.

Sp. *ventana*, deriv. of Lat. *ventus* 'wind'. REW 9212. Cf. the uses of NE *vent*.

Rum. *geam* properly 'pane of glass', but also used for 'window', fr. Turk. (orig. Pers.) *cam* 'glass'. Cf. NG *τζάμι* 'window pane'. Lokotsch 650.

3. Celtic words fr. Lat. *fenestra*, above, 2, or from ON *vindauga*, below, 4.

4. Goth. *augadaurō*, OE *ægðuru*, OHG *augatora*, lit. 'eye-door', cpd. of words for 'eye' and 'door'.

OE *ægþyrel*, ME *eythurl*, lit. 'eye-hole', cpd. of *þyrel* 'hole', ME *thurl* also used alone for 'window'.

ON *vindauga* (> ME *window*, NE *window*; Ir. *fuindeche*, Nlr. *fuinneog*, Marstrandner, Bidrag 90), Dan. *vindue*,

lit. 'wind-eye', cpd. of the words for 'wind' and 'eye'. Falk-Torp 1383.

ON *glugg* (Sw. *glugg* 'hole, opening'), fr. Gmc. \**glū-* beside *glō-* in ON *glōa*, OE *glōwan* 'glow', hence orig. 'opening for light' (cf. ON *ljōre* 'opening in the roof' : *ljōs* 'light'). Walde-P. 1.627. Hellquist 288.

5. Lith. *langas*, Lett. *luogs*, OPruss. *lanzto*, etym.? Possibly orig. a swinging window and so : Lith. *linguoti* 'swing back and forth' (Leskien, Ablaut 334 with?).

Late ChSl. *okno*, etc., general Slavic (but SCR. *okno* 'window pane') : ChSl. *oko*, Lith. *akis* 'eye', etc. Walde-P. 1.171. Brückner 377.

SCR. *prozor*, fr. *pro-zirati* 'look through'.

SCR. *pendžer*, fr. Turk. *pencere* 'window'. Lokotsch 1648.

6. Skt. *vātāyana*-, lit. 'wind-passage', cpd. of *vāta* 'wind' and *ayana* 'going, course'.

Skt. *gavākṣa*-, lit. 'ox-eye' (cf. NE *bull's-eye*), cpd. of *gava* 'ox' and *akṣa* 'eye'. Also *ghākṣa*- (rare) lit. 'house-eye'.

Skt. *jāla*- 'net', also 'lattice-work window'.

Av. *raočana*- (NPers. *rōzan*) : Skt. *rocana*- 'bright', *locana*- 'eye', etc. Barth. 1489.

## 7.26 FLOOR

|      |                          |       |                               |       |            |
|------|--------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|------------|
| Grk. | ἄσπερον, δάπερον (ἀσπας) | Goth. | .....                         | Lith. | asla       |
| NG   | πάτωμα                   | ON    | golf                          | Lett. | grīda      |
| Lat. | pavimentum, solum        | Dan.  | gulv                          | ChSl. | (podū)     |
| It.  | pavimento                | Sw.   | golv                          | Scr.  | pod, palos |
| Fr.  | plancher                 | OE    | flōr                          | Boh.  | podlaha    |
| Sp.  | suelo                    | ME    | flōre                         | Pol.  | podłoga    |
| Rum. | pardoseală, duşumea      | NE    | flōr                          | Russ. | pol        |
| Ir.  | lár                      | Du.   | vloer                         | Skt.  | bhāmi-     |
| Nlr. | urlár                    | OHG   | dilla, astrich, arin          | Av.   | .....      |
| W.   | llaur                    | MHG   | dille, asterich, ern          |       |            |
| Br.  | leur                     | NHG   | (fuss)boden (dille, asterich) |       |            |

later *κλείς*, dim. *κλειδίον*, NG *κλειδί* (also Ion. *κλειθρον*, Att. *κλειθρον*, *κλειθρον* the 'bar' used for fastening the door, 'lock'); Lat. *clāvis* (with *clāvus* 'nail', *claudere* 'shut') and its Romance derivs.; Ir. *clō* 'nail', W. *clo* 'lock', MBr. *clou* 'iron tool'; Gmc. words with init. *s-* (*skl-* > *sl-*), OS *slutil*, Du. *slutel*, OHG *sluzel*, MHG *slūzel*, NHG *schlüssel*, also for 'lock', MLG, Du. *slot* (> ME *slot* 'bar, bolt'), OHG, MHG *sloz*, NHG *schloss*, also the verb for 'shut' MLG *slüten*, OHG *slūzan*, NHG *schliesen*, etc.; ChSl. *ključ*, etc., general Slavic, all dim. forms of *kljuka* (SCR. *kljuka*, Boh. *klika*, Pol. *kluka*, etc.) 'hook, crook'.

2. Ir. *eochar* : W. *agori* 'open' (whence agoriad 'opening', also 'key' in North W.), root-connection? Pedersen 1.123. Morris Jones 151 (cf. Loth, RC 36.173 f.).

Words for 'floor' are mostly from general notions like 'bottom, ground', 'flat surface', but some reflect a particular material, especially 'board', or form of construction.

1. Grk. *δαπέρον* 'bottom, ground', and 'floor' (Hdt. +, Att. and Delian inscriptions), also poet. *oḗas* 'surface of the earth', 'ground', and 'floor' (as Hom. Od. 23.46), both words prob. cognate, but root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.254. Boisacq 215, 726.

Grk. *δαπέρον* 'ground, plain' and 'floor' (prose use for 'floor' attested in IG 4.823, 43, 45 and 952.44), cpd. of *da-*, fr. \**dām-* : *δῶμος* 'house', etc. and *πέδον* 'ground'. Walde-P. 1.787.

Grk. *πάτος* 'path', Byz. (with new meaning fr. *παῶ* 'tread') 'floor' (> SCR. *patos* 'floor'), NG 'bottom'. Hence also, or better fr. the verb *παῶ* 'tread', after the analogy of other derivs. in -ωμα, Byz., NG *πατώμα* 'floor'.

2. Lat. *pavimentum*, the normal technical word for the Roman 'floor', fr. *pavire* 'beat, tread down' : Lith. *piaviti* 'cut', etc. Hence It. *pavimento* 'floor', while other Romance derivs. mean 'pavement' or Rum. *pāmint* 'earth' (1.21). Walde-P. 2.12. Ernout-M. 743. REW 6312.

Lat. *solum* 'bottom, ground, soil' (1.212), also 'floor'. Hence Sp. *suelo*, reg. word for 'floor'. REW 8079.

Fr. *plancher*, fr. *planche* 'board, plank'. REW 6455.

Rum. *pardoseală*, deriv. of (?Byz. *πάτος* 'floor', influenced by) *pardos* 'leopard', orig. a 'mosaic floor' fr. its resemblance to a leopard's skin. Tiktin 1122.

Rum. *duşumea*, fr. Turk. *döşme* 'floor' and 'furniture'. Tiktin 590. Lokotsch 534.

3. Ir. *lár*, Nlr. *urlár*, W. *llaur*, Br. *leur*; OE *flōr*, ME *flōre*, NE *floor*, Du. *vloer* (ON *flōrr* only 'floor' of a stall;

W. *allwedd*, Corn. *alwedh*, Br. *alc'houez*, etym.? Pedersen 1.77. Morris Jones 150 ('bien invraisemblable' Loth, RC 36.173). Henry 7. Ernault, Dict. étym. s.v. *alhuez*.

3. ON *lykill*, later with dissim. *nykill*, Dan. *nggle*, Sw. *nyckel* : Goth. *galūkan*, ON *luka*, OE *lūcan* 'shut, fasten, lock' (as OE *loc* 'lock', 7.23). Falk-Torp 784. Hellquist 709.

OE *cæg*, ME *keie*, NE *key*, OFris. *kei*, *kay*, etym.?

4. Lith. *raktas* : *rakti* 'dig, pick' (cf. NE *pick* a lock).

Lett. *slēdzamais*, *slēdzeklis* : *slēgt* 'shut, lock' (12.25). Here also Lett. *atslēga* 'lock' or 'key', also distinguished as *atslēgas mate* 'lock', *atslēgas bernis* 'key' (lit. 'mother' or 'child' of the *atslēga*). Mühl-Endz. 1.193, 3.927, 928.

5. Skt. *kuñcikā-* : *kuñc-* 'make crooked'.

## 7.25 WINDOW

|      |                     |       |                   |       |                           |
|------|---------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| Grk. | θυρίς               | Goth. | augadaurō         | Lith. | langas                    |
| NG   | παράθυρο, παράθυρι  | ON    | vindauga, glugg   | Lett. | luogs                     |
| Lat. | fenestra            | Dan.  | vindue            | ChSl. | okno                      |
| It.  | fenestra            | Sw.   | fönster           | Scr.  | prozor, pendžer           |
| Fr.  | fenêtre             | OE    | ægðuru, ægþyrel   | Boh.  | okno                      |
| Sp.  | ventana             | ME    | okno              | Pol.  | okno                      |
| Rum. | ferestră (geam)     |       |                   | Russ. | okno                      |
| Ir.  | senister, fuindeche | NE    | window            | Skt.  | vātāyana-, gavākṣa-, etc. |
| Nlr. | fuinneog            | Du.   | venster           | Av.   | raočana-                  |
| W.   | fenestr             | OHG   | venstar, augatora |       |                           |
| Br.  | prenest(r)          | MHG   | venster           |       |                           |
|      |                     | NHG   | fenster           |       |                           |

In contrast to the door, which belongs to the most primitive house, the window is a later development, a very early one in the Mediterranean region, even with panes of glass or similar transparent material, but long unknown in northern Europe, and in parts of Scandinavia not earlier than the 16th century. Cf. Ebert, Reallex. und Schrader, Reallex. s.v. *Fenster*. With the spread of the Roman type of window, the Lat.

*fenestra* was widely adopted, while in other cases the native word persisted. Cf., for example, Dan. *vindue*, but Sw. *fönster* (dial. *vindoga* used of the small window for throwing out dung), or ME *fenestre* beside *window*, with eventual victory of the latter, itself a loanword from Norse.

Words for 'window' are connected with those for 'door', 'light', 'wind', and 'eye'.

## 7.27 WALL (Of a Town; Partition Wall)

|      |                             |       |              |       |                          |
|------|-----------------------------|-------|--------------|-------|--------------------------|
| Grk. | τείχος; τοῖχος, τεῖχιον     | Goth. | -waddjus     | Lith. | mūras; siena             |
| NG   | τοῖχος                      | ON    | mūr; veggr   | Lett. | mūris; siena             |
| Lat. | mūrus, moenia (pl.); paries | Dan.  | mūr; væg     | ChSl. | zidā, stēna              |
| It.  | muro; parete                | OE    | wæll; wæg    | Boh.  | zid, stěna               |
| Fr.  | mur, muraille               | ME    | wall (wau)   | Pol.  | mūr; ściana              |
| Sp.  | muro; pared                 | NE    | wall         | Russ. | stena                    |
| Rum. | zid; pārete                 | Du.   | mūr; wand    | Skt.  | dehi-, prakāra-; ku-dya- |
| Ir.  | mūr; fraig                  | OHG   | mūra; want   | Av.   | uzdaēzi-                 |
| Nlr. | mūr; falla (fraigh)         | MHG   | mūr(e); want |       |                          |
| W.   | mūr, gual, magwyr; pared    | NHG   | mauer; wand  |       |                          |
| Br.  | moger                       |       |              |       |                          |

While the notion of the outer 'wall' of a town, fortress, etc. does not properly belong in this chapter, it must be considered in connection with the partition 'wall' of a house, which may be expressed by the same word, as in NE *wall*.

Where there is a distinctive word for the partition 'wall', like NHG *wand*, this is separated in the table by a preceding semicolon. But even in several of these cases, the distinction is not rigorous, and the word preceding the semicolon may also be used for the partition wall, e.g. OE *wæll*, which glosses both Lat. *mūrus* and Lat. *paries*. For the outside wall of a house there is the greatest fluctuation, e.g. Lat. *paries*, less commonly *mūrus*, but It. *muro*, not *parete*.

Most of the words for 'wall' reflect in their origin some special type of construction.

1. Grk. *τείχος* (σ- stem), *τοῖχος* (o- stem); both forms and uses merged in NG *τοῖχος* : Osc. acc. pl. *felhūss* 'walls', Skt. (Ved.) *dehī-* 'wall, mound', OPrs. *didā-* 'fortress', Av. *uzdaēzi-* 'wall', Toch. A *tseke* 'piece of sculpture', fr.

Russ. *pol* : ChSl. *polica* 'board, shelf', Boh. *police*, Russ. *polka* 'shelf', etc. (widespread Slavic group), Skt. *phalaka*- 'board, plank', ON *þjöl* 'thin board', Grk. *σφῆλας* 'footstool, pedestal', Skt.

phal- 'burst, split', OHG *spallan* 'split', etc. Walde-P. 2.677 ff. Brückner 429. 7. Skt. *bhūmi*- 'earth, ground' (1.21), also used for 'floor'. Other more specific words?

3. Ir. *fraig* (Nlr. *fraigh* 'panel, side wall', etc.) : Skt. *vṛjana*- 'enclosure', Grk. *ἔργω*, Att. *εἶργω* 'shut in or out', etc. Walde-P. 1.290. Pedersen 1.97.

Nlr. *falla* or *balla*, W. *gual*, fr. NE *wall*. Pedersen 1.214.

W. *magwyr*, Br. *moger*, fr. Lat. *māceria* 'garden wall'. Pedersen 1.199. Loth, Mots lat. 183 f.

4. Goth. *-waddjus* (*grunduwaddjus* 'foundation', *baurgwaddjus* 'town wall'), ON *veggr*, Dan. *væg*, Sw. *vägg*, OE *wæg*, ME *waw*, fr. IE \**wei-*, *wei-k-* in Skt. *vi-* 'weave', Lat. *viere* 'twist, plait, weave', *vincire* 'bind', Lith. *vyti* 'twist, wind', etc. So orig. a wall made of wattle-work. Walde-P. 1.224. Falk-Torp 1400. Feist 538 f.

OE *wæll*, ME, NE *wall*, OFris., OS, MLG *wal* (> Du. *wal*, Sw. *wall*, NHG *wall* 'rampart, embankment'), fr. Lat. *vallum* 'wall of palisades', coll. of *vallus*

Most of the words for 'roof' are from verbs meaning 'cover' (12.26). But a few reflect a special material or type of structure, and conversely a general word for 'roof' may become restricted to a special type, as NE *thatch*.

1. From IE \**(s)teg-* 'cover', in Skt. *sthaḡ-*, Grk. *στέγω*, Lat. *tegere*, etc. Walde-P. 2.620 f. Ernout-M. 1020. Pedersen 1.97.

Grk. *στέγος*, *τέγος*, *στέγη*; Lat. *tectum* (> It. *tetto*, Fr. *toit*, Sp. *techo*, *techado*);

Ir. *tuige* 'straw, thatch' and prob. used for the 'thatched roof', W. *to*, Br. *to*; ON *þak*, Dan. *tag*, Sw. *tak*, OE *þac* (NE *thatch*), Du. *dak*, OHG *dah*, MHG, NHG *dach* (> Pol. *dach*); Lith. *stogas*, OPruss. *stogis*.

2. Grk. *δοσφή* (so, not *στέγη*, in Hom. and early Att. inscriptions IG 1<sup>3</sup>.373 and 374; cf. also at Epidaurus *δοσφή* IG 4<sup>2</sup>.1.106.46, 106. II. 136 f., vs. *στέγη* ib. 102.293) : *ἐρέφω*, *ἐρέπτω* 'cover with a

Ir. *tuige* 'straw, thatch' and prob. used for the 'thatched roof', W. *to*, Br. *to*; ON *þak*, Dan. *tag*, Sw. *tak*, OE *þac* (NE *thatch*), Du. *dak*, OHG *dah*, MHG, NHG *dach* (> Pol. *dach*); Lith. *stogas*, OPruss. *stogis*.

NE *fireplace* (1702+, NED), now the common term, *hearth* being used only in a more restricted sense (above).

MHG *viurstat*, NHG *Feuerstätte*, in origin and use like NE *fireplace*.

5. Lith. *ugniavietė*, cpd. of *ugnis* 'fire' and *vieta* 'place' (12.12).

Lith. *ugniakuras* (Lalis), Lett. *uguns-kurs*, cpds. of Lith. *ugnis*, Lett. *uguns* 'fire' and the root of Lith. *kurti*, Lett. *kurt* 'heat', OE *heorþ*, etc. (above, 4).

Lith. *židinys*, fr. the root of *žiest* 'construct, build', ChSl. *zidati* 'build', etc. (9.44).

Lett. *pavars*, etym.?

6. ChSl. *ognište*, etc., general Slavic, fr. *ogni* 'fire' (1.81). But Russ. *ognište</*



Oil lamps made of stone date from prehistoric times in Greece, followed by the common earthenware and the ornamental bronze lamps. From Greece they were introduced into Rome, where candles, unknown in ancient Greece, were in earlier use. From Greece and Rome they spread to the rest of Europe, where the earlier illumination had been from the light of the fire on the hearth or from pine torches. Cf. Daremberg et Saglio and Pauly-Wissowa s.v. *lucerna*, Schrader, Reallex. 2.6 ff.

Like the article itself, the Greek and Latin words were largely adopted. But there are some early Gmc. and Slavic terms, derived from words for 'light'.

1. Grk. *λύχνος* (> early Lat. *lucnus*, *lucinus*; NG *luxnap*), Lat. *lucerna* (> It. *lucerna*, Ir. *lúcharn*, Nlr. *lúchran*, W. *lusern*, Goth. *lukarn*), fr. the root of Grk. *λεώς* 'bright', Lat. *lūx* 'light', *lūcere* 'be light', OE *leoht* 'light', etc. (1.61). Walde-P. 2.408ff. Ernout-M. 573.

2. Grk. *λαμπάς*, -άδος 'torch', fr. *λάμπω* 'give light, shine': OPruss. *lopis* 'flame', etc. Walde-P. 2.383. Only 'torch' in class. Grk., but later 'lamp' (so, beside *λύχνος*, in NT, as Mt. 25.1 ff.). Hence Lat. *lampas*, -adis 'torch', later 'lamp', the source of the present almost universal mod. Eur. word for 'lamp', in large part through Fr. *lampe*.

3. Br. *kreuzel* fr. OFr. *croisel* 'night-lamp', this ultimately fr. a Celt.-Gmc. word for 'earthenware pot' (OE *crocca*, Mlr. *crocan*, etc., 5.26). Henry 81. Gamillscheg 277.

4. ON *ljōsker*, OE *leohtfæt*, OHG *liohtfaz*, MHG *liehtvaz*, all cpds. of words for 'light' (1.61) and 'vessel' (ON *ker*, OE *fæt*, etc.).

5. ChSl. *světlitnikŭ*, fr. *světiti* 'give light', denom. of *světŭ* 'light' (1.61). Similarly SCR. *svjetiljka*.

6. Skt. *dīpa*, fr. *dīp* 'shine', an extension of *dī* 'shine'. Walde-P. 1.772 ff.

## 7.46 CANDLE

|                                  |  |                       |
|----------------------------------|--|-----------------------|
| Grk. . . .                       | Goth. . . .                                    | Lith. <i>žvakė</i>    |
| NG <i>kepi</i>                   | ON <i>ljōs</i> , <i>kerti</i>                  | Lett. <i>svēce</i>    |
| Lat. <i>candela</i>              | Dan. <i>lys</i>                                | ChSl. <i>(svěsta)</i> |
| It. <i>candela</i>               | Sw. <i>ljus</i>                                | SCR. <i>svēca</i>     |
| Fr. <i>bougie (chandelle)</i>    | OE <i>leoht</i> , <i>candel</i> , <i>tapor</i> | Boh. <i>svíce</i>     |
| Sp. <i>vela (bugia, candela)</i> | ME <i>candel</i> , <i>taper</i>                | Pol. <i>świeca</i>    |
| Rum. <i>luminare</i>             | NE <i>candle</i>                               | Russ. <i>свеча</i>    |
| Ir. <i>caindel</i>               | Du. <i>kaars</i>                               |                       |
| Nlr. <i>coinnel</i>              | OHG <i>kerza</i> , <i>lioht</i>                |                       |
| W. <i>cannwyl</i>                | MHG <i>kerze</i> , <i>lieht</i>                |                       |
| Br. <i>goulou, kantol</i>        | NHG <i>kerze</i> , <i>licht</i>                |                       |

Candles were unknown in ancient Greece (besides lamps there were various kinds of torches) but were common from very early times among the Romans and the Etruscans. Cf. Daremberg et Saglio, s.v. *candela*.

Most of the words are derived from those for 'light' or 'shine', with specialization to 'candle'. Some are from other sources, as 'vigil, watch', name of a

town, some material used, as wax. But several words for 'wax candles' are used only for those in ceremonial, not in domestic, use.

1. NG *kepi*, fr. Grk. *κηπίον*, dim. of *κηρός* 'wax' (*κηρός* 'wax candles' from 3d cent. A.D.), whence Lat. *cēra* 'wax', *cēreus* 'wax-candle' (> It. *cer*, Sp. *cirio*, OFr. *cirge* > ME *cerge*). Ernout-M. 176. Walde-H. 1.202. REW 1829.

2. Lat. *candēla*, the common tallow candle, fr. *candēre* 'be bright, shine': Skt. *cand-* 'shine', etc. Walde-P. 1.352. Hence It., Sp. *candela*, Fr. *chandelle*, Ir. *caindel*, Nlr. *coinnel*, W. *cannwyl*, Br. *kantol*, OE, ME *candel*, NE *candle*; NG *kantol* a kind of small lamp with disk floating in oil. Late Lat. *candēla* also 'chandelier' (*candelae vitreae ingentes pendent*, Peregrinatio 247). REW 1578. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 120.

Port. *lume de Bugia*, Sp. *bujia*, OFr. *chandelle de Bougie*, Fr. *bougie* (It. *bugia* 'candlestick'), fr. the name of the Algerian town *Bugia*, and referring orig. to the 'wax', of which much was imported from Algeria. REW 1375. Wartburg 1.600.

Sp. *vela* 'vigil, watch' and 'candle' (*vela de sebo, de cera*): It. *veglia* 'watch', etc., denom. of Lat. *vigilāre* 'keep awake, watch'. REW 9326.

Rum. *luminare*, fr. Lat. *lūmināre* used in late Latin of a small lamp, deriv. of *lūmen* 'light'.

3. Br. *goulou* 'light' (1.61) and 'candle', also with *koar* 'wax' or *soav* 'tallow'.

4. ON *ljōs*, OE *leoht*, OHG *lioht*, etc.

'light' (1.61) were also applied to any form of artificial light, as still NE *light* (*put out the light*), NHG *licht*, etc., but especially the 'candle', for which Dan. *lys*, Sw. *ljus* are the current words. For this use in OE and ME cf. NED s.v. *light*, sb. 5.b and for NHG, cf. Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 326 f.

MLG *kerte* (> late ON *kerti*, Dan. *kjerte*), Du. *kaars*, OHG *kerza*, MHG, NHG *kerze*, beside OHG *charz* 'wick', prob. fr. Lat. *charta* 'papyrus', the pith of the papyrus being used for the wick of a candle, though *charta* is not quotable in such connection, as is *papyrus*. The latter is glossed by *uocce* and *taper* in OE vocabularies (Wright 126.29, 267.12), and is the source of Sp. *pabito*, etc., 'wick' (REW 6218.3), and prob. of OE *tapor*, ME *taper*. Falk-Torp 517. Kluge-G. 296. NED s.v. *taper*, sb.

5. Lith. *žvakė*: Lat. *faz*, *facula* 'torch'. Walde-P. 1.645.

6. SCR. *svēca*, Boh. *svíce*, Pol. *świeca*, Russ. *свеча* (ChSl. *svěsta* 'light, lamp, torch'), fr. *světiti* 'give light', denom. of *světŭ* 'light' (1.61). Hence Lett. *svēce*, but perh. blended with a native word. Mühl.-Endz. 3.1145.

'Farmer' is understood in the present common use of NE *farmer* (NED s.v. 5), that of Lat. *agricola*. Dictionaries of other languages are apt to take this in an older sense and render it by Fr. *fermier*, *métayer*, NHG *pächter*, etc. Such words for special classes of farmers, according to form of tenure, are not included. On the other hand, words for 'peasant', lit. 'countryman', since the peasant and farming class coincide in large measure, may be those in common use for 'farmer', while the stricter equivalents are more or less learned or archaic (cf. Fr. *paysan* vs. *agriculteur*, NHG *bauer* vs. *ackermann*, etc.). Hence several words for 'peasant' which are commonly so used are included in the list. Many of these have also a derogatory use, which does not concern us here.

1. Grk. *γεωργός*, fr. \**γρηργός*, beside Boeot. *γάργυρός*, Lac. *γάβεργός*, cpd. of *γῆ* 'earth, land' (1.21) and the root of *ἐργον* 'work' (9.12).

NG (beside *γεωργός*) *χωρικός*, *χωριάτης*, prop. 'peasant', derivs. of *χώρα* 'country', *χωρίον* 'village'.

2. Lat. *agricola*, cpd. of *ager* 'field' (8.12) and the root of *colere* 'cultivate, inhabit'. Ernout-M. 22.205. Walde-H. 1.247.

It. *agricoltore*, Fr. *agriculteur*, Sp., Rum. *agricultor*, learned borrowing fr. Lat. *agricultor* (late), *agrī cultor*, with the same elements as the old *agricola*.

It. *coltivatore*, Fr. *cultivateur*, deriv. of It. *cultivare*, Fr. *cultiver*, MLat. *cultivāre*, this through late *cultivus* fr. Lat. *cultus*, pple. of *colere*.

It. *contadino* 'peasant', deriv. of *contado* 'country region', once 'county': Fr. *comté*, etc., deriv. of Lat. *comes*, -itis in its later sense of 'count'. REW 2078.

Fr. *paysan* 'peasant' (OFr. *paisant* > ME *peysant*, NE *peasant*), deriv. of *pays* 'country' (19.11). REW 6145.

Sp. *labrador*, fr. *labrar* 'work, make', esp. 'cultivate, till' (8.15).

Rum. *țaran* 'peasant', deriv. of *țara* 'land, country' (1.21).

3. Ir. *bríugu*, *brugaid* 'landowner, farmer, yeoman' (K. Meyer, Contrib. 263, 275. Laws, Gloss. 109) fr. *bruig* 'inhabited land, country, district' (19.14). Nlr. *feirmoor*, W. *ffermwr*, *farmwr*, fr. NE *farmer* (below).

W. *amaethur*, older *amaeth* (Laws 'plowman'): Gallo-Lat. *ambactus* 'servant, dependent' (orig. perh. this sense in Welsh, whence 'farm-laborer', 'plowman', 'farmer'): Ir. *imm-agim* 'drive, go about', Lat. *agere*, etc. Walde-P. 1.35.

Br. *gounideg* fr. *gounid* 'profit', vb. *gounit* 'gain, earn' and 'cultivate' (8.15). Br. *kouer* 'peasant', perh. fr. OFr. *coillier* 'gatherer', in sense of 'harvester'. Henry 77.

4. Goth. *waurstuja* deriv. of *waurstw* 'work' (9.12), renders *ἐργάτης* 'workman' and also reg. *γεωργός* (once with *airhōs* 'of the earth').

ON *bōndi* (older *būandi*) 'settled landowner, head of a household', Dan., Sw. *bonde* 'peasant', fr. ON *būa* 'dwell, inhabit' (7.11).

ON *akrmaðr*, Sw. *åkerman*, OE *acerceorl*, *acerman*, ME *acerman*, OHG *ackercharman*, MHG *ackerman*, NHG *ackermann*, (also Du. *akkerman*) cpds. of *akr*, etc. 'field' and words for 'man'.

ON *akrgerðarmaðr*, *akerveksmaðr* lit. 'field-work's man'.

Dan. *dyrker* fr. *dyrke* 'cultivate, till' (8.15).

Dan. *landmand*, Sw. *landtman*, Du. *landman*, MHG *lantman*, NHG *landmann*, cpd. of *land* 'country' and 'man'. Sw. *jordbrukare*, cpd. of *jord* 'earth, land' and *brukare* fr. *bruka* 'use'.

OE *tilia* (also *eorð-tilia* Gospels, Jn. 15.1; Lindisf. *lond-buend*) : *tilian* 'labor,

strive for, attend to', late also 'cultivate, till' (see 8.15).

OE *gebūr*, MDu. *ghebuur*, Du. *boer*, OHG *gibūr*(o), MHG *būr*, *gebūr*(e), NHG *bauer*, cpd. of *ge-*, *gi-* here 'with' and *OEH gār*, OHG *bār*, etc. 'house', fr. OE, OHG *bāan* 'dwell, inhabit' (7.11). Weigand-H. 1.168, 169. Franck-v. W. 77.101.

ME *husbonde*, *husbondman*, NE *husbandman* (so reg. in our Bible, but now arch.), fr. late OE *husbonda* 'master of a house', this fr. ON *hūsbondi* 'master of a house, husband' (in the latter sense also ME *husbonde*, NE *husband*, 2.33), cpd. of *hūs* 'house' and *bōndi* (above).

NE *farmer*, earlier 'one who rents land for the purpose of cultivation', fr. ME *fermour* 'one who undertakes the collection of taxes or revenues, etc. by payment of a fixed sum for the proceeds', Anglo-Fr. *fermier* (Fr. *fermier*), fr. MLat. *fīrmārius* lit. 'one who fixes, makes fast', fr. *fīrmus* 'fast, firm'. However, the word is felt in modern speech to be the agent noun of the vb. *farm*. NED s.v. Du. *landbouwer*, cpd. of *land* 'land' and *bouwen* fr. *bouwen* 'dwell, cultivate'.

OHG *accarbigango*, *accarbigengiri* ('agricola' reg. in Tatian), fr. *acchur* 'field' and *bigango* 'cultor': *bigangan* 'go over, frequent, till'.

5. Lith. *ūkininkas* (the preferred word in Lalis, Senn, Lit. Sprachl., and Hermann, Lit.-deutsches Gesprächs. 120 f.) fr. *ūkis* 'farm, farming' (: *junkti* 'be accustomed'). Walde-P. 1.111).

Lith. *laukininkas*, Lett. *laucinieks*, fr. Lith. *laukas*, Lett. *lauks* 'field' (1.23).

Lith. *žemdirbis*, cpd. of *žemė* 'earth' and root of *dirbti* 'work' (9.13).

Lith. *būras*, fr. MLG *būr* (= NHG *bauer*, etc., above, 4).

Lett. *zemnieks*, fr. *zeme* 'land, earth'.

cultivation') : *firs* 'clean, pure' (cf. *firi lauki*, Lith. *tyrai laukai* 'cleared land'). Mühl.-Endz. 204.

7. ChSl. *selo* (in Gospels reg. for *ἀγρός*, later sometimes 'village' as SCR., Russ. *selo*, Pol. *sioło*), prob. : OHG *sal* 'dwelling, hall', ON *salr* 'hall, room', Lat. *solum* 'bottom, soil', etc. (but in Slavic partly mixed with the deriv. of IE \**sed-* 'sit', Slov. *sedlo* 'seat', etc.). Walde-P. 2.503. Ernout-M. 953. Meillet, Études 419. Trautmann 248. Brückner 491 f.

ChSl. *niva* (in Gospels for *χώρα* 'earth, ground', later for *ἀγρός*; cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 393), SCR. *nīva*, Russ. *nīva* (also Boh. *niva* 'field, plain') : Grk. *νείος* 'fallow land' (fr. 'depression'), *νείαρος* 'lowest', Skt. *nī-*, OHG *nidar*, OE *nīper* 'down', etc. Walde-P. 1.335.

8. Skt. *urvarā-* (in Gospels for *χώρα* 'earth, ground', later for *ἀγρός*; cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 393), SCR. *nīva*, Russ. *nīva* (also Boh. *niva* 'field, plain') : Grk. *νείος* 'fallow land' (fr. 'depression'), *νείαρος* 'lowest', Skt. *nī-*, OHG *nidar*, OE *nīper* 'down', etc. Walde-P. 1.335.

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| Grk. | εἶπος            | Goth. | aurtigards        | Lith. | daržas                      |
|------|------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|-----------------------------|
| NG   | εἶπος, περιβόλι  | ON    | hortus            | Lett. | dārzs                       |
| Lat. | hortus           | Dan.  | have              | ChSl. | vrtliš, vrtoogradŭ (ogradŭ) |
| It.  | giardino; orto   | Sw.   | trädgård          | SCR.  | vrt, bašta                  |
| Fr.  | jardin           | OE    | ortgeard, wyrttūn | Boh.  | zahradŭ                     |
| Sp.  | giardino, huerta | ME    | garden, orchard   | Pol.  | ogród                       |
| Rum. | grădina          | NE    | garden            | Russ. | sad, ogorod                 |
| Ir.  | lubbort, garda   | Du.   | tuin              | Skt.  | vāṭikā-, udyāna-            |
| Nlr. | garrihda, gārdin | OHG   | garto             | Av.   | (pairidāza-)                |
| W.   | gard             | MHG   | garte             |       |                             |
| Br.  | liors            | NHG   | gorten            |       |                             |

'Garden' is often a specialization of 'yard', and several of the words entered here belong to groups already discussed under that head (7.15). Most of the others are from a similar notion of 'enclosure'. There may be specialization of 'garden' to 'flower garden', 'vegetable garden', or 'tree garden, orchard'. A converse generalization is seen in Sw. *trädgård*, lit. 'tree-garden'.

1. Grk. *κῆπος*, Dor. *kāpos*: OHG *huoba*, 'piece of land' (NHG *hufe*, *hube*), prob. also OE *geard* 'yard' (7.15), OHG *garto* 'garden', etc. (below, 4), all as orig. 'enclosure' fr. IE \**ǵher-* in Osc.

6. ChSl. *dělatelŭ* (freq. in Gospels for *ἐργάτης* and *γεωργός*), fr. *dělati* 'work' (9.13).

ChSl. *težatelŭ*, *težari*, SCR. *težak* (Boh. *těžak* 'cultivator, miner'), fr. ChSl. *težati* 'work', etc. : ChSl. *tegnati* 'pull, draw' (9.33). Semantic development through 'stretch, strain' to 'work, work in the field'. Miklosich 350. For ChSl. distribution, cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 342.

Late ChSl. *ratajŭ*, SCR. *ratar*, *rataj*, lit. 'plow-man' : ChSl. *orati* 'plow', etc. (8.21).

SCR. *seljak*, fr. *selo* 'village, country' : ChSl. *selo* 'field', etc. Similarly also Boh. *sedlák*, orig. fr. *selo* 'village, field', but in form as if from *sedlo* 'saddle', orig. 'seat' (see under *selo*, 8.12).

Boh. *rolník*, Pol. *rolnik*, fr. Boh. *role*, Pol. *rola* 'field' (8.12).

Pol. *chłop* : Russ. *cholop* 'serf', Boh. *chlap* 'churl, fellow', ChSl. *chlapŭ* 'servant, man, servant', etc., ultimate origin obscure. Berneker 394.

Russ. *zemledec*, fr. *zemlja* 'earth' and *-dec* fr. *delat* 'do, work'.

Russ. *krest'janin*, earlier 'Christian', then 'man (in general)', whence 'peasant', ChSl. *krist'janŭ*, *krist'janinŭ* 'Christian', through OHG *krist'jani* fr. Grk. *χριστιανός*. Berneker 635.

Russ. *mužik* 'peasant', deriv. of *muž* 'man'.

7. Skt. *kṣetrakarsaka-*, *kṣetrapati-* fr. *kṣetra-* 'field' with *karsaka-* 'plowing, cultivating' (fr. *kṛṣ-* 'plow') and *pati-* 'owner, master'.

Av. *vāstrya-*, sb. form of adj. *vāstrya-* 'pertaining to husbandry, agriculture' : *vāstra-* 'pasture, field'. Barth. 1416.

3. It., Sp. *campo*, Fr. *champ*, Rum. *ciamp*, fr. Lat. *campus* 'plain, open field' (1.23).

## 8.12 FIELD (For Cultivation)

|      |               |       |              |       |                  |
|------|---------------|-------|--------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | ἀγρός, ἀρουρα | Goth. | akrs         | Lith. | dirva, laukas    |
| NG   | ἀγρός, χωράδι | ON    | agr          | Lett. | tīrums, druva    |
| Lat. | ager, aruum   | Dan.  | mark, ager   | ChSl. | selo, niva       |
| It.  | campo         | Sw.   | åker, mark   | SCR.  | nīva, oranica    |
| Fr.  | champ         | OE    | acer         | Boh.  | role             |
| Sp.  | campo         | ME    | aker, feeld  | Pol.  | rola, grunt      |
| Rum. | ciamp         | NE    | field        | Russ. | niva, pole       |
| Ir.  | gort          | Du.   | akker, veld  | Skt.  | kṣetra-, urvarā- |
| Nlr. | gort          | OHG   | ackar        | Av.   | karsū-, yavan-   |
| W.   | cae, maes     | MHG   | acker        |       |                  |
| Br.  | park, maez    | NHG   | acker, feeld |       |                  |

'Field' is understood here as a tract of land for cultivation, in distinction from 'hedge', Lat. *hortus* 'garden' (8.13), etc. Walde-P. 1.603. Pedersen 1.136.

W. *cae*, the common word for an 'enclosed field' (cf. Evans, Welsh Diet. s.v.), orig. 'fence, hedge' (about the field) : Br. *kae* 'enclosure, hedge', OHG *hecka*, OE *hecg* 'hedge', etc. Walde-P. 1.337.

W. *maes*, Br. *maez*, also 'field (in broad sense), plain' (1.23).

Br. *park*, fr. Fr. *parc* 'park', orig. 'enclosed tract of land' (orig. dub., REW 6253).

5. Dan. *mark*, Sw. *mark* (but the latter largely 'land, ground') : ON *myrk* 'forest' (1.41), Goth. *marka* 'boundary', OE *mearc* 'borderland' (NE *marc*), Lat. *margō* 'border', etc. Walde-P. 2.283 ff. Falk-Torp 699 f.

ME *feeld*, NE *field*, Du. *veld*, NHG *feld*, orig. only 'field' in the broad sense, OE, OHG *feld*, etc. (1.23).

6. Lith. *dirva*, Lett. *druva* : Russ. *derevja* 'village, landed property', dial. 'small field', prob. Skt. *dārvā-* 'panic-grass', Du. *tarwe* 'wheat', all perh. fr. an extension of IE \**der-* in Lith. *dirti*, Lat. *dirāt*, OE *teran*



## 8.14 BARN

|      |                    |       |                           |       |                         |
|------|--------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | σῖτοθολών, ἀνοθήκη | Goth. | bansts                    | Lith. | daržinė, skėinė         |
| NG   | σῖτοθολών, ἀνοθήκη | ON    | hlaða                     | Lett. | šk'ānis                 |
| Lat. | horreum, granāria  | Dan.  | lade                      | ChSl. | žitnica                 |
| It.  | granaio            | Sw.   | lada                      | SCr.  | žitjelj, žitnica, ambar |
| Fr.  | grenier, grange    | OE    | berern, beren             | Boh.  | stodola                 |
| Sp.  | granero            | ME    | bern                      | Pol.  | stodola                 |
| Rum. | șură, hambar       | NE    | barn                      | Russ. | žitnica, ambar          |
| Ir.  | saball             | Du.   | schür                     | Skt.  | kučūla-                 |
| Nlr. | sciobōl            | OHG   | sciura, scugin, stadal    | Av.   | yavan-                  |
| W.   | ysgubor            | MHG   | sciur(e); schiune, stadel |       |                         |
| Br.  | granch             | NHG   | scheune, scheuer (stadel) |       |                         |

Words for 'barn', as a storehouse for grain or other farm produce, are partly specializations of 'storehouse' and partly from words for 'grain' (or some particular kind of grain, as 'barley' in the case of NE *barn*). But since the farmer's barn may also be the place where the farm animals are kept, there is sometimes confusion with the notion of 'stable'. So a few of the words for 'barn' probably rest on this latter notion (Goth. *bansts*, Ir. *saball*). Conversely in NE *barn* in U.S. usage the secondary association with the place where the cattle and horses are kept is so strong that in the country it is the common word covering 'stable', and it is by this analogy (rather than the notion of 'storehouse') that one uses *car barn* of the place where street cars stand when not on their run.

Some of the words included in the list denote any storage place for grain, with no resemblance to our *barn*, for which there may be no good equivalent.

1. Grk. ἀνοθήκη 'storehouse' in general, including one for grain (as reg. in NT, Mt. 6.26, etc.), fr. ἀνοθίζω 'put away, store up', cpd. of τίθημι 'put, place'. NG σῖτοθολών, cpd. with σῖτος 'grain' (8.42).

Grk. σῖτοθολών (no NG), also -βολέων, -βόλων, -βόλον, cpds. of σῖτος 'grain', with derivs. of βάλλω 'throw'.

ON *vinna* 'work, gain' (9.13), also sometimes 'cultivate'.

Dan. *dyrke* = ON *dýrkja* 'glorify, exalt', fr. *dýrr* 'dear, costly'. Falk-Torp 173.

Sw. *bruika* 'use' (9.423), also with *jorden*, etc. 'cultivate'.

Sw. *odla*, fr. *odal*, ON *oðal* 'property, homestead': OE *oðel*, *ēþel* 'home, native country', etc. Hellquist 724, 723. Falk-Torp 787.

OE *būan*, mostly 'dwell, inhabit', sometimes 'cultivate' (cf. Bosworth-Toller, Suppl. and *land-buend* 'agricola' in Lindisf. Gospels, Jn. 15.1), OHG *būan*, MHG, Du. *bouwen* 'dwell, inhabit' and 'cultivate', in latter sense now mostly NHG *bebauen*, Du. *bebouwen*, all ultimately fr. IE \**bhū-* 'become, be'. See under 'dwell' (7.11). Walde-P. 2.140 f. Feist 83 f.

NHG *ackern*, fr. *acker* 'field' (8.12).

OE *tilian* 'labor, strive, attend to', late (c. 1200+) 'till, cultivate', as ME *tille* mostly and NE *till* now only in this sense: Du. *telen* 'breed, raise, cultivate', Goth. *gatilōn* 'attain', OHG *zīlon* 'strive', etc., outside root connections dub. Walde-P. 809. Feist 477. NED s.v. *till*, vb.<sup>1</sup>.

NE *cultivate*, fr. pass. pple. of MLat. *cultivāre* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *apdirbti*, Lett. *apstrādāt*, cpds. of Lith. *dirbti*, Lett. *strādēt* 'work' (9.13).

6. ChSl. *dělati* 'work' (9.13), also 'cultivate' (cf. *dělateli* 'farmer'). Here also Boh. *vz-dělavati*.

SCr. *obraditi*, cpd. of *raditi* 'work' (9.13).

Pol. *uprawić*, cpd. of *prawić*, but in the earlier sense seen in ChSl. *praviti* 'set right', etc.

Russ. *pachať* 'plow' (8.21), also used in wider sense 'cultivate'.

7. Skt. *kṛṣ-* 'plow' (8.21), also 'cultivate' (?).

Av. *aiwi-vəraz-*, cpd. of *vəraz-* 'work, do' (9.13). Barth. 1376.

Lith. *klōti* 'spread out', ChSl. *klasti* 'load, lay'. Walde-P. 1.489. Falk-Torp 617.

OE *berern*, *beren*, ME *berne*, *bern*, NE *barn*, fr. \**bere-ern*, cpd. of *bere* 'barley' (8.45) and *ern* 'house', in cpds. 'place': ON *rann*, Goth. *razn* 'house', etc. (7.12). NED s.v. *barn*.

Du. *schür*, MLG *schür(e)*, OHG *sciura*, *scūra*, MHG *sciur(e)*, NHG *scheuer* (*schauer*): OHG *scūr*, MHG *schūr* 'cover, shelter', fr. the same root as OHG *scugin*, *scugina*, MHG *schüene*, NHG *scheune*, all derivs. of IE \*(s)keu-

'cover', in Skt. *skunāti* 'protects', Grk. *σκύτρο* 'hide', Lat. *obscurus* 'dark', etc. Walde-P. 2.548. Weigand-H. 2.700.

OHG *stadal*, MHG *stadel* (NHG dial. *stadel*; Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 408): ON *stǫðull* 'milking-pen', OE *stapol* 'place, foundation', etc., derivs. of IE \**stā-* 'stand'. Walde-P. 2.606. Falk-Torp 1199. Possibly through notion

of 'standing-place' for animals, but there is no trace of this in the actual usage, and a direct development of 'standing-place' to 'storage place' is easy.

5. Lith. *daržinė*, fem. of adj. *daržinis* 'pertaining to a garden', deriv. of *daržas* 'garden' (8.13), hence orig. a storehouse for garden produce.

Lith. *skūnė*, Lett. *šk'ānis*, fr. MLG *sciura*, *scūra*, MHG *sciur(e)*, NHG *scheuer* (*schauer*): OHG *scūr*, MHG *schūr* 'cover, shelter', fr. the same root as OHG *scugin*, *scugina*, MHG *schüene*, NHG *scheune*, all derivs. of IE \*(s)keu-

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of 'standing-place' for animals, but there is no trace of this in the actual usage, and a direct development of 'standing-place' to 'storage place' is easy.

## 8.15 CULTIVATE, TILL

|      |                          |       |                 |       |             |
|------|--------------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------------|
| Grk. | γεωργία                  | Goth. | ...             | Lith. | apdirbti    |
| NG   | γεωργία, καλλιέργω       | ON    | yrkja, vinna    | Lett. | apstrādāt   |
| Lat. | colere                   | Dan.  | dyrke           | ChSl. | dělati      |
| It.  | cultivare                | Sw.   | bruika, odla    | SCr.  | obraditi    |
| Fr.  | cultiver, labourer       | OE    | būan, tilian    | Boh.  | sedlávat    |
| Sp.  | cultivar, labrar         | ME    | tille           | Pol.  | uprawić     |
| Rum. | cultiva                  | NE    | cultivate, till | Russ. | pachať      |
| Ir.  | airim                    | Du.   | bebouwen        | Skt.  | kṛṣ- (?)    |
| Nlr. | oibrighim, saothruighim  | OHG   | būan            | Av.   | aiwi-vəraz- |
| W.   | diwyllio, trin, amae-thu | MHG   | bouwen          |       |             |
| Br.  | gounit                   | NHG   | bebauen, ackern |       |             |

Verbs for 'work' (9.13) may be used transitively with objects like 'land, soil' in the special sense of 'cultivate', like NE *work the land*. Several of these, or their compounds, are the usual, or at least very common, expressions for this notion. Some verbs for 'plow' (8.21) are also used in the broader sense 'cultivate', partly by extension from 'plow', partly from a common source. Two important

groups, formally unrelated, have the twofold sense of 'dwell, inhabit' and 'cultivate', through a common notion of 'be busy with, be accustomed', or the like. Among other semantic sources are 'strive, gain, attain', 'make use of', 'make unwill', 'make valuable'.

1. Grk. *γεωργία*, deriv. of *γεωρός* 'farmer' (8.11).

NG *καλλιέργω* (late Grk. 'make beautiful', in pass. 'be well cultivated', fr. *καλλός* 'beauty' and the root of *έργον* 'work'.

2. Lat. *colere* 'inhabit' and 'cultivate': Skt. *car-* 'move, go, be busy with', Grk. *πέλομαι, τέλλομαι* 'become', *ἀνατέλλω* 'rise', *πόλος* 'axis, pole', *κύκλος* 'circle', etc., IE \**k<sup>h</sup>el-*, orig. sense 'turn', with development through 'be busy with' (cf. Lat. *versāri* 'be busy with': *vertere* turn). Walde-P. 1.514 ff. Ernout-M. 204 ff. Walde-H. 1.245 ff. Hence, fr. pass. pple. *cultus*, MLat. adj. *cultivus*, vb. *cultivāre*, whence It. *cultivare*, Fr. *cultiver* (> NE *cultive*, now obs.), Sp. *cultivar*, Rum. *cultiva*.

Fr. *labourer* 'cultivate' and esp. 'plow', Sp. *labrar* 'cultivate', fr. Lat. *labrāre* 'labor, toil', deriv. of sb. *labor* 'labor, toil' (9.12). REW 4810.

3. Ir. *airim* 'plow' (8.21), also in wider sense 'cultivate'. Hessen s.v.

Nlr. *oibrighim* 'work' (8.13) and 'cultivate'.

Nlr. *saothruighim* 'labor, toil' and 'cultivate', deriv. of Ir. *sāeth* 'labor, toil' (9.12).

W. *di-wyllio* (with *tir* 'land', etc. 'cultivate', but also 'worship'): *guyllt* 'wild', Goth. *wilþeis*, OE *wilde* 'wild', with neg. force of *di-*, hence lit. 'make unwill'. Morris Jones 167.

W. *trin* 'handle, manage, cultivate': sb. *trin* 'fight, toil', this: Lat. *strēnuus* 'active, vigorous', etc. Walde-P. 2.628. Stokes 137.

W. *amaethu*, fr. *amaeth* 'farmer, plowman' (8.11).

Br. *gounit* 'gain, earn' and 'cultivate': W. *gweini* 'serve', Corn. *gonyis* 'work', also 'cultivate' (Williams, *Lexicon* s.v.), Ir. *fo-gníu* 'serve', *gníu* 'do, make'. Pedersen 2.545.

4. ON *yrkja* 'work' (= OE *wyrcean* 'work', etc. 9.13), but often esp. 'cultivate'.

Grk. *καλιά* 'hut' (7.13), also 'barn' (Hes.).

2. Lat. *horreum*, etym.? Ernout-M. 461. Walde-H. 1.659 f.

Lat. *grānārium* (> It. *granaio*, Sp. *granero*, Fr. *grenier*), usually in pl. *grānāria*, fr. *grānum* 'grain' (8.42), whence also Fr. *grange* (> Br. *granch*) fr. VLat. *grānica*, fem. of an adj. \**grānicus* 'pertaining to grain'. REW 3839, 3845. Gamillscheg 482.

Rum. *șură* (see illustration in Diet. Enc. 1262), fr. MHG *sciure* or *schür* (below, 4). Tiktin 1537.

Rum. *hambar*, SCr., Russ. *ambar* 'storage place for grain', fr. Turk. *ambar*, Pers. *anbar* id. Berneker 28. Loksch 71.

3. Ir. *saball*, Nlr. *sabhall* (obs.), fr. Lat. *stabulum* 'stall, stable'. Pedersen 1.219.

Nlr. *sciobōl*, etym.?

W. *ysgubor*, OW *scipaur* gl. *horrea*, Corn. *scibor*, perh. fr. VLat. \**scōpārium* (deriv. of Lat. *scōpa* 'besom of twigs', 9.38). Loth, Mots lat. 216.

4. Goth. *bansts*: LG *banse* 'grain-chamber', ON *báss* 'cow-stall' (NE dial. *boose*), derivs. of stem *band-* *bīndan* 'bind'. The more orig. meaning is prob. 'stable' (for tying cattle, etc.). Walde-P. 2.152. Feist 80 f. Falk-Torp 40.

ON *hlaða*, Dan. *lade*, Sw. *lada*: ON *hlaða*, Goth. *hlaþan* 'load, pile up, store',

## 8.21 PLOW

|      |                         |       |                           |       |                             |
|------|-------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|
| Grk. | ἀρόω, ἄροτρον           | Goth. | arjan; hōha               | Lith. | arti; plāgas, arklas, žagrė |
| NG   | ἀρόω, ζευγαρίζω; ἄλτρον | ON    | erja, plęgja; arðr, plęgr | Lett. | art; arklis                 |
| Lat. | arāre; arātrum          | Dan.  | plęje; plow               | ChSl. | orati; ralo                 |
| It.  | arare, solcare; aratro  | Sw.   | plęja; plog               | SCr.  | orati; plug                 |
| Fr.  | labourer; charrue       | OE    | erian; sulh               | Boh.  | orati; pluk                 |
| Sp.  | arar; arado             | ME    | ere; plogh                | Pol.  | orati; plug                 |
| Rum. | ara; plug               | NE    | plow; plog                | Russ. | pachať (orat); plug         |
| Ir.  | airim; arathar, cēcht   | Du.   | ploegen; ploeg            | Skt.  | kṛṣ-; lāṅgala-, sira-       |
| Nlr. | treabhaim; cēachta      | OHG   | erren; pflug              | Av.   | karš-; aīša-                |
| W.   | areidj; arad            | MHG   | pfluegen, ern; pflug      |       |                             |
| Br.  | arat; arar              | NHG   | pflügen; pflug            |       |                             |

The verbs and nouns for 'plow' ('plough') go together in large measure, but not always. In the inherited group the verbs have, on the whole, been the more persistent. In the evolution of the implement, from the primitive crooked stick to the modern plow, the old name may persist, or new words may arise (hence again, in part, new verbs) and spread as loanwords. In several languages there are different words for the modern plow and a more primitive wooden plow still used by peasants.

1. IE \**ar-* (\**arā-*, \**ara-*) in vbs. and sbs. common to the European languages and Armenian, but unknown in Indo-Iranian. Walde-P. 1.78. Ernout-M. 75. Walde-H. 1.69.

Vbs.: Grk. *ἀρόω*; Lat. *arāre* (> It. *arare*, Sp. *arar*, Rum. *ara*); Ir. *airim*, W. *areidj*, Br. *arat*; Goth. *arjan*, ON *erja*, OE *erian*, ME *ere*, OHG *erren*, MHG *ern*; Lith. *arti*, Lett. *art*; ChSl. *SCr.*, Boh. *orati*, Pol. *orat* (Russ. *orat* arch.).

Sbs.: Grk. *ἀροτρον*, NG *ἀλτρον*, dial. *ἀλετρον* by dissim. (Hatzidakis, *Μεσ.* 1.328); Lat. *arātrum* (> It. *aratro*, Sp. *arado*); Ir. *arathar*, W. *arad*, Br. *arar*; Lith. *arklas*, Lett. *arklis*; ChSl. *ralo* fr. \**radlo*, \**oroldo* (but SCr. *ralo*, Boh. *radlo*, Pol. *radło*, Russ. *ralo*, *oralo*, now used only of a primitive plow, or 'plow-handle', 'plowshare', otherwise replaced by the Gmc. word); Arm. *araur*; Toch. *A. āre*.

2. NG *ἀρόω*, fr. *ἀροτρον* dial. = *έργον* 'work'. Similarly, *καματεύω*, fr.

Russ. *zastup* (but *lopata* usual for 'spade' as well as 'shovel'), fr. *zastupit'* 'tread on' (secondarily 'replace'), cpd. of *stupit'* 'tread, step' (ChSl. *stapiti*), applied to the spade with reference to the fact that one steps on it to push it into the ground.

7. Skt. *khanitra-*, Av. *kastra-*: Skt. *khan-*, Av. *kan-* 'dig' (8.24).

## 8.24 SHOVEL

|      |              |       |                   |       |                 |
|------|--------------|-------|-------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | πίλον        | Goth. | -skaurō           | Lith. | šiupelė, lopeta |
| NG   | φινύρι       | ON    | reka              | Let.  | lāpsta          |
| Lat. | pāla         | Dan.  | skovl             | ChSl. | lopata          |
| It.  | pala         | Sw.   | skovel            | SCr.  | lopata          |
| Fr.  | pelle        | OE    | scōf              | Boh.  | lopata          |
| Sp.  | pala         | ME    | schovel           | Pol.  | lopata, szufa   |
| Rum. | lopata       | NE    | shovel            | Russ. | lopata          |
| Ir.  | sluasat      | Du.   | schop             | Skt.  | khanitra-       |
| Nlr. | sluasad      | OHG   | schuvala (scora)  | Av.   | ....            |
| W.   | rhuav, sieft | MHG   | schüvele, schüfel |       |                 |
| Br.  | pal          | NHG   | schauvel          |       |                 |

'Shovel' and 'spade', though implements of different purpose, are, from their similar shape, in part expressed by the same words. According as one or the other application seems the earlier, they are discussed in 8.23 or here.

1. Grk. *πιων* 'winnowing-shovel', late dim. *πινάριον*, whence NG *φινύρι* (*φινάρι*) 'shovel', perh. (with unexplained *pi* as in *πῶλος* beside *πόλος*, and orig. sense of 'purifier' hence 'winnowing-shovel'): Lat. *pūrus* 'pure', Skt. *pā-* 'cleanse', OHG *foven* 'sift grain', etc. Walde-P. 2.13. Boisacq 824.

2. Lat. *pāla* 'spade' (8.23), later 'shovel', whence in latter sense It., Sp. *pala*, Fr. *pelle*.

Rum. *lopata*, fr. Slavic (below, 5).  
3. Ir. *sluasat*, Nlr. *sluasad*, etym.? W. *rhuav*, also 'spade' (8.23).  
W. *sieft*, fr. NE *shovel*.

Br. *pal*, also 'spade' (8.23).  
4. Goth. *skaurō* in *winþi-skaurō* 'win-

nowing-shovel', OHG *scora* (rare), MHG *schor* (also 'hoe'): ON *skora* 'make an incision, score'. Walde-P. 2.552. Feist 566.

ON *reka* ('shovel' also in Norw.): OE *racu*, etc. 'rake', Goth. *rikan* 'heap up'. See 8.27.

Dan. *skovl*, Sw. *skovel*, OE *scōf*, ME *schovel*, NE *shovel*, OHG *schuvala*, MHG *schüvele*, *schüfel* (LG > Lith. *šiupelė*, Pol. *szufa*), NHG *schauvel*, also with different suffix, Du. *schop* (like NHG *schuppe* 'scoop'): ON *skilja*, OE *scūfan*, OHG *scioban*, etc. 'shove' (10.67). Walde-P. 2.556. Falk-Torp 1020 f.

5. Lith. *lopeta*, Lett. *lāpsta* (also 'spade'), OPruss. *lopto* 'spade', Slavic

*lopata* (in part also 'spade'): Lith. *lopa*, Russ. *lapa* 'paw', Goth. *lōfa*, OE *lōf*

'palm of hand', etc. Walde-P. 2.428. Berneker 733.

6. Skt. *khanitra-* 'spade' or 'shovel', see 8.23.

## 8.25 HOE

|      |                      |       |              |       |                 |
|------|----------------------|-------|--------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | σκαπάνη, σμίνη, etc. | Goth. | ....         | Lith. | matikas, kaplys |
| NG   | σάπα, σκαλιστήρι     | ON    | ....         | Let.  | kaplis          |
| Lat. | ligō, sarculum       | Dan.  | hakke        | ChSl. | motyka          |
| It.  | zappa                | Sw.   | hacka        | SCr.  | motyka          |
| Fr.  | houe                 | OE    | hac          | Boh.  | motyka          |
| Sp.  | azada                | ME    | houe         | Pol.  | motyka          |
| Rum. | sapă                 | NE    | hoe          | Russ. | motyka          |
| Ir.  | ....                 | Du.   | houweel      | Skt.  | ....            |
| Nlr. | grafân, grafög       | OHG   | houwa        | Av.   | ....            |
| W.   | hof                  | MHG   | houwe, hacke |       |                 |
| Br.  | pigell               | NHG   | hacke, haue  |       |                 |

The numerous types of 'hoe' have this in common, that with them one hacks the soil and pulls toward one (in contrast to the spade, which one pushes). A crude hoe was man's earliest agricultural implement. Some of the words listed cover the combination tool, with transverse hoe-like blade at one end, at the other either a pick or a narrow ax-like blade, the 'mattock' (but to me a *pickax*, *mattock* being only a book word).

1. Grk. *σκαπάνη*, prob. 'hoe' or 'mattock' (NG lit. *σκαπάνη* is 'mattock'), fr. *σκάπτω* 'dig' (9.22).

Grk. *σκαλίσ*, late *σκαλιστήριον*, NG

*σκαλίσ*, *σκαλιστήρι* (a small weeding hoe vs. *σάπα*, the heavy hoe in common use): *σκάλλω* 'stir up, hoe', ON *skilja* 'divide', etc. From a by-form of the same root

also *δι-κελλα* 'two-pronged hoe'. Walde-P. 2.591, 1.436.

Grk. *σμίνη* ('hoe' or 'mattock'?): *σμίλη* 'chisel', OE *smiþ* 'smith', etc. Walde-P. 2.686.

Grk. *μάκελλα* 'mattock', etym.? Boisacq 602. Prellwitz 116.

NG *σάπα*, fr. It. *zappa* (below, 2).

2. Lat. *ligō* (> Sp. *logón*, a tool used in mining), perh.: late Grk. *λίγος* ('*Λιγ-σος*'), *λισγάριον*, NG dial. *λισγάρι*, 'a kind of spade', OE *slicc* 'hammer', etc., but all dub. Walde-P. 2.707. Ernout-M. 550. Walde-H. 1.800.

Lat. *sarculum* 'weeding hoe', fr. *sar-rīre* 'weed', etym.? Ernout-M. 896.

Lat. *bidēns*, lit. 'with two teeth', used of a 'heavy two-pronged hoe'.

It. *zappa* (> NGr. *τσάπα*, Fr. *sape*), Rum. *sapă*, prob. fr. a pop. term for a 'he-goat' appearing as *zappu* in a gloss, Rum. *zap*, etc. (3.37), hence applied first to the two-pronged grub-hoe, from its resemblance to the he-goat's horns. REW 9599. Rohlf, Z. rom. Ph. 45.662 ff.

Fr. *houe*, fr. the Gmc. (below, 4).

Sp. *azada* (also augment. *azadón*) fr. VLat. *\*asciada*, deriv. of *ascia* 'adze', late also 'hoe': Grk. *ἀξίνα*, Goth. *agizi* 'ax', etc. (9.25). REW 697.

3. Nlr. *grafân*, *grafög*, fr. *grafaim* 'write, scrape, carve', *graf* 'mark', of the same orig. as *grafnim* 'write' (18.51).

W. *hof*, fr. ME *houe*, NE *hoe*, dial. *how*.

Br. *pigell*, dim. of *pik*, fr. Fr. *pic* 'pickax' (of obscure origin, cf. Gamill-scheg 692). Henry 223.

4. OE *matloc*, *matluc* (simple 'hoe' or already the combination tool like NE *mattock*?), prob. fr. a VLat. *\*matteuca* (> Fr. *massue* 'club', etc. REW 5426), deriv. of *\*mattea* 'club' (> Fr. *masse*, NE *mace*, etc., REW 5425; cf. Lat. *mateola* 'mallet'), this: ChSl. *motyka*

'mattock', Skt. *matya-* 'harrow', etc. Pokorny, Z. sl. Ph. 5.393 f. Walde-P. 2.229 (but taking OE *matloc* as Gmc. cognate). Walde-H. 2.49.

OHG *houwa* (> Fr. *houe* > ME

## 8.27 RAKE

|      |                    |       |               |       |           |
|------|--------------------|-------|---------------|-------|-----------|
| Grk. | ἀράγη              | Goth. | ....          | Lith. | grėblys   |
| NG   | τσουγκράνα         | ON    | hrifa         | Let.  | grėbeklis |
| Lat. | rāstrum, rastellus | Dan.  | rive          | ChSl. | ....      |
| It.  | rastrello          | Sw.   | rāfsa         | SCr.  | grablje   |
| Fr.  | râteau             | OE    | racu, raca    | Boh.  | hrabě     |
| Sp.  | rastrillo, rastro  | ME    | rake          | Pol.  | grabie    |
| Rum. | greblă             | NE    | rake          | Russ. | grabli    |
| Ir.  | rastal             | Du.   | hark          | Skt.  | ....      |
| Nlr. | raca, rastal       | OHG   | rehho, recho  | Av.   | ....      |
| W.   | cribin, rhaca      | MHG   | reche         |       |           |
| Br.  | rastell            | NHG   | rechen, harke |       |           |

1. Grk. *ἀράγη* 'hook' and 'rake' (rare): *ἀράγω* 'snatch away', *ἀρατᾶ* 'robber', *ἀρηγί* 'sickle', Lat. *sarpere* 'prune', etc. Walde-P. 2.501.

NG *τσουγκράνα*, orig.? Reminds one of NG *τσουγκρίω*, dial. *τσουγκρῶ* 'strike together', etc., of imitative origin (G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 2.90), but no apparent connection.

2. Lat. *rāstrum* (> Sp. *rastro*), dim. *rāstellus* (> Fr. *râteau*, and, by crossing with *rāstrum*, It. *rastrello*, Sp. *rastrillo*): Lat. *rādere* 'shave, scrape, scratch', W. *rhathu* 'rub, smooth', etc. Walde-P. 2.369. Ernout-M. 849 f. REW 7078-79.

Rum. *greblă* fr. Slavic (below, 5).

3. Ir. *rastal*, Br. *rastell*, fr. Lat. *rāstellus* (above, 2).

Nlr. *raca*, W. *rhaca*, fr. NF *rake* (below, 4).

W. *cribin* (cf. *crib* 'comb, crest, ridge'): Ir. *crich* 'border', Grk. *κρίνω* 'judge', Lat. *cernere* 'separate, distinguish', etc., fr. an extension of IE *\*(s)ker-* 'cut'. Walde-P. 2.584.

4. ON *hrifa*, Dan. *rive*, Sw. dial. *riva*: ON *hrifa* 'snatch after, scratch',

East Fris. *rifen*, Du. *rijven* 'rake', Lat. *scribere* 'write', fr. extensions of IE *\*(s)ker-* 'cut'. Walde-P. 2.586. Falk-Torp 906.

Sw. *rāfsa*: *rāfsa* 'scratch, rummage', Dan. *rapse* 'snatch away, scrape together', OHG *raspōn* 'scrape together'. Falk-Torp 880. Hellquist 867.

OE *racu*, *raca*, ME, NE *rake*, OHG *rehho*, *rehho*, MHG *reche*, NHG *rechen*: ON *reka* 'shovel', Goth. *rikan* 'heap up, collect', OHG *rehhan* 'scrape together', perh. fr. the same root as OHG *richten*, Lat. *regere* 'direct', Grk. *ῥέγω* 'stretch out', etc., with development fr. 'stretch out the hand' to 'collect'. Walde-P. 2.364 ff. Falk-Torp 870.

Du. *hark*, NHG *harke* (in the north, elsewhere *rechen*; cf. Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 231): LG *harken* 'scrape, scratch', ON *harka* 'drag with a scraping sound', prob. Skt. *kharj-* 'creak', etc. Walde-P. 1.415. Falk-Torp 381.

5. Lith. *grėblys*, Lett. *grėbeklis*, SCr. *grablje*, Boh. *hrabě* (pl.), Pol. *grabie*, Russ. *grabli* (pl.): Lith. *grėbti*, Lett. *grābt*, ChSl. *grabiti* 'snatch, seize, tear away, etc.', IE *\*grebh-*. Walde-P. 1.653. Berneker 344.

## 8.28 HARROW

|      |                     |       |                  |       |                  |
|------|---------------------|-------|------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | ἀξίνα, ἀγρεῖφνα     | Goth. | ....             | Lith. | akėčios, ekėčios |
| NG   | βωλοκόπος, σβάρνα   | ON    | herfi            | Let.  | ecėša            |
| Lat. | irpez, occa, crātis | Dan.  | harv             | ChSl. | ....             |
| It.  | erpice              | Sw.   | harv             | SCr.  | brana, drljača   |
| Fr.  | herse               | OE    | egēbe, fealh     | Boh.  | brany, vlačidlo  |
| Sp.  | grada               | ME    | harrow           | Pol.  | brona            |
| Rum. | grăpă               | Du.   | eg, egge         | Russ. | borona           |
| Ir.  | clath               | OHG   | egida            | Skt.  | matya-           |
| Nlr. | brāca               | MHG   | egede, egde, ege | Av.   | ....             |
| W.   | og, oged            | NHG   | egge             |       |                  |
| Br.  | oged                |       |                  |       |                  |

1. A related group, prob. fr. IE *\*ak-* in words for 'sharp, pointed', Grk. *ἀκρος*, *ἀξίς*, Lat. *acer*, etc. Walde-P. 1.31 f. Schrader, Reallex. 1.215. Ernout-M. 695. Weigand-H. 1.404 f.

Grk. *ἀξίνα* (Hesych.); Lat. *occa*; W. *oged*, og, Br. *oged*; OE *egēbe*, OHG *egida*, MHG *eg(e)de* (later *egge*, NHG *egge*, Du. *eg*, *egge* formed after deriv. vbs.); Lith. *akėčios*, *ekėčios*, Lett. *ecėša*.

2. Grk. *ἀγρεῖφνα*, *ἀγρεῖφνα* (both rare, and uncertain whether 'harrow' or 'rake'), prob. (with *ἀ-* cop.) : *γρεῖφασθαι* (Hesych.) 'write, scrape, scratch'. Walde-P. 1.607.

NG *βωλοκόπος*, in class. Grk. adj. 'clod-breaking', cpd. of *βῆλος* 'clod' and the root of *κόπτω* 'strike, cut'.

NG pop. *σβάρνα*, fr. Slavic, SCr. *brana*, etc. (below, 6). G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 2.56.

3. Lat. *irpez* (*\*hīrpez*, also *\*herpez*, *erpica* > It. *erpice*, Fr. *herse* > ME *herse*, now *hearse* in different sense), orig. dial. word, deriv. of Samnite *hīrpus* 'wolf', hence 'harrow' from its sharp teeth, like Lat. (*frīnum*) *lupātum* 'curb with sharp teeth' fr. *lupus* 'wolf'. Ernout-M. 455. Walde-H. 1.651. REW 4141.

Lat. *crātis* 'wickerwork, hurdle', and (as orig. a frame of wickerwork with teeth, *crātēs dentatē*) 'harrow' (> Sp. *grada*) : OHG *hurt* 'wickerwork', Goth.

*haurds* 'door', Grk. *κάρπας* 'basket', etc. Walde-P. 1.421. Ernout-M. 228. REW 2304.

Lat. *occa*, above, 1.  
Rum. *grăpă*, orig. 'hook': It. *grappa* 'clamp', Sp. *grapa* 'clamp', etc., all loan-words fr. Gmc., OHG *crapfo* 'hook, claw', etc. Tiktin 697. REW 4760.

4. Ir. *clath* 'wickerwork' (: W. *clwyd* 'hurdle', etc. Walde-P. 1.490 ff.), also 'harrow' (cf. K. Meyer, Contrib., s.v.), a semantic borrowing fr. Lat. *crātis*.

Nlr. *brāca* (also a carding implement), fr. NE *brake* 'instrument for breaking flax' and 'harrow' (NED *brake*, sb. 5).

W. *og*, *oged*, Br. *oged*, above, 1.

5. ON *herfi*, Dan. Sw. *harv*, ME *harwe* (loanword fr. Norse?), NE *harrow* prob.: Lat. *carpere* 'pluck', Lett. *kārpīt* 'scrape', etc., fr. an extension of *\*(s)ker-* 'cut'. Walde-P. 2.581. Walde-H. 1.172. Falk-Torp 383. Hellquist 339.

OE *fealh* (gl. *occa*), perh. fr. notion of 'crooked, bent': OE *fēlg*, OHG *fēlga* 'rim of a wheel' (NE *felloe*, *felly*), of which the further root connection is disputed. Walde-P. 1.516. Falk-Torp 288.

6. Lith., Lett. forms, above, 1.

7. SCr. *brana*, etc., general Slavic, fr. *\*borchna*, *\*bhorsnā*: ON *burst*, OE *byrst* 'bristle', Skt. *bhr̥ṣṭi-* 'point, edge', etc.;

or fr. *\*borna*: ON *barmr* 'edge', Grk. *φάρος* 'furrow', etc. Walde-P. 2.132. Berneker 73 f.

SCr. *drljača*, fr. *drljati* 'to harrow', extension of Slavic *drjati* 'tear': Goth. *-tairan*, Grk. *ῥέω* etc. Berneker 255.

## 8.31 SOW; SEED

|      |                         |       |              |       |                        |
|------|-------------------------|-------|--------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | σπείρω; σπέρμα          | Goth. | saian; fraiū | Lith. | sėti; sėkla            |
| NG   | σπέρω; σπόρος           | ON    | sā; frjō     | Let.  | sėti; sėkla            |
| Lat. | serere, sēmināre; sēmen | Dan.  | saa; frjō    | ChSl. | sėti; sēme             |
| It.  | sēminare; seme, semenza | Sw.   | sā; frjō     | SCr.  | sijati; sjeme          |
| Fr.  | semer; graine, semence  | ME    | sou; sede    | Pol.  | siąć; siemie, nasienie |
| Sp.  | sēminar; semilla        | NE    | sauen; seed  | Russ. | siać; siemja           |
| Rum. | sēmna; sēmīnfa          | Du.   | zaaien; zaad | Skt.  | vap; bija-             |
| Ir.  | silaim; sil             | OHG   | sāen; sāmo   | Av.   | ....; taozman-, čūra-  |
| Nlr. | cuirm; siol             | NHG   | säen; same   |       |                        |
| W.   | hau; had                |       |              |       |                        |
| Br.  | hada; had               |       |              |       |                        |

1. IE *\*sē-* 'sow' in verbs and nouns in all the European branches except Greek. The primary verbs are often displaced by derivatives of the noun. Doubtless the same root as *\*sē-*, *\*sēi-* 'throw', seen in Skt. *sāyāka-*, *senā-* 'missile' (for indirect evidence of the sense 'sow' also in Skt., cf. Bloch, Bull. School of Or. Stud. 8.414). Walde-P. 2.459 ff. Persson, Beiträge 361 ff. Ernout-M. 929 f. Feist 404.

Lat. *serere* (*serō* fr. *\*sī-sō*, perf. *sēvi*), *sēmen* (> It. *seme*; *\*sēmēntia* > It. *semenza*, Fr. *semence*, Rum. *sămīnță*; dim. > Sp. *semilla*), whence again *sēmināre* (> It. *sēminare*, Fr. *semer*, Sp. *sembrar*, Rum. *sēmna*); Ir. *sīl*, Nlr. *sīol* 'seed', whence Ir. *sīlaim* 'sow'—W., Br. *had* 'seed', whence W. *hadu* 'go to seed', Br. *hada* 'sow'; Goth. *saian*, ON *sā*, OE *sāuan*, etc., general Gmc. vb. for 'sow'—sbs. OE *sēd*, ME *sede*, NE *seed*, Du. *zaad* (Goth. *-sēps* in *manasēps* 'man-kind'), ON *sāð*, *sēðr*, Dan. *sād*, Sw. *sād* mostly in secondary uses 'crop', 'semen', 'offspring', OHG *sāl*, NHG *saat* 'crop'),

and (with suffix as in Lat. *sēmen*) OHG *sāmo*, NHG *same*; Lith. *sėti*, Lett. *sēt*, ChSl. *sėti*, *sējati*, etc., with sbs. Lith. *sėkla*, Lett. *sėkla*, ChSl. *sēme*, etc., general Balto-Slavic; Toch. A *sāry-* 'sow' (SSS 477).

2. Grk. *σπείρω*, NG *σπέρω*, with sbs. Grk. *σπέρμα* 'seed', *σπόρος* mostly 'sowing', but in NG 'seed', prob.: Arm. *p'arat* 'scatter, separate', MHG *sprāzen* 'sprinkle, spray', etc. Walde-P. 2.670. Boisacq 894.

3. Fr. *graine* 'seed', fr. VLat. *grāna* sg. coll., orig. pl. of Lat. *grānum* 'grain, kernel' (8.42).

4. Nlr. *cuirm* 'place, put' (12.12), hence esp. 'place seed, sow'.

W. *hau* 'sow', deriv. of MW *se*, *he* 'seed': Lat. *seges* 'field of grain, crop'. Walde-P. 2.480. Pedersen 1.99.

5. Goth. *fraiū*, ON *frjō*, Dan. *frjō*, Sw. *frjō* (the usual Scand. word for 'seed' for planting; for ON *sāð*, etc., see above, 1), etym.? Feist 163. Falk-Torp 280.

Σάγκλα, Δάκλῃ. Niedermann, op. cit. 24. Ernout-M. 327. Walde-H. 1.449 f. Sp. *dalle*, Cat. *dalla*, OFr. *dail*, *daile* (Fr. dial. *dal*, etc.), late Lat. *daculum* (in glosses), perh. of the same ultimate origin as Lat. *falx*. Niedermann, op. cit. 29 f. REW 2458.

Sp. *guadaña*, back-formation to *guadañar* 'mow' (8.52).

Rum. *secere* fr. VLat. \**sicilis*, fr. *sicilis* (Ennius), influenced by *secāre* 'cut'(?). Cf. also Lat. *secula* > OE *sicol*, etc. (below, 5). Ernout-M. 896. REW 7900.

Rum. *coasă*, fr. Slavic (below, 7). 4. Ir. *corrān* : *cirrim* 'cut off', Grk. *καρπός* 'harvest', Lat. *carpere* 'pluck', OE *hærfest* 'harvest', Lith. *kirpti* 'cut with shears', etc. Walde-P. 2.581. Pedersen 1.94.

Ir. *spel*, Nlr. *speal*, etym. dub., perh. (*sp/ps*) : Grk. *φαλίσ* 'shears'. Stokes ap. Macbain 338.

W. *cryman*, fr. *crwm* 'bent, crooked' (cf. Ir. *cromān* 'a crooked surgical instrument', fr. *cromm* = W. *crwm*). Pedersen 2.27.

W. *pladur*, MW *paladur*, with agent suffix -*adur* (fr. Lat. -*ādrem*), perh. first applied to a sharp digging instrument of some sort, fr. *palu* 'dig', cf. *pal* 'spade' (8.23).

Br. *fals* fr. OFr. *fals* (> Fr. *fauz*); Br. *falc'h*, fr. Lat. *falx* (*falceum*). Henry 120.

5. Goth. *gīlpa*, perh. : OE *gielm* 'sheaf', Arm. *jelm* 'furrow', Skt. *hala-* 'plow', fr. an IE \**ghel-* 'cut'(?). Walde-P. 1.629. Feist 215.

ON *lē*, Dan. *le*, Sw. *lie*, MLG *lē* (\**leuan*) : Skt. *lavitra-* 'sickle', *lā-* 'cut off, mow' (3.32). Walde-P. 2.407. Falk-Torp 650.

ON *sigðr*, OE *sīðe*, ME *sithe*, NE *scythe*, and with different suffix OHG *segansa*, MHG *segens(e)*, NHG *sense*, Du. *zeis*, fr. Gmc. \**seg-*, IE \**sek-* in Lat. *secāre* 'cut', etc. (9.22). Walde-P. 2.475. Falk-Torp 963.

OE *sicol*, OHG *sihila*, etc., general WGmc. (and Dan. *segl* fr. MLG *sekle*), fr. Lat. *secula* 'sickle' (Varro), deriv. of *secāre* 'cut'. Walde-P. 2.475. Falk-Torp 953. Kluge-G. 561.

Sw. *skära*, fr. vb. *skära* 'cut' = NE *shear*, NHG *scheren*, etc. (9.22).

6. Lith. *piautuwas*, OLith. *piuklas* (now 'saw'), OPruss. *piuclan* : *piauti* 'cut, mow' (8.32).

Lith. *dalgis* (> Lett. dial. *dalgs*, *dal-g'is*), OPruss. *doalgis* : Ir. *dlongim*, Mlr. *dluigim* 'split', ON *telgja* 'whittle', fr. \**delgh-* (\**dlegh-*), extension of \**del-* in Skt. *dal-* 'split, burst', etc. Walde-P. 1.812. Berneker 207.

Lett. *cirpa*, through Esth. *tsirp*, fr. ORuss. *širpā* (ChSl. *srūpā*, above, 1). Leskien, Bildung d. Nom. 269. Thomsen, Beröringer 78. Walde-P. 2.582. Otherwise (fr. *cirpt* 'shear') Mühl-Endz. 1.386.

Lett. *širpis*, above, 1.

Lett. *izkaptis*, fr. *iz-kapāt* 'hew, cut out' : Lith. *iskapoti* 'chop', ChSl. *iskopiti* 'dig out', cpd. of *kopati* 'dig' (8.22). Mühl-Endz. 1.748.

7. ChSl. *srūpā*, etc., above, 1.

Slavic *kosa* (> Rum. *coasă*, NG *kōsa*), prob. (with k fr. f by dissim.) : Skt. *śas-* 'cut', *castra-* 'knife', Lat. *castrare* 'castrate', etc. Meillet, Études 178. Walde-P. 1.448. Berneker 581.

8. Skt. *dātra-*, fr. *dā-* 'mow' (8.32). Skt. *spṛti-*, above, 1.

Skt. *lavitra-*, above, 5 (ON *lē*, etc.).

## 8.34 THRESH

|      |                    |       |                  |       |                    |
|------|--------------------|-------|------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | ἀλῶω, τριῖω        | Goth. | þriskan          | Lith. | kulti              |
| NG   | ἀλῶω               | ON    | þreskia          | Lett. | kult               |
| Lat. | terere             | Dan.  | tereske          | ChSl. | mlatiti, vrěti     |
| It.  | battere, tribbiare | Sw.   | tröska           | SCr.  | mlatiti, vrijeti   |
| Fr.  | battre             | OE    | þerscan          | Boh.  | mlatiti            |
| Sp.  | trillar            | ME    | thresche         | Pol.  | mlócić             |
| Rum. | treera             | NE    | thresch (thrash) | Russ. | molotiti           |
| Ir.  | do-fuairce (3 sg.) | Du.   | dorschen         | Skt.  | mṛ-, prati-han-    |
| Nlr. | buailim            | OHG   | drescan          | Av.   | x'asta- 'threshed' |
| W.   | dyrnau             | MHG   | dreschen         |       |                    |
| Br.  | dourna             | NHG   | dreschen         |       |                    |

Words for 'thresh' are (apart from the Grk. derivs. of 'threshing-floor') from the notions of 'rub', 'beat', or (rarely) 'drag', orig. applied to different methods, namely, (1) the rubbing with the hands (most primitive of all methods), extended to the treading by oxen, etc., (2) the beating with a flail, and (3) the use of a dragging implement, a kind of threshing-sled, such as is still used by peasants in various parts of Europe. Cf. Meyer-Lübke, Wört. u. Sach. 1.211 ff. (with details of word distribution in Romance). Schrader, Reallex. 1.204 ff. Pauly-Wissowa s.v. *dreschen*.

1. Grk. ἀλῶω, NG ἀλῶω, derivs. of words for 'threshing-floor' (8.35).

Grk. τριῖω 'rub' (9.31), used for 'thresh' (by oxen) in Hom. II. 20.496.

2. Lat. *terere* 'rub' (9.31) is the usual expression. But also, for certain processes, *tundere* 'beat' and *excutere* 'shake out'.

It. *tribbiare*, Sp. *trillar*, Rum. *treera* (*triera*), fr. Lat. *tribulāre* 'press, oppress', deriv. of *tribulum* 'threshing-sled' (in form like a harrow), fr. root of *terere* (above). Ernout-M. 1033. REW 8885.

It. *battere*, Fr. *battre*, lit. 'beat', fr. Lat. *battuere* 'beat' (9.21).

3. Ir. 3 sg. *do-fuairce* (Wb. 10d6) lit. 'crushes', cpd. of *to-fo-* and *org-* 'strike, destroy'. Pedersen 2.250, 590. Thurneysen, Gram. 532.

Nlr. *buailim* 'strike, beat' (9.21) and 'thresh'.

W. *dyrnau*, Br. *dourna*, orig. 'beat with the hand', fr. W. *dyrn* 'fist', Br. *dour* 'hand' (4.33).

4. Goth. *þriskan*, OE *þerscan*, OHG *drescan*, etc., general Gmc. (in lit. NE tendency to differentiate *thresch* in old sense from *thrash* in secondary, but latter also the usual form among farmers), perh. : Lith. *trėškėti* 'crack, rattle', ChSl. *trěskū* 'crash'; or/and fr. the root \**ter-* in Lat. *terere* 'rub' (cf. above, 2), etc. Walde-P. 1.730. Falk-Torp 1255. Feist 503. NED s.v. *thrash*.

5. Lith. *kulti*, Lett. *kult*, lit. 'strike, beat' : Lith. *kalti*, Lett. *kalt* 'strike, hammer, forge', ChSl. *kolja*, *klati*, 'stick, slaughter', Lat. *percellere* 'strike down', etc. Walde-P. 1.436 ff. Walde-H. 1.226.

6. ChSl. *mlatiti*, etc., general Slavic : *mlatū* 'hammer', *mlėti* 'grind', Lith. *maliti*, Lat. *molere* 'grind', etc. (5.56). Walde-P. 2.284 ff. Berneker 2.73.

Late ChSl. *vrěti*, *vrěcha*, SCr. *vrijeti* (cf. also ChSl. *vračū* 'threshing', Russ. *voroch* 'heap of grain'), prob. as orig. applied to threshing by dragging : Lat. *vertere* 'sweep', etc. Walde-P. 1.292. Miklosich 383.

7. Skt. *mṛ-* 'crush' (: Lat. *molere* 'grind', etc., 5.56) is the technical expression for 'thresh' in Çat. Br. 1.6.1.3,

Pol. *gumno* now mostly 'barnyard', perh. an obscured cpd. \**gu-mīno*, the first part : Skt. *gāus*, Grk. *βοῦς*, etc. 'ox', and the second : ChSl. *mlēti* 'press', Lith. *minti* 'tread'. Berneker 362. Schrader, Reallex. 1.206.

Boh. *mlat* : *mlatiti* 'thresh' (8.34).

Pol. *klepisko* : *klepać*, ChSl. *klepati* 'strike, pound'. Berneker 512 f.

Russ. *tok* 'current, stream' (1.36), also used locally for 'threshing-floor' (hence Pol. *tok* sometimes in this sense).

7. Skt. *khala-* (RV, etc.), etym.?

Pedersen, KZ 38.203, 39.380.

## 8.41 CROP, HARVEST

|      |                          |       |                      |       |                |
|------|--------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | καρπός, θέρος, συγκομιδή | Goth. | akran, asans         | Lith. | piūtis         |
| NG   | θέρος, συγκομιδή         | ON    | lōð, āvaztr          | Lett. | pl'āums        |
| Lat. | frūgēs, seges, messis    | Dan.  | høst, grøde          | ChSl. | plodū, želva   |
| It.  | messe, raccolta          | Sw.   | gröda                | SCr.  | želva, prirod  |
| Fr.  | moisson, récolte         | OE    | wasim, rip           | Boh.  | žeti, úroda    |
| Sp.  | mies, cosecha            | ME    | frut(es), crop, ripe | Pol.  | żniwo, urodzaj |
| Rum. | seceriş, recoltă         | NE    | crop, harvest        | Russ. | žatva, urožaj  |
| Ir.  | torad, buain             | Du.   | oogst                | Skt.  | sasya-         |
| Nlr. | barr, toradh, fōghmar    | OHG   | wahsmo, aran         | Av.   | ....           |
| W.   | cnwd, cynhaeaf           | MHG   | erne                 |       |                |
| Br.  | eost                     | NHG   | ernte, ertrag        |       |                |

Many of the words listed originally denoted 'harvest' as the act or season of harvesting and only secondarily (some only occasionally, others commonly) were extended to cover the resulting 'crop, harvest'. These are mostly derivs. of vbs. for 'mow, reap' (8.32).

But association between the harvest and its season also accounts for several. The words that are used only for 'harvest' as 'crop' are from the general notions of 'fruit, product, growth, gathering', applied esp. to 'fruits of the field'.

1. Grk. *καρπός* 'fruit' in general, also 'crop, harvest' : OE *hærfest*, OHG *herbist* 'harvest time', etc. (below, 4), Lat. *carpere* 'pluck'. Walde-P. 2.581. Ernout-M. 157. Walde-H. 1.179. Falk-Torp 454 f.

Grk. *θέρος* 'summer' and also 'crop, harvest' (NG pop. *ó θέρος*), whence, through *θερίζω* (8.32), *θερισμός* 'harvest' in both senses, all through identification of 'hot season' with 'harvest-season' : *θερός* 'hot', etc. (15.85). Walde-P. 1.687 f. Boisacq 341.

3. Ir. *torad*, Nlr. *toradh*, in general 'fruit, product', cpd. *to-rad*, *to-ret* :

Grk. *συγκομιδή*, fr. *συγκομίζω* 'bring together, gather'.

2. Lat. *frūgēs*, *fructus* 'product' and esp. 'fruits of the field' : *frui* 'enjoy', Goth. *brūkjan*, OHG *brūhhan*, OE *brūcan*, etc. 'use, enjoy'. Walde-P. 2.208. Ernout-M. 395. Walde-H. 1.552.

Lat. *seges* 'grain-field', later 'crop' : W. *he* 'seed', *haw* 'sow', fr. a root \**seg-* (related to \**sē-* 'sow'?). Walde-P. 2.480. Ernout-M. 920.

Lat. *messis* (> It. *messe*, Sp. *mies*) and *messiō* (> Fr. *moisson*), orig. the act of 'reaping', but also for the resulting 'crop', fr. *metere* 'reap' (8.32). Ernout-M. 613. REW 5542-43.

It. *raccolta* (> Fr. *récolte*), Rum. *recoltă*, fr. pple. of Lat. *recolligere* 'gather up'. REW 7127.

Sp. *cosecha*, fr. MLat. *collecta* 'harvest', fr. pple. of Lat. *colligere* 'collect'. REW 2045.

Rum. *seceriş*, fr. *secera* 'mow, reap' (8.32).

3. Ir. *torad*, Nlr. *toradh*, in general 'fruit, product', cpd. *to-rad*, *to-ret* :

*rethim* 'run', hence orig. sense 'income'. Pedersen 2.600, 677.

Ir. *buain*, vbl. n. of *bongaim* 'reap' (8.32).

Nlr. *barr*, also and orig. 'top, tip' (12.33), with development similar to, and perh. influenced by, that in NE *crop* (below, 4).

Nlr. *fōghmar*, also and orig. 'autumn' (14.67).

W. *cynhaeaf* 'harvest-time, autumn' (14.67), now sometimes 'harvest'.

W. *cnwd*, orig.?

Br. *eost* orig. 'August' (the 'harvest month'), as also Du. *oogst* (below, 4). Henry 115.

4. Goth. *akran* (= *καρπός*) : ON *akarn* 'wild fruit, mast', OE *æcern* 'acorn', prob. deriv. of Goth. *akrs* 'field', etc. (8.12). Falk-Torp 16. Feist 32 f. Otherwise Walde-P. 1.173.

Goth. *asans* (= *θερισμός*, once *θερος* 'summer'), OHG *aran*, MHG *erne*, NHG *ernte*, all orig. with reference to the 'harvest-season' : OE *earnian*, OHG *arnen* 'earn', *arnōn* 'reap', ChSl. *jesenī* 'autumn'. Walde-P. 1.161. Feist 58 f.

ON *āvaztr*, OE *wæstm*, OHG *wahsmo*, all orig. 'growth', fr. ON *vaza*, OE *weazan*, OHG *wahsan* 'grow' (12.53).

ON *lōð* : ON *lōð* 'land', Goth. *unlōds*, OE *unlōd* 'poor', all fr. notion of 'property'. Walde-P. 2.394. Falk-Torp 650. Feist 521.

Dan. *grøde*, Sw. *gröda* : Dan., Sw. *gro*, OE *grōwan* 'grow', etc. (12.53). Falk-Torp 356. Hellquist 307.

OE *rip*, ME *ripe*, fr. OE *ripan* 'reap' (8.32).

OE *hærfest*, OHG *herbist*, NHG *herbst*, Du. *herfst*, Sw. *höst*, all used mainly or only for the 'harvest season, autumn', but NE *harvest* and Dan. *høst* for 'crop, harvest', all : Grk. *καρπός*, etc. (above, 1).

ME *frut(es)*, NE *fruii(s)*, reg. for *καρπός* in Bible from Wyclif on, but now arch. in this sense.

ME, NE *crop*, fr. OE *crop(p)* 'top of a plant', as 'ear of corn', etc., orig. 'bunch, lump', identical with *crop* (of fowls) : NHG *kropf*, etc. Falk-Torp 582. NED s.v.

Du. *oogst*, orig. 'August' the harvest month (now *Oogst-maand*), fr. Lat. *Augustus*. Franck-v. W. 474.

NHG *ertrag* 'income, yield', but esp. 'crop', fr. *ertragen* in older sense 'yield' (now 'bear, suffer'), cpd. of *tragen* 'carry'. Weigand-H. 1.471. Cf. NE *yield* in a good yield, etc.

5. Lith. *piūtis*, Lett. *pl'āums* fr. Lith. *piauti*, Lett. *pl'aut* 'mow, reap' (8.32).

Lett. *auglis*, in general 'fruit, growth', fr. Lett. *augt* 'grow' (12.53).

6. ChSl. *plodū* (= *καρπός*), and the general Slavic word for 'fruit, product', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 2.103.

ChSl. *želva* (= *θερισμός*), SCr. *želva*, Boh. *žeti*, Pol. *żniwo*, Russ. *žatva*, fr. the root of ChSl. *žeti*, etc. 'reap' (8.32).

SCr. *prirod*, Boh. *úroda*, Pol. *urodzaj*, Russ. *urožaj* : ChSl. *rodū* 'birth, race, family' etc. (19.23).

7. Skt. *sasya-* 'grain' (8.42), also used for 'crop, harvest'.

man', and ultimate relationship, perh. fr. a notion of 'rub' (whence 'rub down, wear out' in Skt. and Grk.; elsewhere 'something rubbed fine, grain'), though disputed, is probable. Walde-P. 1.599 f. Ernout-M. 432. Feist 309 f.

Lat. *grānum* 'a grain', but generic 'grain' reflected in *grānārium* 'granary', and common to the derivs., It., Sp. *grano*, Fr. *grain* (> ME *grey*, *grayn*, NE *grain*), Rum. *grīne* (pl.; sg. *grīu* 'wheat'), also Du. *graan*; Goth. *kaur*, OE *corn*, etc., general Gmc. (but NE *corn* specialized to 'maize' in U.S.; NHG *korn* mostly 'rye', Sw. *korn* esp. 'barley'); but Ir. *grān*, W. *grawn* only in older sense, likewise ChSl. *zrāno*, SCr. *zrno*, while Lith. *žirnas*, Lett. *zirnīs* are specialized to 'pea'.

3. Grk. *σίτος* 'grain' (also 'bread, food'), but already 'wheat' in Hellenistic times (NT, pap.) as in NG (pop. *σίταρι*), orig.? Walde-P. 1.470. Boisacq 866 f. Hence adj. *σιτηρός*, whence *σιτηρά* 'cereal products' (also lit. NG).

Grk. *γίννημα* 'product' (fr. *γεννώ* 'beget, bear', 4.71), hence pl. *γεννήματα* 'fruits of the field' (Polyb., NT, etc.), NG esp. 'cereals, grain'.

4. Lat. *frumentum* (> It. *frumento*, generic esp. in pl., sg. mostly 'wheat', Fr. *froment* 'wheat'), fr. the same root as *frūgēs* 'fruits of the field' (8.41), *fructus* 'fruit', *frui* 'enjoy', etc. Walde-P. 2.208. Ernout-M. 393.

Fr. *blé* (both generic, esp. pl. *les blés*, and 'wheat'; cf. *ce mot de blé .... est pris généralement pour tous les grains, jusques aux légumes bons à manger. En plusieurs endroits de ce royaume, par le blé est entendu le pur froment*, quoted from early 17th cent.), It. *biada* ('fodder', esp. 'oats', pl. *biade* more generic), MLat. *bladum*, fr. a Frank. \**blād* = OE *blād*, MDu. *blāt* 'fruit of the field', this

fr. the same root as OHG *blat* 'leaf', etc. (8.56). REW 1160. Wartburg 1.391 f.

5. Ir. *ith*, W. *yd*, Br. *ed*, orig. 'nourishment, food' (hence Ir. *ithim* 'eat') : Skt., Av. *pitū-* 'food', ChSl. *piiti* 'feed, nourish', etc. (5.12). Walde-P. 2.73 f. Pedersen 1.41.

Ir. *arbar*, Nlr. *arbar*, esp. 'un-threshed or standing grain' : Lat. *arrum*, Grk. *ἀρούρα* 'plow-land, field' (8.12). Walde-P. 1.78 f. Pedersen 1.63.

6. Goth. *kaur*, etc., also NE *grain*, Du. *graan*, see above, 2.

Sw. *sād* = Dan. *sad* 'seed, semen', OE *sad* 'seed', etc. (8.31).

NHG *getreide*, fr. MHG *getrege*, deriv. of *tragen* 'carry, bear, wear' and used with diverse applications, 'clothing, burden', etc. and esp. what is born of the earth, whence the present application. Weigand-H. 1.712. Kluge-G. 204.

7. Lith. *grūdai*, pl. of *grūdas* 'a grain' = Lett. *grūds* = SCr. *gruda* 'clod, lump' : ON *grjót* 'stones, gravel', OHG *grizos* 'sand, shore-gravel', NE *grit*, etc. Walde-P. 1.648 f.

Lith. *javai* (pl.), above, 1.

Lett. *labība* lit. 'goods, the good', deriv. of <



grass', also prob. Lith. *dirva* 'field' (8.12). Walde-P. 1.803. Franck-v. W. 689.

5. Lith. *kvietieji*, Lett. *kvieši*, fr. Gmc. (Goth. *hwaiteis*, etc., above, 4).

Lith. *pūrai*, Lett. *pūrī*, above, 1.

6. ChSl. *plšenica*, SCr., Russ. *psenica*, Boh. *psenice*, Pol. *pszenica*, orig. 'grain' destined for grinding': ChSl. *pichati* 'strike', *pišeno* 'meal', Lat. *pinsera* 'crush', etc. Walde-P. 2.1.

7. Skt. *godhūma-*, by pop. etym. (as cpd. of *go-* 'cow' and *dhūma-* 'smoke') for \**gandhuma-* = Av. *gantuma-*, NPers. *gandum* 'wheat', root connection? Barth. 493. Hübschmann, Pers. Stud. 95.

## 8.44 BARLEY

Grk. *κριθή* NG *κριθάρη* Lat. *hordeum* It. *orzo* Fr. *orge* Sp. *cebada* Rum. *orzo* Ir. *earna* Nlr. *earna* W. *haidd* Br. *heiz*

Goth. *barizeins* (adj.) ON *bygg*, barr Dan. *byg* Sw. *bjugg*, *korn* OE *bere*, *barlic* (bēow) ME *bere*, *barli* NE *barley* Du. *gerst* OHG *gersta* MHG *gerste* NHG *gerste*

Lith. *miežiai* Lett. *mieži* ChSl. *ječmennā*, *ječnū* (adj.) SCr. *ječmen* Boh. *ječmen* Pol. *jęczmień* Russ. *ячмень* Skt. *yava-* Av. ....

Apart from the inherited group, and some with specialization from 'grain' or 'fodder, crop', several words for 'barley' are from sources reflecting its sharp, prickly form.

1. IE \**ǵherd(h)-*, \**ǵhrzd(h)-*, root connection uncertain and phonetic development in part obscure. Walde-P. 1.611. Ernout-M. 459. Walde-H. 1.657.

Grk. *κριθή*, NG *κριθάρη*; Lat. *hordeum* (> It. *orzo*, Fr. *orge*, Rum. *orzo*); Du. *gerst*, OHG *gersta*, MHG, NHG *gerste*; (Alb. *dridhë* 'grain').

2. Sp. *cebada*, orig. 'fodder', fr. *cebar* 'feed, fatten animals', Lat. *cibāre* id., fr. *cibus* 'food'. REW 1894.

3. Ir. *earna*, etym. dub. Pokorny, Z. celt. Ph. 17.304 ff. takes as \**es-ornā* : Goth. *asans* 'harvest' (8.41). (Connection with Skt. *yava-*, etc., as Pedersen 1.65, Stokes 223, now rejected.)

W. *haidd*, Br. *heiz* : Skt. *sasya-*, Av. *hahya-* 'grain' (8.42). Walde-P. 2.454. Pedersen 1.69.

4. Goth. *barizeins* adj. 'κριθινος', ON *barr* (also 'pine needles'), OE *bere*, *barlic*, ME *bere*, *barli*, NE *barley*, dial. *bear* : Lat. *far*, *farris*, 'spelt', prob. so-called fr. the spikes of the grain, and fr. the root in Skt. *bhr̥ṣti-* 'point, tip', ON *burst*, OE *byrst*, etc. 'bristle'. Walde-P. 2.134. Walde-H. 1.455 f. Feist 81.

ON *bygg*, Dan. *byg*, Sw. *bjugg*, OE *bēow* (rare) = OS *beo* 'crop, produce', fr. the root of ON *būa* 'till, dwell', Goth. *bauan* 'dwell', etc. Hence orig. 'the cultivated crop' and then specialized to 'barley'. Falk-Torp 121. Hellquist 74.

Sw. *korn*, also and orig. 'grain' (8.42).

5. Lith. *miežiai*, Lett. *mieži* (pl.), OPruss. *moasis*, beside Lett. *maize* 'bread', etym.? Mühl-Endz. 2.553, 657.

6. ChSl. *ječmennā*, *ječnū* adj. 'κριθινος', SCr. *ječmen*, etc., general Slavic, prob. (as 'prickly, bearded') : ChSl. *akotū* 'hook', Lat. *uncus* 'bent, hook', etc. Berneker 268. Walde-P. 1.61.

7. Skt. *yava-*, earlier 'grain' (8.42).

3. Ir. *coirce*, W. *ceirch*, Br. *ker'h*, etym. uncertain, but possibly : *ser*, also Norw. dial. *hagre* 'oats'. Walde-P. 1.348. Pedersen 1.188.

4. ON *hafri* (ME *hafyr*, NE *haver* fr. Norse), Dan., Sw. *havre*, Du. *haver*, OHG *habaro*, MHG *haber(e)*, NHG *hafer* (LG for HG *haber*), perh. as 'goats' food' (cf. Grk. *αἰγίλωψ* a kind of 'wild oats' : αἶξ 'goat') : ON *hafri* 'he-goat', Lat. *capre*, etc. Walde-P. 1.348. Falk-Torp 387 f. Hellquist 341.

OE *āte*, ME *ote(s)*, NE *oats*, orig. denoting the single grain (cf. NED s.v.) and prob. : ON *eitill* 'module in stone,

iron, etc.', Norw. *eitel* 'knot in a tree', Pol. *jadro*, Russ. *jadro* 'kernel' (cf. also Norw. dial. *hagre* 'oats'). Walde-P. 1.348. Pedersen 1.188.

5. Lith. *avižos*, Lett. *auzas*, above, 2.

6. ChSl. *ovisū*, etc., above, 2.

SCr. *zob* = Boh. *zob* 'bird-feed', Russ. *zob* 'crop, goiter, chopped straw with barley', prob. back-formation to SCr. *zobati* 'eat grain' : ChSl. *zobati* 'eat', Lith. *žėbtī* 'eat slowly', Walde-P. 1.570. Brückner 655 f.

## 8.47 MAIZE, (U.S.) CORN

NG *ἀραβόστροφος*, *καλαμπόκι* Dan. *majs* Lett. *kukurūza* Ir. *granturco* Sw. *majs* Lett. *kukurūza* Fr. *maïs*, *blé de Turquie* NE *maïs* SCr. *kukuruz* Sp. *maíz* Du. *maize* Boh. *kukuřice* Rum. *porumb* NHG *mais* Pol. *kukurydza* Nlr. *arbarh Indiach* Russ. *kukurūza* W. *indrawn* Br. *ed Turki*

Maize (in U.S. *corn*) is an American product. Its first European cultivation was in Spain, whence it spread first to northern Africa and the other Mediterranean lands and thence to central and northern Europe. Cf. J. W. Harshberger, *The Maize* (Philadelphia, 1892), and Leo Spitzer, *Wört. u. Sach.* 4. 122 ff. (with discussion of the numerous Romance dialect terms).

1. A West Indian form of the native name was adopted by the Spanish as *mahiz*, *mayz*, now *maiz*, whence it spread to other Eur. languages, Fr. *maïs*, NE *maize*, NHG *mais*, etc.

2. In North America it was known by the French as *blés d'Inde* (quoted from Champlain; also as *mil gros* 'large millet', Cartier), by the English as *Indian corn*, and so in England, whence Nlr. *arbarh Indiach* (arbarh, 8.42), W. (Spur-

rell, old. ed.) *guenith India* (guenith 'wheat', 8.43) or now (Spurrell-Anwyl) *indrawn* (abbr. *ind- + grawn* 'grain'); later in U.S. simply *corn* at the expense of its old generic use.

3. Owing to the early cultivation of maize in Mediterranean lands and its reputed oriental origin, coupled with the vague use of Turkey in connection with things exotic (cf. NE *turkey*, the bird), arose such names as It. *granturco*, Fr. *blé de Turquie*, Br. *ed Turki*, NE *Turkey wheat* (cf. NED), NHG *türkischer weizen*. Similarly NG *ἀραβόστροφος*, *ἀραβόστρι*, lit. 'Arabian corn', with which one may compare Fr. *blé sarrazin* 'buckwheat' and Turk. *maşır* (bugday) 'maize', lit. 'Egyptian (wheat)'. For many other terms based on fanciful geographic origin, cf. Spitzer, op. cit. 133 ff.

Grk. (βρίζα) NG *σκαλη*, *βρίζα* Lat. *secale*, *centenium* It. *segale* Fr. *seigle* Sp. *centeno* Rum. *secară* Ir. *secul* Nlr. *seagal* W. *rhyy* Br. *segal*

Goth. .... ON *rugr* Dan. *rug* Sw. *rdg* OE *ryge* ME *rye* NE *rye* Du. *rog* OHG *rocko*, *roggo* MHG *rocke*, *rogge* NHG *roggen*

1. Rye was unknown in ancient Greece. *βρίζα*, quoted by Galen as the native name of 'rye' raised in Thrace and Macedonia, is a Thracian word. Connection with ON *rugr*, etc. (below, 4) is assumed by Hirt, Idg. Gram. 2.94, but doubtful.

Byz. *σκάλης*, NG *σκάλη* fr. Lat. (below, 2).

2. Rye was likewise unknown in ancient Italy, and *secale* (Pliny), *sicale* (Edict. Diocl.) is doubtless a loanword, of unknown source. Hence It. *segale*, Fr. *seigle*, Rum. *secară*, also Ir. *secul*, Nlr. *seagal*, Br. *segal*, NG *σκάλη*, Alb. *thekërë*. REW 7763.

Sp. *centeno*, Port. *centeio*, fr. late Lat. *centenium* 'rye' (Edict. Diocl.), fr. cen-

Grk. *βρόμος* NG *βρόμη* Lat. *avena* It. (a) *avena* Fr. *avoine* Sp. *avena* Rum. *ovás* Ir. *coirce* Nlr. *coirce* W. *ceirch* Br. *ker'h*

Goth. .... ON *hafri* Dan. *havre* Sw. *havre* OE *āle* ME *ole* NE *oats* Du. *haver* OHG *habaro*, *evina* MHG *haber(e)* NHG *hafer*

1. Grk. *βρόμος*, NG *βρόμη*, orig. unknown.

2. Lat. *avēna* (among the Romans a weed, or good only for fodder; but Pliny comments on its use for porridge among the Germans). Hence It. *avena*, pop.

4. Rum. *porumb*, also and orig. 'dove' (Lat. *palumbus*, VLat. \**palumbus*). Cf. Montenegrin *kolomboč* 'maize', deriv. of Lat. *columba* 'dove', and Bulg. *gǔlǔb* 'maize' fr. *gǔlǔb* 'dove'. Here also NG *καλαμπόκι*, a blend with *κάλαμος* 'reed' (cf. also *καλαμο-σίταρο* 'maize'). Due to the dove-like appearance of the ear of corn with its folded sheath (so Tiktin 1207; cf. also Mold. *părușoiu* fr. *părușă* 'doll'), or to a resemblance in color (so

Lith. *rugiai* Lett. *rudzi* ChSl. (rǔži) SCr. *raž* Boh. *žilo*, *rež* Pol. *żyto*, *reż* Russ. *ро́ж* Skt. .... Av. ....

*terī* 'hundred each', because of the alleged 'hundred-fold yield' (Pliny, NH 18.16, 40 *nascitur (secale) qualicumque solo cum centesimo grano*). Ernout-M. 1746. REW 1811.

3. Ir. *secul*, etc., fr. Lat. *secale* (above, 2).

W. *rhyy*, fr. OE *ryge* (below, 4).

4. ON *rugr*, OE *ryge*, OHG *rocko*, etc. general Gmc., Lith. *rugiai*, Lett. *rudzi* (pl., sg. 'grain of rye'), late ChSl. *rǔži*, SCr. *raž*, etc., general Slavic, all plainly connected, but perh. loanwords fr. some unknown source. Walde-P. 2.374 f. Weigand-H. 1.599. Kluge-G. 484 f.

5. Boh. *žito*, Pol. *żyto*, also gen. 'grain' (8.42).

## 8.46 OATS

Grk. *βρόμος* NG *βρόμη* Lat. *avena* It. (a) *avena* Fr. *avoine* Sp. *avena* Rum. *ovás* Ir. *coirce* Nlr. *coirce* W. *ceirch* Br. *ker'h*

Goth. .... ON *hafri* Dan. *havre* Sw. *havre* OE *āle* ME *ole* NE *oats* Du. *haver* OHG *habaro*, *evina* MHG *haber(e)* NHG *hafer*

*vena*, Fr. *avoine*, Sp. *avena*, also OHG *evina* : Lith. *avižos*, Lett. *auzas*, ChSl. *ovisū*, SCr. *ovas*, etc. (> Rum. *ovás*), general Balto-Slavic for 'oats'. Root connection? Walde-P. 1.24. Ernout-M. 87. Walde-H. 1.81. REW 818.

## 8.48 RICE

Grk. *δρυζα* NG *πίζα* Lat. *oryza* It. *riso* Fr. *riz* Sp. *arroz* Rum. *orez* Ir. .... Nlr. *ris* W. *reis* Br. *riz*

Goth. .... ON *ras* Dan. *ris* Sw. *ris* OE *ryse* ME *rice* NE *rice* Du. *rijst* OHG *reis* MHG *reis* NHG *reis*

Rice is of oriental origin, and likewise without doubt Grk. *δρυζα*, which is the source of all the European words. This is prob. a distorted form (through Iran.)

## 8.51 GRASS

Grk. *πόα*, *χόρτος* NG *χορτάρι* Lat. *herba*, *gramen* It. *erba* Fr. *herbe* Sp. *hierba* Rum. *iarbă* Ir. *féar* Nlr. *fēar* W. *gwellt*, *glaswellt* Br. *geol*

Goth. *hawī* ON *gras* Dan. *gras* Sw. *gräs* OE *gras*, *gers* ME *gras* NE *grass* Du. *gras* OHG *gras* MHG *gras* NHG *gras*

Words for 'grass' are from such notions as 'green, growing, fat, blade', but in part also from 'fodder', since the fodder was usually grass.

1. Grk. *πόα*, Ion. *ποιή*, Dor. *ποία*, fr. \**poīfa* : πῶν 'fat', Lith. *pėva* 'meadow', Skt. *pīvas-*, Av. *pīvah-* 'fat', etc. Walde-P. 2.74.

Grk. *χόρτος*, orig. 'enclosure', esp. 'feeding place for cattle', whence 'fodder, grass, hay' : Lat. *hortus* 'garden' (8.13), Ir. *gort* 'field' (8.12), etc. Walde-P. 1.603. Hence NG *χορτάρι*.

2. Lat. *herba* (> It. *erba*, Fr. *herbe*, Sp. *hierba*, *yerba*, Rum. *iarbă*), etym.

dub. Walde-P. 1.646. Ernout-M. 448. Walde-H. 1.639 f.

Lat. *grāmen*, prob. as orig. 'fodder', fr. \**grasmen-* : Grk. *γρᾶω* 'gnaw', Skt. *gras-* 'devour', etc. Ernout-M. 430 f. Other-

3. Ir. *fēr*, Nlr. *fēar* = W. *gwair* 'hay' (OW *gweir*), prob. fr. \**wegro-* : Lat. *vīgēre* 'be fresh and strong', *vegetus* 'lively, vigorous', Skt. *vāja-* 'strength', etc. Walde-P. 1.247. Pedersen 1.103.

W. *gwellt*, Br. *geot* (older *guelt*), prob. : W. *gwallt*, Ir. *fol* 'hair', OPruss. *woliti*, SCr. *ulat* 'ear (of corn)', etc. Walde-P. 1.297. Otherwise (as orig. 'fodder' : Ir. *gelim* 'graze', etc.) Pedersen 1.96.

W. *glaswellt*, lit. 'green grass', cpd. of *glas* 'green' and *gwellt*.

4. Goth. *hawī*, reg. for 'grass', see under 'hay' (8.52).

Goth. *gras* (but only for *χόρτος* as 'fruit of the field' or mostly *λάχανον* 'herb, vegetable'), OE *grass*, etc., general Gmc.

## 8.52 HAY

Grk. *χόρτος* NG *χορτάρι*, *σανός* Lat. *fenum* It. *fieno* Fr. *foin* Sp. *heno* Rum. *fin* Ir. (fēr) Nlr. *fēar tirim* W. *gwair* Br. *joenn*

Goth. *hawī* ON *hey* Dan. *hø* Sw. *hø* OE *hēp*, *hīg* ME *hey*, *hay* NE *hay* Du. *hooi* OHG *hevi*, *houwi* MHG *houwe* NHG *heu*

'Hay' is sometimes undistinguished from 'grass', as in the case of Grk. *χόρτος* 'fodder, grass, hay', or is from 'grass' with secondary differentiation, as Welsh *gwair*. But usually there are distinctive words.

1. Grk. *χόρτος*, NG *χορτάρι*, the same as for 'grass' (8.51).

NG *sanós*, fr. Slavic (below, 5).

2. Lat. *fenum* (> Romance words), etym. dub., perh. as \**fend-snom* : *de-fendere* 'defend', *offendere* 'repulse', Grk.

(and OE *gers*, Flem. *gers* with metathesis) : MHG *gruose* 'young plant, shoot', ON *grōa*, OE *grōwan* 'grow', etc. Walde-P. 1.646. Feist 220. Otherwise (: Skt. *ghr̥s-* 'rub') Falk-Torp 355.

5. Lith. *žolė*, Lett. *zāle* : Lith. *žalias*, Lett. *zāl's*, ChSl. *zelinū* 'green', Grk. *χόλος* 'gall', *χλόη* 'young green plant or grass', *χλωρός* 'green', etc. Walde-P. 1.625.

6. ChSl. *trava*, etc., general Slavic, orig. 'fodder', fr. the root of ChSl. *truti* 'use up', *natruti* 'feed', etc. : *tryti* 'rub', etc. (9.31). Walde-P. 1.731. Trautmann 327. Brückner 575.

7. Skt. *tr̥ṇa-* : Goth. *þaur̥nus*, ON, OE *þorn*, ChSl. *trǫnū* 'thorn', ChSl. *strǫnū* 'stalk, blade', perh. fr. the root \**ster-* seen in Grk. *στερός* 'stiff, firm', NHG *starr* 'rigid, stiff', etc. Walde-P. 2.641.

Av. *vāstra-* 'pasture' (3.17), hence also 'fodder, grass'.

*θεινω*, Skt. *han-* 'strike', etc. ('hay' as grass cut down, cf. the Gmc. group, below, 4); or with specialization fr. 'product' like *fēnus* 'interest on capital' fr. the same root as *fēcundus*, *felix* 'fruitful'. Walde-P. 1.680. Ernout-M. 345. Walde-H. 1.479.

3. Ir. *fēr* also 'grass', Nlr. *fēar tirim* lit. 'dry grass', W. *gwair* 'hay', see under 'grass' (8.51).

Br. *joenn*, fr. Fr. *foin*.

ME *wort*, MLG *wurt*, OHG, MHG *wurz*, all : Goth. *waurts* 'root', etc. (8.54).

Du. *kruud*, OHG, MHG *krūt*, NHG *kraut*, used for 'plant, herb' or with specialization (esp. 'cabbage'), prob. : Grk. *βρώα* 'well, team' (cf. *γῆ φυροῖς* *βρωσura* 'earth teeming with plants', Aristot.). Walde-P. 1.689. Weigand-H. 1.1142. Franch-v. W. 353.

5. Lith. *augalas*, *augmuo*, Lett. *augš* : Lith. *augti*, Lett. *augt* 'grow', Lat. *augere*, Grk. *αἰζω* 'increase', etc. Walde-P. 1.22 f.

Lith. *žolė*, Lett. *zāle* 'grass' (8.51), also 'plant, herb' (cf. esp. Mühl-Endz. 4.696 ff.).

6. ChSl. *sadū* (Gospels Mt. 15.13, Supr.) = Russ. *sad* 'garden' (8.13), fr. *saditi* 'set' = 'plant', caus. of *sedā*, *sēsti* 'sit' (cf. also Lith. *soditi* 'set, plant'), IE \**sed-* 'sit'. Walde-P. 2.483.

## 8.54 ROOT

Grk. *βίζα* NG *πίζα* Lat. *radix* It. *radice* Fr. *rais* Sp. *arroz* Rum. *orez* Ir. .... Nlr. *ris* W. *reis* Br. *riz*

Goth. *haurts* ON *rōt* Dan. *rod* Sw. *rot* OE *wyrtruma*, *wyrtruala* ME *rote* NE *root* Du. *wortel* OHG *wurzala* MHG *wurzel* NHG *wurzel*

For 'root' there is a widespread inherited group, which includes also several words denoting 'branch' or 'plant', and community between 'root' and 'branch' is observed in another group. But the root connection and underlying notion is uncertain.

1. IE \**wrd-*, \**wyrd-*, etc. in words for 'root', also 'plant, branch', etc., prob. fr. a \**werd-* beside \**werdh-* in Skt. *vr̥dh-* 'grow'. Walde-P. 1.288. Ernout-M. 849. Falk-Torp 907, 1336. REW 6995, 7000.

Lat. *radix* (> It. *radice*, OFr. *raiz*,

ChSl. *bylŭje* (Supr. for *borān* and *φάρμακον* 'drug'), SCr. *biljka*, Boh. *bylina*, derivs. of *bylŭ* pple. of *byti* 'be' (cf. Grk. *φυρόν*, above, 1). Berneker 112.

Boh. *rostlina*, Pol. *roślina*, Russ. *rastenie* : ChSl. *rasti* 'grow', etc. (12.53). SCr., Russ. *trava* 'grass' (8.51), also 'herb'.

Boh. *zelina*, Pol. *ziele* : ChSl. *zelenū* 'green' (15.68), *zeliye* 'vegetables' (5.63), Lith. *žolė* 'grass' and 'herb', etc.

7. Skt. *virudh-*, fr. *vi-rudh-* 'sprout, grow' (*vi-* as in other cpds., like *anu-* beside *anu-*).

Skt. *osadhi-*, esp. 'healing herb' (in contrast to more generic *virudh-*; cf. Macdonell - Keith 1.125), apparently a cpd., second part : *dhā-* 'place, put', but first part obscure. Uhlenbeck 37.

Av. *urwarā-* (usually pl.) : Skt. *urwarā-* 'field' (8.12). Barth. 401 ff.

Sp. *raiz*; late deriv. *radicina* > Fr. *racine*, Rum. *radăcină*, beside Grk. *πάσις* 'branch' and Lat. *rā*

'paw, claw', orig.? REW 1271. Wartburg 1498. Gamillscheg 139 f.

Rum. *cracă*, fr. Slavic, cf. Bulg. *krak*, *kraka* 'leg, foot', SCR. *krak* 'long leg', etc., also in ChSl. *dlugo-krakū* 'sort of insect' (lit. 'long-leg'). Tiktin 429. Berneker 571 f.

4. Ir. *crāib*, Nlr. *crabb* (also a 'tree', as in Gael.), etym.? Macbain 104.

Ir. *gēasca*, *gēc*, Nlr. *gēag*, W. *cangen*, *caine*, Lith. *šaka*, Russ. *suk* (ChSl. *sakū* 'twig', Boh. *suk* 'knot' in wood), Skt. *śākhā*, Arm. *caz* : Skt. *gaṇku* 'peg', Lith. *šaknis*, Lett. *sakne*, OPruss. *sagnis* 'root', Goth. *hōha*, Ir. *cēcht* 'plow' ('forked stick'), etc. Walde-P. 1.335. Pedersen 1.126, 494.

Br. *barr* 'top' (12.33), also 'branch' (as 'tip', cf. Du. *tak*, below, 5).

Br. *branch*, fr. a dial. form of Fr. *branche* (above, 3).

5. Goth. *asts*, OHG *ast*, etc., above, 1. ON *kviṣtr*, mostly 'small branch, twig' (Dan. *kviṣt*, Sw. *qvist* 'twig'), ME *twist*, *twyste* (cf. NED s.v.), cf. ON *kviṣt* 'fork, branch' (of a river, etc.), fr. Gmc. *twis-* (Goth. *twis-* 'apart'), IE \**dwis* in Lat. *bis*, early Lat. *duis* 'twice': IE *dwis* 'two' (cf. below, OE *twig*, etc.). Walde-P. 1.820. Falk-Torp 607 f.

ON *grein*, Dan., Sw. *gren* : Sw. *gren* 'fork between two branches', Sw. dial. *grena* 'spread the legs', MHG *grien*, id., Goth. *grips* 'step', etc., connections outside Gmc. uncertain, but semantic development clearly 'fork, angle' > 'branch'. Falk-Torp 345. Walde-P. 1.652.

OE *telga*, OHG *zelge* (with *zu-* for *z-* fr. *zwig*), MHG *zelch* (ON *talga* 'thin limb, long arm', rare) : ON *talja* 'whittle', Ir. *alongim*, *dluigim* 'split', Lith. *dalgis* 'scythe'. Walde-P. 1.812. Falk-Torp 1252.

OE *bōg*, *bōh*, ME *bow(e)*, NE *bough*, same word as OE *bōg* 'shoulder' : OHG

*buog* 'shoulder', Skt. *bāhu-*, Grk. *παῖς* 'arm', etc. (4.31). Early and usual specialization to 'bough' of a tree. NED s.v. *bough*, sb.

OE *twig*, *twigge* (ME, NE *twig* 'small branch, twig', but in OE general 'branch', cf. Gospels, Mk. 13.28, Mt. 24.32, of the branches of the fig tree, also Jn. 12.13 *palm-tree* *twigu*), Du. *twijg*, OHG *zwig* (mostly 'twig', cf. Graff 5.729; but also 'branch', cf. Tatian 116.4, 5), MHG *zwic* (likewise mostly 'twig, sprout, cutting'), NHG *zweig*, all derivs. of IE \**dwis*-, \**dwēi* : \**dwōu* 'two', like ON *kviṣtr*, etc., above. Here also OHG *zuog*, OS *tōg*, with vowel from the numeral. Walde-P. 1.819. Note the opposite tendencies of usage in English ('branch' > 'twig') and German ('twig' > 'branch').

ME *braunche*, NE *branch*, fr. Fr. *branche* (above, 3).

Du. *tak*, fr. MDu. *tacke*, *tac* 'point, branch' = MHG *zacke*, NHG *zacken* 'point, prong', NE *tack*, etc. root connection dub. Franck-v. W. 685. Walde-P. 1.785.

6. Lith. *šaka*, above, 4. Lett. *zars*, prob. : Lith. *žaras* 'beam of light' (Lalis), *žėrėti* 'shine, glitter', etc. Cf. the opposite semantic development in OE *beam*, NE *beam* for 'beam of light' (NED s.v. 19). Mühl-Endz. 4.691.

7. ChSl. *vělv*, Boh. *vělev*, Russ. *vetv* : Lith. *vytis* 'osier', Lett. *vitols*, OPruss. *wituan*, ON *vīðir*, OHG *wīda* 'willow', etc., *t*-formations of IE \**wēi*- in ChSl. *vēja*, Skt. *vayā*- 'branch', Ir. *fē* 'rod, measuring-rod', Lat. *viēre* 'plait, weave', Lith. *vyti* 'twist', ChSl. *uti* 'wind, twist', etc. Jokl, Arch. sl. Ph. 29.44. Walde-P. 1.224, 225.

SCR. (Bulg., Slov.) *grana*, Ukr. *hranok* (Russ. *gran'ka* 'tuft, wisp') : Russ. *gran'* 'facet, limit', *granica* 'frontier', Pol.

*grani*, Boh. *hrana* 'corner, edge', etc., all from the notion of 'point' : ON *grpn*, Ir. *grend* 'beard', OHG *grani* 'bearded', etc. Walde-P. 1.606. Berneker 346.

Pol. *gałąź*, Boh. *haluz*, Ukr. *hātuź*, Russ. dial. *galjuka*, as *gała-zi* : Russ. *gol'ja* (rare) 'bough', Boh. *hāl* 'staff, stick', etc., Arm. *kotr* 'branch', root connection? Berneker 292, 326. Brückner 133.

Russ. *suk*, above, 4. 8. Skt. *śākhā*, above, 4. Skt. *vayā* : ChSl. *vēja*, etc. (above, 7). Av. *yazāti*- (in cpds. *θri-yazāti*-, etc.)

## 8.56 LEAF

|                                      |   |                                    |
|--------------------------------------|---|------------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>φύλλον</i>                   | Goth. <i>laufs</i>                                | Lith. <i>lapas</i>                 |
| NG <i>φύλλον</i>                     | ON <i>laufsblað</i> ( <i>lauf</i> , <i>blað</i> ) | Lett. <i>lapa</i>                  |
| Lat. <i>folium</i>                   | Dan. <i>blad</i> ( <i>lǿf</i> )                   | ChSl. <i>listū</i>                 |
| It. <i>foglia</i>                    | Sw. <i>blad</i> ( <i>lǿf</i> )                    | SCR. <i>list</i>                   |
| Fr. <i>feuille</i>                   | OE <i>leaf</i> ( <i>blād</i> )                    | Boh. <i>líst</i>                   |
| Sp. <i>hoja</i>                      | ME <i>leaf</i>                                    | Pol. <i>liść</i>                   |
| Rum. <i>frunză</i> ( <i>foaie</i> )  | NE <i>leaf</i>                                    | Russ. <i>list</i>                  |
| Ir. <i>duille</i>                    | Du. <i>blad</i> ( <i>loof</i> )                   | Skt. <i>parva-</i> , <i>patra-</i> |
| Nlr. <i>duilleog</i> , <i>bileog</i> | OHG <i>blat</i> , <i>loub</i>                     | Av. <i>varaka-</i>                 |
| W. <i>deilen</i> , <i>dalen</i>      | MHG <i>blat</i> , <i>loup</i>                     |                                    |
| Br. <i>delienn</i>                   | NHG <i>blatt</i> ( <i>laub</i> )                  |                                    |

Words for 'leaf' are connected with words for 'bloom, flower' (orig. 'swell?'), for 'peel, strip off', and for 'wing, feather', the last reflecting the notion of lightness, fluttering.

1. From a root \**bhel*-, seen also in words for 'flower' (5.57), and perh. ultimately the same as that in words resting on the notion of 'swell' (Lat. *foliis* 'leather bag', Grk. *φάλλος* 'phallic emblem', NE *ball*, etc.).

2. Rum. *frunză*, fr. MLat. *frondia* formed after the analogy of *folia* fr. Lat. *frōns*, *frondis* 'leafy branch, foliage', itself of dub. orig. Pęscaiu 659. REW 3530.

3. Ir. *duille*, *duillen*, Nlr. *duilleog*, W. *deilen* (and *dalen*, coll. *dail*), Br. *de-lienn* (coll. *deill*), OCorn. *delen* gl. *folium*, cf. Gall. *πεμπρε-δουλα* 'πεπτάφυλλον' : Grk. *θάλλω* 'bloom, flourish, abound', *θαλῶς* 'sprout, young twig', Alb. *dal* 'sprout, go forth', Arm. *dalar* 'green, fresh', etc. Walde-P. 1.825. Pedersen 1.375. Lat. *folium* could also be put with this group, instead of as above, 1. Cf. Ernout-M. s.v.

Br. *boked* (also 'bouquet'), fr. Fr. *bouquet*.

4. Goth. *blōma*, ON *blōm*, *blōmstr*, etc., above, 1.

ME *flour*, NE *flower*, above, 1.

5. Lith. *gėlė* (now the preferred word, cf. NSB s.v. *kvieta*) prob. (orig. applied to a particular flower?) : Lith. *gėlas*, *gėlonas*, Lett. *dzelāns*, ChSl. *žlūtū*, etc. 'yellow' (15.69).

Lith. *kvieta*, fr. WhRuss. *kvetka* : ChSl. *cvětū*, etc., (below, 6). Brückner, Sl. Fremdw. 101.

Lith. *žiedas* (also 'ring'), Lett. *zieds* (mostly 'bloom' or fig. 'flower') : Lith. *žydėti*, Lett. *ziedēt* 'bloom', Goth. *keinan*, OHG *chīnan* 'sprout', OE *cīnan* 'burst',

= Skt. *yaśti*-'staff, stick', root connections dub. Walde-P. 1.443. Barth. 809, 1236.

Av. *frasparəya*, lit. 'that which shoots forth' (cpd. of *fra* = Skt. *pra*, and *sparəya* : Skt. *spūrj*-'burst forth, roar') and *fravāzš*- (cpd. of *fra* and *vāzš*-'grow') in this sequence, Yasna 10.5, are taken as 'branch'-'twig' by Darmesteter and Mills (also *frasparəya* rendered by *śākhā*- in Skt. translation), but as 'twig'-'stem, branch' by Barth. (*frasparəya*- rendered by *spik* 'twig' in Pahlavi translation). Barth. 991, 1003.

## 8.58 ROSE

|                       |                  |                                  |
|-----------------------|------------------|----------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>ῥόδον</i>     | Goth. <i>...</i> | Lith. <i>rošė</i>                |
| NG <i>ῥόδον</i>       | ON <i>...</i>    | Lett. <i>ruose</i>               |
| Lat. <i>rosa</i>      | Dan. <i>rose</i> | ChSl. <i>ruša</i>                |
| It. <i>rosa</i>       | Sw. <i>ros</i>   | Boh. <i>rože</i>                 |
| Fr. <i>rose</i>       | OE <i>roose</i>  | Pol. <i>roza</i>                 |
| Sp. <i>rosa</i>       | ME <i>roose</i>  | Russ. <i>roza</i> , <i>rozān</i> |
| Rum. <i>trandafir</i> | NE <i>roose</i>  | Skt. <i>(japa-, ogra)</i>        |
| Ir. <i>rós</i>        | Du. <i>roos</i>  | Av. <i>varəša</i> (?)            |
| Nlr. <i>rós</i>       | OHG <i>roša</i>  |                                  |
| W. <i>rhosyn</i>      | MHG <i>roose</i> |                                  |
| Br. <i>rozenn</i>     | NHG <i>rose</i>  |                                  |

ME, NE *blade* never in this sense, and only late ME in modern sense of 'blade' of grass, etc., cf. NED s.v.), OHG *MHP* *blatt*, NHG *blatt*, Du. *blad*.

2. Rum. *frunză*, fr. MLat. *frondia* formed after the analogy of *folia* fr. Lat. *frōns*, *frondis* 'leafy branch, foliage', itself of dub. orig. Pęscaiu 659. REW 3530.

3. Ir. *duille*, *duillen*, Nlr. *duilleog*, W. *deilen* (and *dalen*, coll. *dail*), Br. *de-lienn* (coll. *deill*), OCorn. *delen* gl. *folium*, cf. Gall. *πεμπρε-δουλα* 'πεπτάφυλλον' : Grk. *θάλλω* 'bloom, flourish, abound', *θαλῶς* 'sprout, young twig', Alb. *dal* 'sprout, go forth', Arm. *dalar* 'green, fresh', etc. Walde-P. 1.825. Pedersen 1.375. Lat. *folium* could also be put with this group, instead of as above, 1. Cf. Ernout-M. s.v.

Grk. *φύλλον*; Lat. *folium* (pl. *folia*, late coll. sg. > It. *foglia*, Fr. *feuille*, Sp. *hoja*, Rum. *foaie*, the last mostly 'leaf' of paper); Gael. *bile* 'blade' of grass, etc., dim. Ir. *billeóc*, Nlr. *bileog*; ON *blāð* (rare in this sense), *laufsblað*, Dan., Sw. *blad*, OE *blad* (but rare in this sense,

ME, NE *blade* never in this sense, and only late ME in modern sense of 'blade' of grass, etc., cf. NED s.v.), OHG *MHP* *blatt*, NHG *blatt*, Du. *blad*.

2. Rum. *frunză*, fr. MLat. *frondia* formed after the analogy of *folia* fr. Lat. *frōns*, *frondis* 'leafy branch, foliage', itself of dub. orig. Pęscaiu 659. REW 3530.

3. Ir. *duille*, *duillen*, Nlr. *duilleog*, W. *deilen* (and *dalen*, coll. *dail*), Br. *de-lienn* (coll. *deill*), OCorn. *delen* gl. *folium*, cf. Gall. *πεμπρε-δουλα* 'πεπτάφυλλον' : Grk. *θάλλω* 'bloom, flourish, abound', *θαλῶς* 'sprout, young twig', Alb. *dal* 'sprout, go forth', Arm. *dalar* 'green, fresh', etc. Walde-P. 1.825. Pedersen 1.375. Lat. *folium* could also be put with this group, instead of as above, 1. Cf. Ernout-M. s.v.

Grk. *φύλλον*; Lat. *folium* (pl. *folia*, late coll. sg. > It. *foglia*, Fr. *feuille*, Sp. *hoja*, Rum. *foaie*, the last mostly 'leaf' of paper); Gael. *bile* 'blade' of grass, etc., dim. Ir. *billeóc*, Nlr. *bileog*; ON *blāð* (rare in this sense), *laufsblað*, Dan., Sw. *blad*, OE *blad* (but rare in this sense,

Skt. *kusuma*-, orig.? Uhlenbeck 61.

|                                      | 8.61<br>OAK                        | 8.62<br>BEECH                  | 8.63<br>BIRCH                                 | 8.64<br>PINE<br>(Pinus)      | 8.65<br>FIR<br>(Abies)       |
|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------------------|---|------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>δρῦς</i> , <i>φηγός</i>      | <i>δρῦς</i>                        | <i>δρῦς</i>                    | <i>σημίδα</i> (?)                             | <i>πείκη</i> , <i>πίκνος</i> | <i>ἐλάτη</i>                 |
| NG <i>βελανιδιά</i>                  | <i>δρῦς</i>                        | <i>δρῦς</i>                    | <i>σημίδα</i>                                 | <i>πείκη</i> , <i>πίκνος</i> | <i>ἐλάτη</i> , <i>δαρτο</i>  |
| Lat. <i>quercus</i> ( <i>rōbur</i> ) | <i>fāgus</i>                       | <i>fāgus</i>                   | <i>betula</i> ( <i>lila</i> )                 | <i>pinus</i>                 | <i>abies</i>                 |
| It. <i>quercia</i> ( <i>rovēre</i> ) | <i>faggio</i>                      | <i>faggio</i>                  | <i>betula</i>                                 | <i>pino</i>                  | <i>abete</i>                 |
| Fr. <i>chêne</i> ( <i>rouvre</i> )   | <i>hêtre</i>                       | <i>hêtre</i>                   | <i>bouleau</i>                                | <i>pin</i>                   | <i>sapin</i>                 |
| Sp. <i>roble</i>                     | <i>haya</i>                        | <i>haya</i>                    | <i>abedul</i>                                 | <i>pino</i>                  | <i>abeto</i>                 |
| Rum. <i>stejar</i>                   | <i>jug</i>                         | <i>jug</i>                     | <i>mesteacăn</i>                              | <i>pin</i>                   | <i>brad</i>                  |
| Ir. <i>daur</i>                      | <i>faghvile</i>                    | <i>faghvile</i>                | <i>bethe</i>                                  | <i>gius</i> , <i>ochlach</i> | <i>...</i>                   |
| Nlr. <i>derwen</i>                   | <i>fāgus</i>                       | <i>fāgus</i>                   | <i>bethe</i>                                  | <i>pēine</i> , <i>gūs</i>    | <i>gūs</i>                   |
| W. <i>derwen</i>                     | <i>fāgydden</i>                    | <i>fāgydden</i>                | <i>bedwen</i>                                 | <i>pin</i> ( <i>uydden</i> ) | <i>sybyydden</i>             |
| Br. <i>dervenn</i>                   | <i>favenn</i>                      | <i>bezvenn</i>                 | <i>pin</i>                                    | <i>pin</i>                   | <i>saprenn</i>               |
| Goth. <i>...</i>                     | <i>...</i>                         | <i>...</i>                     | <i>...</i>                                    | <i>...</i>                   | <i>...</i>                   |
| ON <i>eik</i>                        | <i>bök</i>                         | <i>björk</i>                   | <i>fura</i>                                   | <i>grön</i>                  | <i>grön</i>                  |
| Dan. <i>eg</i>                       | <i>bæg</i>                         | <i>björk</i>                   | <i>fyr</i>                                    | <i>gran</i>                  | <i>gran</i>                  |
| Sw. <i>ek</i>                        | <i>bök</i>                         | <i>björk</i>                   | <i>tall</i> , <i>fura</i>                     | <i>grän</i>                  | <i>grän</i>                  |
| OE <i>ac</i>                         | <i>bēce</i>                        | <i>beorce</i>                  | <i>pinbām</i> , <i>furh</i>                   | <i>sæppe</i> , <i>gyr</i>    | <i>sæppe</i> , <i>gyr</i>    |
| ME <i>oke</i>                        | <i>beche</i>                       | <i>birch</i>                   | <i>pine</i>                                   | <i>fyrre</i>                 | <i>fyrre</i>                 |
| NE <i>oak</i>                        | <i>beech</i>                       | <i>birch</i>                   | <i>pine</i>                                   | <i>fir</i> , <i>spruce</i>   | <i>den</i>                   |
| Du. <i>eik</i>                       | <i>beuk</i>                        | <i>berk</i>                    | <i>pinj</i> ( <i>boom</i> )                   | <i>tanna</i>                 | <i>tanna</i>                 |
| OHG <i>eih</i>                       | <i>buohha</i>                      | <i>bircha</i> , <i>birihha</i> | <i>pinboum</i> , <i>forha</i> , <i>fiolta</i> | <i>tanne</i> , <i>vichte</i> | <i>tanne</i> , <i>vichte</i> |
| MHG <i>eich(e)</i>                   | <i>buoche</i>                      | <i>birke</i> , <i>birche</i>   | <i>kiefer</i> , <i>föhre</i>                  | <i>egle</i>                  | <i>egle</i>                  |
| NHG <i>eiche</i>                     | <i>birke</i>                       | <i>birke</i>                   | <i>pušis</i>                                  | <i>jela</i>                  | <i>jela</i>                  |
| Lith. <i>ąžuolas</i>                 | <i>skroblus</i> , <i>skirpstas</i> | <i>beržas</i>                  | <i>priede</i>                                 | <i>jodle</i>                 | <i>jodle</i>                 |
| Lett. <i>uozulis</i>                 | <i>vikna</i>                       | <i>berza</i>                   | <i>(borā)</i>                                 | <i>jodla</i>                 | <i>el</i>                    |
| ChSl. <i>...</i>                     | <i>...</i>                         | <i>...</i>                     | <i>bor</i>                                    | <i>...</i>                   | <i>...</i>                   |
| SCR. <i>hrast</i> , <i>dub</i>       | <i>bukva</i>                       | <i>breza</i>                   | <i>sosna</i> , <i>smrk</i>                    | <i>...</i>                   | <i>...</i>                   |
| Boh. <i>dub</i>                      | <i>buk</i>                         | <i>briza</i>                   | <i>sosna</i>                                  | <i>...</i>                   | <i>...</i>                   |
| Pol. <i>dąb</i>                      | <i>buk</i>                         | <i>brzoza</i>                  | <i>sosna</i>                                  | <i>...</i>                   | <i>...</i>                   |
| Russ. <i>dub</i>                     | <i>buk</i>                         | <i>beresa</i>                  | <i>sosna</i>                                  | <i>...</i>                   | <i>...</i>                   |
| Skt. <i>...</i>                      | <i>...</i>                         | <i>bhārja-</i>                 | <i>pitūdāru</i> , <i>devadāru-</i>            | <i>...</i>                   | <i>...</i>                   |
| Av. <i>...</i>                       | <i>...</i>                         | <i>...</i>                     | <i>...</i>                                    | <i>...</i>                   | <i>...</i>                   |

8.61-8.65. As illustrative of specific tree names are chosen those for 'oak', 'beech', 'birch', 'pine', and 'fir'. For these and some others (as 'elm', 'yew', 'willow') there are cognate groups common to several of the European branches of IE, but only in a few cases extending to Indo-Iranian. The root connections are mostly obscure. The interest of such tree names lies mainly in their bearing on the moot question of the IE flora and the IE home, and further in the shift of application, connected with differences in the flora of different regions.

So of 'beech' to 'oak' in Grk. *φηγός* (8.62), of 'oak' to 'fir' in Gmc. words for 'fir' (8.65), of 'yew' to 'willow' (OE *iw*,

etc. 'yew', but Slavic *iva* 'willow'), between 'pine' and 'fir' (8.64, 8.65), 'beech' and 'oak' or 'elm' (8.62), etc.

Noteworthy is the primacy of the oak, as shown in mythology and in the recurring use of 'oak', as the tree par excellence, for 'tree', also in some derivatives for 'mountain' and 'forest'.

Schrader, Reallex. 2.629 ff. and in separate items, *Eiche*, etc. Hoops, Wald-bäume und Kulturpflanzen.

8.61. 'Oak'. 1. IE \**derwo-*, *dru-*, etc. in words for 'oak' and for 'tree, wood' (1.42), the former, specific, use being probably the earlier. Walde-P. 1.804 ff. Osthoff, Parerga 169 ff.

more remotely Russ. *grab* 'hornbeam', etc. Walde-P. 1.171.

Lett. *vikсна* 'elm' and 'beech' : Lith. *vinškna*, Skr. *vez*, Russ. *vjaz*, OE *vice* (NE *witch*), LG *wieke* 'elm'. Walde-P. 1.314.

8.63. 'Birch'. 1. Derivatives of \**bherāg-* (\**bhrēg-*, \**bhr̥g-*) in Skt. *bhrāj-* 'shine', Goth. *bairhts*, OE *beorht* 'bright', etc., applied to the 'birch' on account of its white bark. Walde-P. 2.170 f. Walde-H. 1.544. Falk-Torp 74.

ON *björk*, OE *beore*, OHG *birihha*, *bircha*, etc., general Gmc.; Lith. *beržas*, Lett. *berzs*, SCR. *breza*, etc., general Slavic; Skt. *bhārja*, Osset. *bärz*; here also prob. Lat. *farnus*, *frazinus* 'ash'.

2. Grk. *σημίδα* (Theophr. HP 3.14.4, 5.7.7), formerly taken as 'birch' (but identification uncertain) and hence NG use to render the (foreign) birch; prob. a loanword of unknown source.

3. Lat. *betu(l)a* (> It. *betula*, OFr. *beoul*, deriv. Fr. *bouleau*, Sp. *abedul*; REW 1068, 1069), Gallic word : Ir. *bethe*, Nlr. *beith*, W. *bedwen*, Br. *bezvenn* 'birch', so named according to Pliny (HN 15.75) because *bitumen ex ea Galli excoquant*, therefore may be connected with Lat. *bitumen* 'bitumen, mineral pitch', this (as based on a Gallic or Osc. Umb. form) : Skt. *jātu*- 'lac, gum', OE. *cwudu* 'cud' (*hwit cwudu* 'white cud, mastich'), OHG *cuti* 'gluten'. Walde-P. 1.672. Ernout-M. 108, 111. Walde-H. 1.103, 107.

Rum. *mesteacăn*, fr. late Lat. *masticus* 'of mastic', applied to the 'birch', which yields a sap used for a drink (cf. NE *birch beer*, *birch wine*), like that of the mastic tree. Tiktin 970.

8.64. 'Pine'. There is some confusion between 'pine' (*pinus*) and 'fir' (*abies*), as of the coniferous trees in general, and

some of the words listed differ in application according to the period and region.

1. Derivs. of \**pt-* in words for 'fat, sap, pitch', as Grk. *πίτυς*, Skt. *pīna*- 'fat' (adj.), Grk. *πίτα*, Skt. *pīnas* 'fat' (sb.), Grk. *πίσσα*, Lat. *piz* '

## 8.66 ACORN

|      |                  |       |         |       |        |
|------|------------------|-------|---------|-------|--------|
| Grk. | βάλανος          | Goth. | ....    | Lith. | gilė   |
| NG   | βελανιδι         | Let.  | (akarn) | Let.  | džile  |
| Lat. | glāns            | Dan.  | agern   | ChSl. | želadī |
| It.  | ghianda          | Sw.   | ekollon | Scr.  | žir    |
| Fr.  | gland            | OE    | acern   | Boh.  | žalud  |
| Sp.  | bellota          | ME    | akern   | Pol.  | żoludź |
| Rum. | ghindă           | NE    | acorn   | Russ. | żolud' |
| Ir.  | davigne          | Du.   | eikel   | Skt.  | ....   |
| Nlr. | daraighe, measóg | OHG   | eihhila | Av.   | ....   |
| W.   | mesen            | MHG   | eichel  |       |        |
| Br.  | mezenn           | NHG   | eichel  |       |        |

Of the words for 'acorn' only a few are derived from those for 'oak'. Most of them either belong to an independent inherited group or represent a specialization of 'fruit of the field' or 'food' through 'mast' (nuts, acorns, etc., esp. as food for swine) to 'acorns'.

1. IE \**g<sup>h</sup>el-* in various forms, ultimate root connection and underlying sense dub. Walde-P. 1.690. Ernout-M. 424. Walde-H. 1.604 f.

Grk. βάλανος, NG pop. βελανιδι, βελάνι (also βάλ-); Lat. glāns, glandis (> It. ghianda, Fr. gland, OSP., Port. lande, Rum. ghindă; REW 3778); Lith. gilė, OPruss. gile, Lett. džile; ChSl. želadī, etc., general Slavic (but SCR. želud replaced by žir); Arm. katin.

2. Sp. bellota, fr. Arab. ballāt 'acorn'. REW 1025. Lokotsch 206.

3. Ir. davigne (K. Meyer, Contrib. 593), Nlr. daraighe, deriv. of Ir. daur 'oak' (8.61). Nlr. also cnō darach 'nut of the oak'.

Nlr. measóg, W. mesen, Br. mezenn : Ir. mess 'mast', i.e. 'nuts, acorns', etc.

(cf. Laws, Gloss. 559), OE mast 'mast', etc. Walde-P. 2.231. Henry 201.

4. ON akarn ('fruit of wild trees, mast', including but not restricted to acorns), Dan. agern, OE acern (rarely 'fruit' or 'mast', mostly 'acorn'), ME akern, NE acorn (numerous forms influenced by pop. etym.) : Goth. akran 'fruit of the field, harvest' (8.41). Falk-Torp 16. NED s.v. acorn.

OHG eihhila, MHG, NHG eichel, Du. eikel, derivs. of words for 'oak', OHG eih, etc. (8.61).

Sw. ekollon, cpd. of ek 'oak' and ollon 'mast, acorn' : ON aldin 'fruit of trees', fr. the root of ON ala 'bear, feed', Lat. alere 'nourish', etc. Falk-Torp 789 f. Hellquist 728 f.

5. Lith. gilė, ChSl. želadī, etc., above, 1.

SCR. žir in form = late ChSl. žirŭ 'pasturage', Pol. żer 'fodder' fr. root of žiti 'live', with successive specializations of 'means of life' > 'fodder' > 'mast' > 'acorns'. Miklosich 411 f. Brückner 669.

## 8.67 VINE

|      |                   |       |                     |       |                 |
|------|-------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | ἀμπελος           | Goth. | weinatriu           | Lith. | vynmedis        |
| NG   | ἀμπελι            | ON    | vintrē (-vītr)      | Let.  | vīna kuoks      |
| Lat. | vitis             | Dan.  | vinranke (-stok)    | ChSl. | loza            |
| It.  | vite, vigne (pl.) | Sw.   | vinranka (-stock)   | Scr.  | loza            |
| Fr.  | vigne             | OE    | winegeard, wintrēow | Boh.  | réva, vinný keř |
| Sp.  | vid               | ME    | vyne, vyneetree     | Pol.  | winorośl        |
| Rum. | vița              | NE    | vine                | Russ. | vinograd        |
| Ir.  | finemain          | Du.   | wijnstok            | Skt.  | drākṣā-         |
| Nlr. | fineamhain        | OHG   | (win)reba           | Av.   | ....            |
| W.   | gwinnyddden       | MHG   | (win)rebe, winstok  |       |                 |
| Br.  | gwinnienn         | NHG   | weinstock, rebe     |       |                 |

For the 'vine' there are a few old distinctive words, which, so far as the etymology is clear, are connected with verbs for 'twist, wind', 'creep', or 'run' (?) and so were not confined to the grapevine, though this was the most conspicuous and important vine. But many are based on the words for 'wine' (5.92), mostly compounds with words for 'tree' (1.42), 'stem, stalk, tendril, growth'. In several cases words for 'vineyard' have come to be used for 'vine'.

1. Grk. ἀμπελος, NG ἀμπέλι, etym.? Boisacq 55.

2. Lat. vītis (> It. vite, Sp. vid), fr. IE \**wei-* in Lat. vītre 'twist, plait', Lith. vytis, ChSl. viti 'twist, wind', Lith. vytis 'willow twig', Grk. tréa 'willow', etc. Hence adj. vīteus, fem. vītea (> Rum. vița). Walde-P. 1.224. Ernout-M. 1107, 1116 f. REW 9388, 9395.

It. vigna 'vineyard', pl. vigne 'vines', Fr. vigne 'vineyard', and 'vine', fr. Lat. vinea 'vineyard', deriv. of vinum 'wine'. REW 9350.

3. Ir. finemain (OIr. gen. pl. finime), Nlr. fineamhain 'vineyard' and 'vine', fr. Lat. vindemia 'grape-gathering, vinetage', cpd. of vinum 'wine', with second part fr. demere 'take away'. Ernout-M. 1111. Pedersen 1.214. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 142.

W. gwinnyddden, cpd. of gwin 'wine' and gwydd 'woods, trees' (1.41).

Br. gwinnienn, deriv. of gwin 'wine'.

4. Goth. weinatriu, ON vintrē, vin-viðr, OE wintrēow, ME vintrē, vyneetree, cpds. of words for 'wine' and 'tree'.

OE winegeard, cpd. with geard 'yard' and so properly 'vineyard', but also usual word for 'vine' (e.g. Gospels, Jn. 15.1, 5, etc., where Lindisf. has wintrēow). Dan. vinranke, Sw. vinranka, cpds. with ranke, ranka 'tendril', fr. MLG ranke id. : OE wrencan 'twist', etc. Falk-Torp 878.

MHG winstok, NHG weinstock, Du. wijnstok, Dan. vinstok, Sw. vinstock, cpds. with words for 'stem, stalk', OHG stoc, etc.

OHG reba, MHG, NHG rebe (also OHG winreba, etc.), prob. : Lat. repere 'creep', etc. (10.41). Falk-Torp 894. Walde-P. 1.277. Kluge-G. 473. Otherwise : OHG ribba 'rib', etc.) Weigand-H. 2.544.

ME vyne, NE vine, fr. OFr. vine, vigne (above, 2).

5. Lith. vynmedis, Lett. vīna kuoks, both fr. words for 'wine' and 'tree'.

6. ChSl., Bulg., SCR. loza = Pol. loza, Russ. loza 'switch, willow', Russ. vino-gradnaja loza or even loza alone (e.g. NT Jn. 15.5) 'vine' (Berneker 736), prob. : NPers. raz 'vine'. Tedesco, JAOS 63.149 ff.

Boh. réva, fr. MHG, NHG rebe (above, 4).

Boh. vinný keř, Pol. krzew winny,

## CHAPTER 9

MISCELLANEOUS PHYSICAL ACTS AND THOSE PERTAINING TO CERTAIN SPECIAL ARTS AND CRAFTS,<sup>1</sup> WITH SOME IMPLEMENTS, MATERIALS, AND PRODUCTS; OTHER MISCELLANEOUS NOTIONS

|       |                    |      |                        |
|-------|--------------------|------|------------------------|
| 9.11  | DO, MAKE           | 9.44 | BUILD                  |
| 9.12  | WORK (sb.)         | 9.45 | HEW                    |
| 9.13  | WORK (vb.)         | 9.46 | BORE                   |
| 9.14  | BEND (vb. trans.)  | 9.47 | AUGER                  |
| 9.15  | FOLD (vb. trans.)  | 9.48 | SAW (sb.)              |
| 9.16  | BIND (vb. trans.)  | 9.49 | HAMMER                 |
| 9.17  | BOND               | 9.50 | NAIL                   |
| 9.18  | CHAIN              | 9.51 | BEAM                   |
| 9.19  | ROPE, CORD         | 9.52 | BOARD                  |
| 9.192 | KNOT (sb.)         | 9.53 | MASON                  |
| 9.21  | STRIKE (Hit, Beat) | 9.54 | BRICK                  |
| 9.22  | CUT (vb.)          | 9.55 | MORTAR                 |
| 9.23  | KNIFE              | 9.60 | SMITH                  |
| 9.24  | SCISSORS, SHEARS   | 9.61 | FORGE (vb.)            |
| 9.25  | AX                 | 9.62 | ANVIL                  |
| 9.26  | BREAK (vb. trans.) | 9.63 | CAST (Metals)          |
| 9.27  | SPLIT (vb. trans.) | 9.64 | GOLD                   |
| 9.28  | TEAR (vb. trans.)  | 9.65 | SILVER                 |
| 9.29  | PLAY, SKIN         | 9.66 | COPPER, BRONZE         |
| 9.31  | RUB                | 9.67 | IRON                   |
| 9.32  | STRETCH            | 9.68 | LEAD                   |
| 9.33  | DRAW, PULL         | 9.69 | TIN; TIN-PLATE         |
| 9.34  | SPREAD OUT, STREW  | 9.71 | POTTER                 |
| 9.342 | PRESS (vb.)        | 9.72 | MOLD (Clay, etc.)      |
| 9.35  | POUR               | 9.73 | CLAY                   |
| 9.36  | WASH               | 9.74 | GLASS                  |
| 9.37  | SWEEP              | 9.75 | PLAIT (vb.)            |
| 9.38  | BROOM              | 9.76 | BASKET                 |
| 9.41  | CRAFT, TRADE       | 9.81 | CARVE                  |
| 9.412 | ART                | 9.82 | SCULPTOR               |
| 9.42  | ARTISAN, CRAFTSMAN | 9.83 | STATUE                 |
| 9.422 | TOOL               | 9.84 | CHISEL                 |
| 9.423 | USE (vb.)          | 9.85 | PAINT (vb., as Artist) |
| 9.43  | CARPENTER          |      |                        |

<sup>1</sup>Namely (in 9.41-9.89), carpentry, masonry, metal-work, pottery, sculpture, and painting. Words pertaining to the making of cloth and clothing, as 'weave', 'spin', 'sew', etc., are discussed in the chapter on clothing (6); those for 'cook', 'bake', etc., in the chapter on food and drink (5). Numerous words for manual actions of wide application, important in various crafts, as 'bend', 'fold', 'cut', etc., are discussed here in 9.14 ff.

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|      |                             |       |                            |
|------|-----------------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| 9.86 | PAINTER (as Artist)         | 9.942 | DUTY                       |
| 9.87 | PAINTING, PICTURE           | 9.943 | FITTING, SUITABLE          |
| 9.88 | PAINT (sb.)                 | 9.95  | CAN, MAY                   |
| 9.89 | PAINT (vb. 'Paint a House') | 9.96  | EASY                       |
| 9.90 | THING                       | 9.97  | DIFFICULT                  |
| 9.91 | BE                          | 9.98  | TRY? (Make Trial of, Test) |
| 9.92 | BECOME                      | 9.99  | TRY? (Attempt, Endeavor)   |
| 9.93 | NEED, NECESSITY             | 9.992 | WAY, MANNER                |
| 9.94 | OUGHT, MUST                 | 9.993 | HAPPEN                     |

## 9.11 DO, MAKE

|      |                    |       |                      |       |                         |
|------|--------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | πράσσω, ποίω       | Goth. | taujan, waurkjan     | Lith. | (pra)daryti, veikti     |
| NG   | κάνω, φτιάνω       | ON    | gōr(v)a              | Let.  | darīt                   |
| Lat. | facere, agere      | Dan.  | gere                 | ChSl. | tvoritī (dělati)        |
| It.  | fare               | Sw.   | gōra                 | SCR.  | činiti, raditi, praviti |
| Fr.  | faire              | OE    | dōn, (ge)weycan      | Boh.  | činiti, robiti, dělati  |
| Sp.  | hacer              |       | macian               | Pol.  | czynić, robić, działać  |
| Rum. | face               | ME    | do(ne), make, wirche | Russ. | delat', tvorit'         |
| Ir.  | dogniu             | NE    | doen, make           | Skt.  | kr-                     |
| Nlr. | do(gh)nīm          | Du.   | doen, maken          | Av.   | kəra-, varəz-           |
| W.   | gunneuhur, gunneud | OHG   | tuon, wirken, mahhōn |       |                         |
| Br.  | ober (1 sg. gran)  | MHG   | tuon, machen         |       |                         |
|      |                    | NHG   | tuon, machen         |       |                         |

Words for 'do' and 'make' are treated together because these most generic notions of action are so commonly expressed by the same word; and where there are pairs of words, roughly distinguished by the feeling for the action itself or the implication of result respectively, the idiomatic differentiation is never quite the same for different languages and periods, not even in the case of such closely allied pairs as NE do, make—NHG tun, machen; (cf. NHG Was macht er? = NE What is he doing?).

Words for 'do, make' rest on generalization from a great variety of notions, as 'place, put', 'set straight', 'make ready', 'arrange', 'fit', 'get through', 'cause to be born', and 'work'.

For a wider survey, including many of the less common alternative expressions not mentioned here, cf. Yoshioka, Verbs of Doing and Making in the Indo-European Languages (Chicago diss.).

1. From IE \**d<sup>h</sup>ē-* 'place, put', in Skt. dhā-, Grk. τίθημι, Lith. dėti, ChSl. dėti,

etc. In these the prevailing meaning is still 'place, put', but the sense of 'make' is occasional in Indo-Iranian, rather frequent in Greek, and develops in Slavic.

'Do, make', prevails from the earliest times in Italian, and also in the WGmc. group, though here with considerable survival of 'put'. Walde-P. 1.826 ff. Ernout-M. 325. Walde-H. 1.440 ff. Berneker 194.

Lat. facere (> Romance words), Osc. fakiad, Umbr. faciā 'faciat'; OE dōn, ME done, don, do, NE do, Du. doen, OHG, MHG tuon, NHG tun; ChSl. (fr. dēti) dēlo 'work', whence vb. dělātī 'work', later 'do, make' (below, 7).

2. Grk. ἐρῶ and πέφω, in Hom. the commonest verbs for 'do', fr. the same root as ἐργον, ἔργον 'work', OE weorc 'work', etc. (9.12), Av. varəz- 'work, do'.

Grk. δράω, in Hom. 'do service' (cf. δραστήριος 'laborer'), elsewhere 'do' (hence δράμα 'act'), but mostly poet. : Lith. daryti, Lett. darīt 'do'. Walde-P. 1.803.

Grk. πράσσω, Att. πράττω, Ion. πρήσσω,

etc.) : ChSl. praviti 'direct', deriv. of praviti 'straight, right' (12.73).

8. Skt. कृ- (kṛoti, karoti, kṛta-, etc.), Av. kərə- (kəranaoiti, karata-, etc.), OPers. kar- (akunawam, karta-, etc.), general Indo-Iranian (still the common word in modern Indic and Iranian languages), perh. : W. peri 'cause', Ir. cruth 'form', Lith. kurti 'build'. Walde-P. 1.517 f. Uhlenbeck 63.

Av. varəz- : Grk. ἐρῶ, ἐργον, etc., above, 2.

make' Boh. dělātī (also 'work'), Pol. działać, Russ. delat'. Berneker 194.

SCR., Boh. činiti, Pol. czynić : Grk. ποίω (above, 2).

SCR. raditi 'work' (9.13), also 'do, make'.

Boh. robiti, Pol. robić, derivs. of rob, ChSl. rabŭ 'servant' : Goth. arbaiþs 'toil, labor', etc. Walde-P. 1.184.

Bulg. pravja (the common verb for 'do, make'), SCR. praviti (Boh. spraviti 'mend, repair', Russ. praviti 'govern',

etc.) : ChSl. praviti 'direct', deriv. of praviti 'straight, right' (12.73).

8. Skt. कृ- (kṛoti, karoti, kṛta-, etc.), Av. kərə- (kəranaoiti, karata-, etc.), OPers. kar- (akunawam, karta-, etc.), general Indo-Iranian (still the common word in modern Indic and Iranian languages), perh. : W. peri 'cause', Ir. cruth 'form', Lith. kurti 'build'. Walde-P. 1.517 f. Uhlenbeck 63.

Av. varəz- : Grk. ἐρῶ, ἐργον, etc., above, 2.

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

|       |                              |                                     |
|-------|------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Grk.  | ἐργασία, πόνος; ἔργον        | 9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.) |
| NG    | δοκεῖα, ἐργασία; ἔργο        |                                     |
| Lat.  | (opus) opera, labor; opus    |                                     |
| It.   | lavoro; opera                |                                     |
| Fr.   | travail; œuvre, ouvrage      |                                     |
| Sp.   | trabajo; obra                |                                     |
| Rum.  | lucra; muncă; operă          |                                     |
| Ir.   | sáethar, opair, lúair; opair |                                     |
| Nlr.  | obair, saathar; obair        |                                     |
| W.    | gunið, llaþur; gwaith        |                                     |
| Br.   | labour; ober                 |                                     |
| Goth. | arbaiþs; waurstuw            |                                     |
| ON    | verk, vinna, erfðir; verk    |                                     |
| Dan.  | arb-jde; værk                |                                     |
| Sw.   | arbete; verk                 |                                     |
| OE    | weorc, swinc; weorc          |                                     |
| ME    | worke, swinke, labour; worke |                                     |
| NE    | work, labor, toil; work      |                                     |
| Du.   | werk, arbeid                 |                                     |
| OHG   | wer(a)h, arabeit; wer(a)h    |                                     |
| MHG   | wer(a), arbeit; wer          |                                     |
| Lith. | darbas                       |                                     |
| Let.  | darbs                        |                                     |
| ChSl. | trudŭ; dĕlo                  |                                     |
| SCR.  | rad; djelo                   |                                     |
| Boh.  | práce; dílo                  |                                     |
| Pol.  | robota, praca; dzieło        |                                     |
| Russ. | rabota; delo                 |                                     |
| Skt.  | karman-, grama-; kṛta-       |                                     |
| Av.   | varəza-; karata-             |                                     |

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

9.12 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (sb. abstr.); WORK (sb. concr.)

9.13 WORK, LABOR, TOIL (vb., intr.)

words for 'shrub, bush' with adjs. of words for 'wine'.

Pol. winorośl (according to informant the best current word; many others in diets.), cpd. with rośl old word for 'growth' : róść, ChSl. rasti, etc. 'grow' (12.53).

## 8.68 TOBACCO

|      |                             |      |                |       |                     |
|------|-----------------------------|------|----------------|-------|---------------------|
| NG   | <i>καπνός</i>               | Dan. | <i>tobak</i>   | Lith. | <i>tobakas</i>      |
| It.  | <i>tobacco</i>              | Sw.  | <i>tobak</i>   | Lett. | <i>tabaka</i>       |
| Fr.  | <i>tabac</i>                | NE   | <i>tobacco</i> | SCR.  | <i>duhan, tabak</i> |
| Sp.  | <i>tabaco</i>               | Du.  | <i>tabak</i>   | Boh.  | <i>tabak</i>        |
| Rum. | <i>tutun</i>                | NHG  | <i>tabak</i>   | Pol.  | <i>tytun</i>        |
| Nlr. | <i>tabac</i>                |      |                | Russ. | <i>tabak</i>        |
| W.   | <i>tybaco, baco, myglys</i> |      |                |       |                     |
| Br.  | <i>bytun.</i>               |      |                |       |                     |



the words and in the history of still more. In fact, while two groups reflect notions of vigorous activity or power (those represented by Grk. *ἔργον*, NE *work*, etc., and by Lat. *opus*, etc.), the majority are from notions of 'struggle, distress, slavery' or the like.

The verbs for 'work', though listed separately (9.13), are included in the discussion here, since nearly all of them are connected with the nouns.

Several words for 'work' became specialized, especially to 'till, plow', as ON *yrkja*, Fr. *labourer*, Sp. *labrar*.

1. From IE *\*werǵ-* in Grk. *ἔρδω*, *ῥέζω* 'do', Av. *varaz-* 'work, do', etc. (9.11). Walde-P. 1.290 ff. Feist 555, 556.

Grk. *ἔργον*, *ῥέργον*, 'deed' or 'work' as product, *ἐργασία* 'work' as 'labor' (with *ἐργάτης* 'workman', *ἐργάσμαι* 'work'); Goth. *waurstu* (*ἔργον*), ON *verk*, OE *weorc*, etc., general Gmc., with vbs. OE *wyrcan*, OHG *wirken*, etc. (but NHG *wirken* now only trans.; so Goth. *waurk-jan*).

2. Grk. *πόνος* 'toil', with vb. *πονέομαι* (Hom. in past tense also 'worked, wrought'), later *πονέω* : *πένωμαι* 'toil, be poor', *πένος* 'poor', outside connections? Walde-P. 2.661. Boisacq 767.

Grk. *κόρος* 'toil', with vb. *κοτιάω* (esp. common in LXX and NT) : *κόπτω* 'strike, beat' (9.21).

NG *δουλεύα* (the pop. sb. for 'work') fr. Grk. *δουλεία* 'slavery', deriv. of *δούλος* 'slave'. Similarly, Grk. *δουλεύω* 'be a slave', but NG 'work'.

Grk. *κάμνω* 'work, toil, be weary' : Skt. *ḥam-* 'work, toil'. Walde-P. 1.387.

3. Lat. *opus* (sometimes abstr., mostly concr.), *opera* (mostly abstr., but concr. in derivs. It., Rum. *opera*, Fr. *œuvre*, Sp. *obra*), whence vb. *operāre*, late *operāre* (> It. *operare*, Sp. *obrar*, and Fr. *ouvrer*, whence *ouvrage* 'work' abstr. and concr.) : *ops*, *opis* 'power,

wealth', Skt. *apas-*, *āpas-* 'work, act', esp. 'sacred act', Av. *hu-apah-* 'good deed', ON *afl*, OE *afof* 'power', OE *efnan* 'perform', OHG *uoba* 'festival', etc. Walde-P. 1.175 f. Ernout-M. 708 f.

Lat. *labor*, prob. : *labāre* 'slip' and first used as 'tottering under a burden', hence 'toil', also 'fatigue, distress, suffering'. Walde-P. 2.432. Ernout-M. 513. Walde-H. 1.739 f. Hence, with or without continued emphasis on the aspect of 'toil, distress', It. *lavoro*, OFr. *labor*, *labour* (> ME, NE *labo(u)r*, Br. *labour*), Fr. *labeur*, Ir. *lúbair*, W. *llafur*. From Lat. *labor* also vb. *labōrāre* 'work', whence It. *lavorare*, OFr. *labourer* (> ME *laboure*, NE *labor*), but mostly with specialization as in Fr. *labourer* 'till, plow', Sp. *labrar* 'till, embroider, etc.'. REW 4810.

Fr. *travail*, Sp. *trabajo*, back-formations to vbs. *travailler*, *trabajar*, fr. VLat. *\*tripaliāre*, deriv. of *\*tripalium* (*trepalium* 6th. cent. A.D.) 'an instrument of torture' : Lat. *tripālis* 'of three stakes' (*pālus* 'stake'). Development in vb. fr. 'torture' to 'distress, trouble, weary', refl. 'distress, trouble, weary oneself, toil' (cf., through OFr., ME *travail* with this sense and also with new semantic development 'travel'), finally in Fr. and Sp. simply 'work'. REW 8911. Gamillscheg 860. NED s.v. *travail*, *travel*.

Rum. *lucru* 'work' (abstr.; and concr. > 'thing'), fr. Lat. *lucrum* 'gain, profit', as also (and prob. first in this sense), vb. *lucra* 'work' fr. Lat. *lucrāre* 'gain, acquire'. REW 5145, 5146. Cf. the relation of 'gain' and 'work' in the group OE *winnan*, etc. (below, 5).

Rum. *muncă* 'toil', vb. *munci* 'toil', fr. Slavic, ChSl. *maika* 'torment', vb. *mačiti*. Tiktin 1021. Denssianu 270.

4. Ir. *sāethar*, Nlr. *saother* (esp. 'toil') : Ir. *sāeth* 'trouble, suffering',

Pol. *robota*, Russ. *rabota* (Boh. *robotat*, 'toil, drudgery'; with vbs. Boh. *robotiti*, Pol. *robić*, Russ. *rabotat*) : ChSl. *rabota* 'slavery' (cf. NG *δουλεύα*, above, 2), deriv. of *rabū* 'slave', this : Goth. *arbaips*, etc., above, 5.

8. Skt. *karman-* 'act, activity' and 'work' (cf. *karma-kāra-* 'workman') : *kr-* 'do' (9.11).

9.14 BEND (vb. trans.)

Grk. *κάμπω* (*καγίζω*)  
NG *καγίζω* (*κάμπω*)  
Lat. *flectere, curvare*  
It. *piegare, incurvare*  
Fr. *courber, fléchir, plier*  
Sp. *encorvar*  
Rum. *încovoia, pleca*  
Ir. *cromaim, fillim*  
Nlr. *cromaim, lābaim*  
W. *plygu*  
Br. *kromma, plega*

Words for 'bend' are derived, either directly or through words for 'bent, crooked' (12.74), from a considerable variety of roots which had already in the parent speech the notion of 'bend' (or in part 'turn, wind', etc.), though these were doubtless originally differentiated according to the object involved.

The association between 'bend' (a stick, etc.) and 'fold' (cloth, etc.) is such that there may be extension or shift in either direction. Thus Lat. *plīcare* 'fold' has furnished common words for 'bend' (Fr. *plier*, etc.), and conversely several words for 'fold' are cpds. of those for 'bend'.

Semantically related groups, not in the list, are those for such notions as 'bend the head or body, bow' (for this specialization of 'bend', cf. also NE *bow*), 'stoop, incline, lean', esp. in two important groups of cognates, namely:

1) IE *\*kneigh-*, in Goth. *hneigwan* 'decline, wane', *anahneigwan* 'stoop', OE *hneigan* 'bend (intr.)', bow', OHG *hneigan*,

wealth', Skt. *apas-*, *āpas-* 'work, act', esp. 'sacred act', Av. *hu-apah-* 'good deed', ON *afl*, OE *afof* 'power', OE *efnan* 'perform', OHG *uoba* 'festival', etc. Walde-P. 1.175 f. Ernout-M. 708 f.

Lat. *labor*, prob. : *labāre* 'slip' and first used as 'tottering under a burden', hence 'toil', also 'fatigue, distress, suffering'. Walde-P. 2.432. Ernout-M. 513. Walde-H. 1.739 f. Hence, with or without continued emphasis on the aspect of 'toil, distress', It. *lavoro*, OFr. *labor*, *labour* (> ME, NE *labo(u)r*, Br. *labour*), Fr. *labeur*, Ir. *lúbair*, W. *llafur*. From Lat. *labor* also vb. *labōrāre* 'work', whence It. *lavorare*, OFr. *labourer* (> ME *laboure*, NE *labor*), but mostly with specialization as in Fr. *labourer* 'till, plow', Sp. *labrar* 'till, embroider, etc.'. REW 4810.

Fr. *travail*, Sp. *trabajo*, back-formations to vbs. *travailler*, *trabajar*, fr. VLat. *\*tripaliāre*, deriv. of *\*tripalium* (*trepalium* 6th. cent. A.D.) 'an instrument of torture' : Lat. *tripālis* 'of three stakes' (*pālus* 'stake'). Development in vb. fr. 'torture' to 'distress, trouble, weary', refl. 'distress, trouble, weary oneself, toil' (cf., through OFr., ME *travail* with this sense and also with new semantic development 'travel'), finally in Fr. and Sp. simply 'work'. REW 8911. Gamillscheg 860. NED s.v. *travail*, *travel*.

Rum. *lucru* 'work' (abstr.; and concr. > 'thing'), fr. Lat. *lucrum* 'gain, profit', as also (and prob. first in this sense), vb. *lucra* 'work' fr. Lat. *lucrāre* 'gain, acquire'. REW 5145, 5146. Cf. the relation of 'gain' and 'work' in the group OE *winnan*, etc. (below, 5).

Rum. *muncă* 'toil', vb. *munci* 'toil', fr. Slavic, ChSl. *maika* 'torment', vb. *mačiti*. Tiktin 1021. Denssianu 270.

4. Ir. *sāethar*, Nlr. *saother* (esp. 'toil') : Ir. *sāeth* 'trouble, suffering',

Goth. *sair*, OE *sār* 'pain', etc. Walde-P. 2.445. Pedersen 2.45.

Ir. *lúbair*, fr. Lat. *labor* (above, 3).

Ir. *opair*, Nlr. *obair*; hence vbs. Ir. *opairim* (rare); pret. *robair* RC 25.388; verbal notion mostly expressed by phrase with sb.), Nlr. *oibrighim*, fr. Lat. *opera* (above, 2). Vendryes, De hib. voc. 161 f.

W. *gwaith* (abstr. and concr.; vb. *gweithio*) : Ir. *fecht* 'expedition, journey', Lat. *vehere* 'carry', etc. Walde-P. 1.250. Pedersen 1.123 f. Development through 'undertaking', or perh. a case of semantic borrowing, influence of ME *travail* in its two senses 'toil' and 'travel' (above, 3).

Br. *labour* fr. OFr. *labour*; Br. *ober* fr. Lat. *opera*.

5. Goth. *waurstu*, OE *weorc*, etc., above, 1.

Goth. *arbaips* (renders *κόπος* 'toil'), ON *erfiði* (cf. adj. *erfiðr*, OE *earfeþe* 'hard, difficult'; OE *earfoþ* 'hardship'), OHG *ar(a)beit*, MHG, NHG *arbeit*, Du. *arbeid* (MLG > Dan. *arbejde*, Sw. *arbete*), with vbs. Goth. *arbaiddan*, etc., all prob. : Grk. *ὀρφάνος* 'orphan', Lat. *orbus* 'bereft', ChSl. *rabū* 'slave', etc., with development fr. 'condition of an orphan' to one of 'slavery, drudgery, toil'. Walde-P. 1.183 f. Falk-Torp 31. Feist 55. Kluge-G. 22.

ON *vinna* (with vb. *vinna*, also 'gain') : Goth. *winnō* 'suffering', *winnan* 'suffer', OE *winnan* 'labor, toil', later 'win, gain', OHG *winnan* 'strive, fight', Skt. *van-* 'desire, gain', etc. Walde-P. 1.260. Falk-Torp 1382 f. NED s.v. *win*, vb.

OE *swinc*, ME *swinke*, with vb. *swincan*, *swinken* (NE *swink*, arch. or dial.), parallel form to OE *swingan* 'flog, beat, strike, fling' and 'fling oneself, rush', OHG *swingan* 'fling, rush', etc. Walde-P. 2.526. NED s.v. *swink* vb.

Boh. *práce*, Pol. *praca* (with vbs. *pracovať*, *pracować*), prob. : SCR., Slov. *pratiiti* 'accompany', Bulg. *pratja* 'send', with development through 'errand' to 'business, occupation', then 'work' in general. Cf. SCR. *posao* (gen. *posla*) 'one's occupation, work' : *poslati* 'send'. Brückner 434.

NE *toil* (and vb. *toil*), fr. ME *toyle* 'dispute, fight, struggle', fr. OFr. *toil*, *toil* 'dispute, fight', back-formation to *toiler*, *toillier* 'dispute, stir up' (Fr. *touiller* 'stir, mix'), fr. Lat. *tudiculare* 'stir or 'bruise', deriv. of *tudicula* 'machine for bruising olives', fr. the root of *tundere* 'strike, beat'. REW 8971. Gamillscheg 852. NED s.v.

6. Lith. *darbas*, Lett. *darbs*, with vb. Lith. *dirbti* : OE *deorf* 'toil, trouble', vb. *deorfan*, further connections dub. Walde-P. 1.863. Mühl-Endz. 1.439.

Lett. vb. *strādāt*, fr. Russ. *stradat* 'suffer, endure'.

7. ChSl. *trudū* (renders *κόπος* 'toil'), with vb. *truditi* 'toil, struggle' (so Boh., Russ., Pol. *trud* 'toil, trouble, etc.', with vbs. for 'toil') : Lat. *trudere* 'thrust, push', Goth. *us-brūdan* 'trouble', OE *brēotan* 'trouble, weary', *brēat* 'throng, pressure, distress', *brēdian* 'press, urge, threaten' (cf. NE *threat, threaten*), etc. Walde-P. 1.755. Brückner 577.

ChSl. *dělo* (renders *ἔργον*), etc., general Slavic for concrete 'work' : *děti* 'put', etc. (9.11, 12.13). Hence vb. ChSl. (*sū-*)*dělāti* in Gospels reg. for *ἐργάζομαι*, later for *ποιέω*, Boh. *dělāti* 'do, make' and 'work' (Pol., Russ. 'do', 9.11).

SCR. *rad*, back-formation to vb. *raditi* 'work' : ChSl. *raditi* 'care for', Goth. *ar-rēdan* 'care for', OHG *rātan* 'advise', Skt. *rādha-* 'prepare, perform, succeed', etc. Walde-P. 1.74. Trautmann 235.

SCR. development fr. Slavic 'care for' through 'attend to be busy with' to 'work'.

Boh. *práce*, Pol. *praca* (with vbs. *pracovať*, *pracować*), prob. : SCR., Slov. *pratiiti* 'accompany', Bulg. *pratja* 'send', with development through 'errand' to 'business, occupation', then 'work' in general. Cf. SCR. *posao* (gen. *posla*) 'one's occupation, work' : *poslati* 'send'. Brückner 434.

2. Lat. *flectere* (hence *\*flecticāre* > OFr. *flechier*, Fr. *fléchir*), etym.? Ernout-M. 367 f. Walde-H. 1.514 f. REW 3366. Gamillscheg 424.

Lat. *curvāre* (> It. *curvare*, Fr. *courber*, Sp. *encorvar*), deriv. of *curvus* 'bent, curved' : Grk. *καρῶνός*, *κυρτός*, Lith. *kreivas*, Russ. *krivoj*, etc. 'bent, curved, crooked', with widespread root connections. Walde-P. 2.568 ff. Ernout-M. 248. Walde-H. 1.317 f.

It. *piegare*, Fr. *plier* (both also 'fold'), Rum. *pleca*, fr. Lat. *plīcare* 'fold' (9.15).

Rum. *încovoia*, fr. Slavic, cf. ChSl. *kovati* 'hammer, forge' (9.61), Russ. *pod-kova*, SCR. *pot-kova* 'horseshoe', Rum. development through 'bend in the form of a horseshoe'. Tiktin 790.

3. Ir. *crommaim*, Br. *kromma* derivs. of Ir. *cromm*, Br. *kromm* 'crooked, bent' (12.74).

Ir. *fillim*, also and orig. 'fold' (9.15). Nlr. *camaim* deriv. of *camm* 'crooked, bent' (12.74).

Ir., Nlr. *lūbaim* deriv. of Ir. *lūb* 'a loop, bend', formerly taken as loanword fr. NE *loop*, but by Zupitza, KZ 36.244, as cognate with ON *laupr*, OE *lēap* 'basket'.

W. *plygu*, Br. *plega*, also and orig. 'fold' (9.15).

4. Goth. (*ga*)*biugan* (OE *būgan* 'bow' intr.), ME *bowe* (trans. and intr. due to confusion with forms of OE *bīgan*, cf. NED s.v. *bow*, vb.), Du. *buigen*, OHG *biogan*, MHG, NHG *biegen* fr. IE *\*bheug-*, beside *\*bheug-* in Skt. *bhuj-* 'bend', *bhujā-* 'arm', Ir. *fid-boc* 'wooden bow', here also prob. Grk. *φείγω*, Lat. *fugere* 'flee'. Walde-P. 2.145 f. Falk-Torp 127. Walde-H. 1.556.

Here also, with caus. formation, ON *beygja* (rare), Dan. *bøjje*, Sw. *böja*, OE *bīgan* (*bīgan*, *bēgan*), OHG *bougen*, MHG *bougen*, NHG *beugen* (with idiomatic, though not rigid, differentiation

from *biegen*; cf. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v. *biegen*).

ON *sveigja* : *sveigr* 'flexible', *sveigna* 'give way', fr. an extension of IE *\*swei-* in words with the notion of 'bend, turn, swing'. Walde-P. 2.518 ff. Falk-Torp 1212.

ON *benda* 'bend a bow, bend' (OE *bendan* 'bind, bend a bow'), ME *bende*, NE *bend*, fr. Gmc. *\*bandjan*, deriv. of *\*bandja-* (OE *bend*, ON *band* 'band'), fr. the root of Goth., OE *bindan* 'bind', etc. (9.16). The semantic development is then 'bind', 'restrain with a bond', 'restrain a bent bow', 'bend a bow', 'make bow-shaped', 'bend'. NED s.v. *bend*, vb.

Sw. *krōka* deriv. of *krok* 'a hook, curve, bend' : Dan. *krog*, ON *krōkr* 'hook' (> ME, NE *crook*), OHG *krāko* 'hooked tool', etc. Walde-P. 1.593 f. Falk-Torp 581.

MHG *lenken* : ON *hlekk* 'ring, link', OE *hlcencan* pl. 'chain-armor', etc. Walde-P. 1.498. Falk-Torp 676.

5. Lith. (*pa*)*lenkti*, Lett. *liekt*, frequent. *luociti*, ChSl. *sū-lēsti*, *-lēka* (prob. *lēsti* 'set snares', etc.) : Lith. *linkti* 'bend' intr., Lett. *likt* id., *liks* 'curved', ChSl. *lākū* 'a bow', ON *lengja*, OE *loh* 'strap', fr. IE *\*lenk-*. Walde-P. 2.435. Berneker 707 f.

6. (ChSl. *sū-gūnqti*, *prē-gybati* 'fold'), SCR. *pregnuti*, *pregibati*, Boh. *ohnouti*, *ohybati*, Pol. *giąć*, *nagiąć*, Russ. *gnut'*, *sgibat'*, fr. a Slavic root *\*gub-*, *\*gyb-* : Lett. *gub* 'bend' (intr.), perh. OE *geap* 'crooked', etc. (or *gub-* by transposition fr. *bhug-* in Skt. *bhuj-*?). Walde-P. 1.567 f. Berneker 366, 373. Brückner 140.

7. Skt. *añc-* (cf. *añka-* 'bend, hook') : Grk. *ἀγκών* 'elbow', *ἀγκύλος* 'curved', Lat. *uncus* 'hook', OE *angel* 'hook', etc. (12.75). Walde-P. 1.60 f. Walde-H. 1.46.

Skt. *namati* mostly intr., Av. *namaiti* intr., caus. Skt. *nāmayati*, Av. *nāmayēti* trans., Skt. *namas-*, Av. *namah-* 'bending, homage', Toch. *nām-* 'incline, bow'

9.15 FOLD (vb. trans.)

Grk. *πτύσσω*  
NG *πτύσσω*  
Lat. *plīcare*  
It. *piegare*  
Fr. *plier*  
Sp. *plegar, doblar*  
Rum. *îndoai*  
Ir. *fillim*  
Nlr. *fillim*  
W. *plygu*  
Br. *plega*

Goth. *falpan*  
ON *folda*  
Dan. *folde*  
Sw. *vika*  
OE *fealdan*  
ME *folde*  
NE *fold*  
Du. *vouwen*  
OHG *faldan, fallan*  
MHG *valten*  
NHG *fallen*

Lith. *stulpuoti*  
Lett. *saluocēt*  
ChSl. *sūgūnqti, sūgybati*  
SCR. *savit*  
Boh. *skladati, zahýbati*  
Pol. *faldować*  
Russ. *skladyvat'*  
Skt. ....  
Av. ....

For relations between 'fold' and 'bend', see 9.14. Among other semantic sources are 'double, turn, wind, put together'.

1. Grk. *πτύσσω*, with *πτυχή* 'a fold', perh. fr. *\*π-υχ-*, a cpd., like Skt. *pyukṣna-* 'bow-case', with prefix *\*pi* beside *\*epi* (Skt. *api*, Grk. *ἐπί*), second part : Skt. *ūh-* 'move, roam'. Walde-P. 1.122, 189. Boisacq 824.

NG *διπλῶν* fr. class. Grk. *διπλῶν* 'double', deriv. of *διπλός*, *διπλούς* 'two-fold'. Semantic development as in some uses of NE *double* (over, up) for 'fold' (NED s.v. *double*, vb. 8).

2. Lat. *plīcare* (> It. *piegare*, Fr. *plier* 'fold' or 'bend', Sp. *plegar* 'fold', Rum. *pleca* 'bend'; also W. *plygu*, Br. *plega* 'fold' or 'bend'). REW 6601. Lith. *mod*, lat. 196), for *\*plecare* (with i fr. cpds.) : Grk. *πλέω*, Lat. *plettere*, OE *fleohtan*, etc. 'plait' (9.75), these prob. also (as parallel extensions of *\*pel-*) : Goth. *falpan*, etc. 'fold' (below, 4). Walde-P. 2.97. Ernout-M. 778 f.

Sp. *doblar*, deriv. of *doble* 'a fold' = *doble* 'double' fr. Lat. *duplus*.

Rum. *îndoai* 'fold, bend, doubt', fr. prefix *în-* and *doi* 'two'. Tiktin 801.

3. Ir. *fillim* (also 'bend', in gram. 'decline'), Nlr. *fillim* : Skt. *val-* 'turn' intr., Grk. *ἐλίσσω*, Lat. *volvare* 'wind', etc., fr. IE *\*wel-*. Walde-P. 2.539. Pedersen 2.522.

W. *plygu*, Br. *plega*, fr. Lat. *plīcare*, above, 2.

4. Goth. *falpan*, OE *fealdan*, etc., general Gmc. (Du. *vouwen* fr. MDu. *vouden*; cf. also Goth. *ain-falps*, OE *an-feald*, etc. 'onefold, single'), fr. a deriv. or extension of *\*pel-*, seen in Grk. *διπλός*, Lat. *duplus* 'twofold', etc. Here prob. Skt. *puḥa-* 'fold, pocket'. Walde-P. 2.55 f. Falk-Torp 249.

Sw. *vika* : OE *vīcan* 'yield, give way', ON *víkja* 'move', Skt. *vij-* 'move quickly, recede', Grk. *εἴω* 'yield, shrink', fr. IE *\*weig-* *weik-*, prob. an extension of *\*wei-* in Lat. *viēre* 'plait', Lith. *vyti* 'wind', etc. Walde-P. 1.223, 233 f. Hellquist 1341.

5. Lith. *stulpuoti* 'set posts, furnish with pillars', also 'fold', deriv. of *stulpas* 'post, pillar' (fr. Russ. *stolp* id.), which developed secondary meanings 'beam of light' and 'fold', the latter from the column-like appearance of vertical folds (pleats).

Lett. *saluocēt*, cpd. of *luocit* 'bend' (9.14).

6. ChSl.

Dan. *kæde*, Sw. *kedja*, fr. MLG *kede*, beside *kedene*, Du. *keten*, OHG *ketina*, MHG *keten(e)*, NHG *kette*, fr. Lat. *catēna*, in part through VLat. \**cadēna*. Falk-Torp 518. Franck-v.W. 302 f. Kluge-G. 297.

ME *chayne*, *cheyne*, NE *chain*, fr. OFr. *chaine*, Fr. *chaîne*.

MHG *lanne*, lan (NHG *lanne* 'a sort of shaft'), orig.? Weigand-H. 2.18?

5. Lith. *grandinė*, *grandinis* (neolog. in this sense): *grandis* 'ring, link of a chain', OPruss. *grandis* 'ring on a plow, Lett. *gruods* 'tight twisted', these: OHG *kranz* 'wreath', etc. Walde-P. 1.595. Trautmann 94 f.

Lith. *reležiš*, fr. Russ. *režjaz* (below, 6). Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 126.

Lith. *lenciugas* (but see NSB s.v.), fr. the Slavic, cf. WhRuss. *lancúh*, Pol. *łańcuch* 'chain' (below). Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 102.

Lett. *kāde*, fr. MLG *kede* (above, 4). Mühl.-Endz. 2.373.

| 9.19 ROPE, CORD |                         |       |  |
|-----------------|-------------------------|-------|--|
| Grk.            | κάλως, σχοῖνος, σπάρτος | Goth. | ....                                   |
| NG              | seil                    | ON    | reip, laug, strengr                    |
| Lat.            | fūnis, restis           | Dan.  | reb, tov, snor, snøre, line            |
| It.             | corda, fune             | Sw.   | rep, tåg, lina, snöre                  |
| Fr.             | corde, cordon           | OE    | rāp, sāl, streng, sima, line           |
| Sp.             | cuerda, soga, cordel    | ME    | roop, cord, streng, line               |
| Rum.            | frînghie, funie, şnur   | NE    | rope, cord                             |
| Ir.             | sianem, tēl, loman      | Du.   | louwe, reep, snoer                     |
| Nlr.            | tēad, cōrda             | OHG   | seil, stric, reif, strang, snuor, lina |
| W.              | rhaif, cord             | MHG   | seil, stric, stranc, reif, snuor, line |
| Br.             | kordenn, fun            | NHG   | seil, tau, strick, schnur              |

The gradation by size in the current use of NE *cable* (orig. 'halter'), *hawser* (orig. 'hoister'), *rope*, *cord*, and *string* or *twine* is one that is secondary and in part locally variant and cannot be equated

*seilen* 'fasten with a cord': Lith. *atsailė* 'coupling-pole on a wagon', with different formation ON *sīmi*, OE *sīma*, OS *sīmo* 'rope, cord', Grk. *ιμάς* 'strap', etc., fr. the root in Skt. *sā-*, Av. *hā(y)-* 'bind' (9.16). Walde-P. 2.463 f. Falk-Torp 956. Feist 294 f.

ON *snæri* 'twisted rope', Dan. *snøre*, Sw. *snöre*, Dan. *snor*, Du. *snoer*, OHG, MHG *snur*, NHG *schnur* = *snorjō* 'plaited basket', OE *snēr* 'harp-string', all either: Lith. *neris* 'to noose, thread', *narys* 'knot, loop, link, joint', etc.; or: Skt. *snāvan-* 'band, sinew', Grk. *νέρον* 'sinew', etc. Walde-P. 2.699. Falk-Torp 1098. Feist 441.

ON *lina*, Dan. *line*, Sw. *lina*, OE *līne*, ME *line* (NE line nautical and 'fishing line, clothes line'), OHG *līna*, MHG *līne* (NHG *leine*), all orig. 'linen-rope', fr. ON, OE, OHG *līn* 'linen'. Falk-Torp 646.

ME, NE *cord*, fr. OFr. *corde* (above, 2). Du. *touw* = MHG *tou(ue)* 'tool, equipment' esp. of a ship, hence 'cable, rope' (NHG *tau* fr. LG): Goth. *taujan* 'do, make' (9.11). Walde-P. 1.779. Falk-Torp 1267.

OHG, MHG *stric*, NHG *strick*: OHG *strickan* 'stitch, tie fast, knit', OE *stringere* 'draw tight, draw together'. Walde-P. 2.649. Weigand-H. 2.990.

5. Lith. *virvė*, Lett. *virve*, OPruss. *virbe*, ChSl. *vrāvi*, Russ. *verevka*: Lett. *vērēns* 'thread', Lith. *virtinis* 'sling', *apivarsas* 'shoe-string', etc., fr. a root \**wer-* perh. the same as \**wer-* 'turn', in Skt. *vrj-*, Lat. *vertere*, Skt. *vrj-*, etc.

6. ChSl. *qže želežino*, lit. 'iron bond', *qže* 'qza 'bond' (9.17).

SCR. *lanac*, beside Boh. *lano* 'rope', Pol. *lanwy* 'traces', fr. MHG *lanne* 'chain' (above, 4); Pol. *łańcuch*, fr. a cpd. MHG \**lann-zug*. Berneker 689. Brückner 306.

SCR. *verige*, pl. of *veriga* id., ChSl. *verigy* (Supr.), Russ. *verigi* 'chains, irons, fetters': ChSl. *vrāvi* 'rope, cord' (9.19). Walde-P. 1.263. Trautmann 352.

Boh. *řetěz* (Pol. *rzeczadz*, *wrzeczadz* now 'chain or bolt of a door'), Russ. *reťjaz* (obs.), etc., etym. dub. Brückner 633. Miklosich 385.

Russ. *cep'*: *pri-cepil'sja* 'fasten upon, stick to', *cepkiť* 'tenacious', outside root connections? Berneker 125 f.

7. Skt. *gr̥khalā-* (or *a-*), etym. dub., perh. fr. \**ker-* in Arm. *sarik'* (pl.) 'bond, cord', Grk. *καῖρος* 'row of thrums for attaching thread to loom'; or: ON *hlekkir* (above, 4). Walde-P. 1.409, 499. Uhlenbeck 315.

| 9.19 ROPE, CORD |                         |       |  |
|-----------------|-------------------------|-------|--|
| Grk.            | κάλως, σχοῖνος, σπάρτος | Goth. | ....                                   |
| NG              | seil                    | ON    | reip, laug, strengr                    |
| Lat.            | fūnis, restis           | Dan.  | reb, tov, snor, snøre, line            |
| It.             | corda, fune             | Sw.   | rep, tåg, lina, snöre                  |
| Fr.             | corde, cordon           | OE    | rāp, sāl, streng, sima, line           |
| Sp.             | cuerda, soga, cordel    | ME    | roop, cord, streng, line               |
| Rum.            | frînghie, funie, şnur   | NE    | rope, cord                             |
| Ir.             | sianem, tēl, loman      | Du.   | louwe, reep, snoer                     |
| Nlr.            | tēad, cōrda             | OHG   | seil, stric, reif, strang, snuor, lina |
| W.              | rhaif, cord             | MHG   | seil, stric, stranc, reif, snuor, line |
| Br.             | kordenn, fun            | NHG   | seil, tau, strick, schnur              |

with the differentiations of similar words elsewhere, which are too complex to be described briefly. It is intended here to give the principal words for 'rope' or 'cord'.

(10.12). Hence orig. 'twisted cord'. Walde-P. 1.263, 280.

Lith. *viržis*: *veržti* 'draw together', ChSl. *povrēsti* 'bind', Pol. *powróż*, etc. (below, 6).

Lett. *valgs*: Skt. *valgā-* 'bride', perh. orig. 'twisted cord', fr. the root in OE *wealecan* 'roll', etc. Walde-P. 1.304. Mühl.-Endz. 4.454.

6. ChSl. *vrāvi*, Russ. *verevka*, above, 5. SCR. *uže*: ChSl. *qže* 'chain', *qza* 'bond' (9.18).

SCR. *konop* (Bulg. *konopéc*, Slov. *konôp*), orig. 'rope of hemp': SCR. *konoplja* 'hemp', etc. Berneker 559.

Boh. *provaz* (OBoh. *potraz*), Pol. *powróż* (cf. Russ. *poroz* 'drawstring' on purse, etc.): ChSl. *po-vrēsti* 'bind', etc. (9.16). Walde-P. 1.273. Trautmann 355. Gebauer 1.34.

Boh. *lano*: SCR. *lanac* 'chain', etc. fr. MHG *lanne* 'chain' (9.18).

Pol. *snur*, Russ. *šnur*, fr. NHG *schnur* (above, 4).

Russ. *kanal* (esp. 'heavy rope'), perh. fr. a Byz. deriv. of *káva* 'reed'. A Byz. *kanávra* 'funis' is quoted by Berneker 479 (after Vasmér) but on dub. evidence.

7. Skt. *rajju-*: Lat. *restis* (cf. above, 2).

Skt. *guṇa-*, esp. the individual 'strand' of a rope or cord (cf. *dvi-*, *tri-* *guṇa* 'two-, three-ply'), fr. \**gr-no-*: Grk. *γυρῳαβός* 'basket (of wickerwork)', etc., fr. the root \**ger-* 'turn, wind'. Walde-P. 1.593.

Skt. *dāman-* 'cord, band': *dā-*, *dī-*, Grk. *δῶν* 'bind' (9.16).

Skt. *sannāhana-* (Macdonell-Keith 2.423): *nah-* 'bind' (9.16).

The smaller 'string, twine' is partly covered by words included in the list, or expressed more precisely by their dim. forms, e.g. Russ. *verevočka*, Pol. *sznurek*. Some of the words are cognate with those for 'thread', as Fr. *ficelle* (dim. of *file*), NHG *bindfaden*. Among others is MLat. *spagum*, It. *spago* (> NG *spáγ-yos*), of unknown orig. (REW 8113; KZ 66.259), NE *twine* (OE *twīn*, fr. *twi-* 'two', hence orig. 'twisted').

1. Grk. *κάλως* (Hom.+), Att. *κάλως*, perh.: Du. *halen*, ME *hale* 'pull', NE *haul*, etc. Boisacq 401.

Grk. *σχοῖνος*, orig. 'rush, reed', then 'rope or cord' made by plaiting rushes together, dim. *σχοινίον*, NG *σκουί* 'rope, cord', etym. dub. Boisacq 934.

Grk. *σπάρτος*, dim. *σπαρίον*, orig. = *σπάρος* a kind of rush or broom (like the Sp. *esparto*): *σπέρα* 'anything twisted', also 'rope, cord' fr. \**sper-* beside \**sperg-* in *σπάργω* 'wrap', *σπάργανα* 'swaddling-clothes'. Walde-P. 2.667. Boisacq 892.

2. Lat. *fūnis* (> It. *fune*, Rum. *funie*), etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.670, 868. Ernout-M. 402 f. Walde-H. 1.567 f.

Lat. *restis*: Skt. *rajju-* 'rope, cord', OE *resc*, *risc*, MHG *rusc* 'rush', Lith. *regsti* 'plait, knit, bind', Lett. *režis* 'wicker'. Walde-P. 2.374. Ernout-M. 862 f.

It. *corda*, Fr. *corde* (> ME, NE *cord*), dim. *cordon*, Sp. *cuerda*, dim. *cordel* (fr. Prov.), fr. Lat. *chorda* 'string on a musical instrument', this fr. Grk. *χορδή* 'gut, tripe, string of a musical instrument (made of gut)'. REW 1881.

Sp. *soga* (also Port., Cat., etc.), OFr. *soue*, VLat. \**šōca*, of Gall. orig.? REW 8051.

Rum. *frînghie*, fr. Lat. *fimbria* 'shred, fiber, fringe'. REW 3308. Puşcariu 653.

9.192 KNOT (sb.)

|      |               |       |                     |       |                  |
|------|---------------|-------|---------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | ἄμμα          | Goth. | ....                | Lith. | <i>mazgas</i>    |
| NG   | κόμπος        | ON    | knútr               | Let.  | <i>mazga</i>     |
| Lat. | nōdus         | Dan.  | knude               | ChSl. | ( <i>qzālū</i> ) |
| It.  | nodo          | Sw.   | knut                | SCR.  | uzao             |
| Fr.  | noeud         | OE    | cnotta              | Boh.  | uzel             |
| Sp.  | nudo          | ME    | knotte              | Pol.  | wezel            |
| Rum. | nod           | NE    | knut                | Russ. | uzel             |
| Nlr. | snaidm        | Du.   | knoot               | Skt.  | granthi-         |
| W.   | clum          | OHG   | knodo, knoto, knopf | Av.   | ....             |
| Br.  | koulm, skoulm | MHG   | knode, knote, knopf |       |                  |
|      |               | NHG   | knuten              |       |                  |

A 'knot' in a rope, cord, etc., is a means of tying, and the words are mostly cognate with others denoting 'tie, fasten' or some form of fastening. The application to a lump or protuberance in the body or on a tree is clearly secondary in Lat. *nōdus*. For the Gmc. group as a whole the view that the latter sense is the earlier (cf. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v. *Knoten*, "bedeutet ursprünglich 'ründliche Anschwellung an einem Gegenstand'") is favored by the nearest cognates like OHG *knopf* 'knob, knot', OE *cnoll* 'hilltop', etc. But in the history of OE *cnotta*—NE *knot*, this sense is chronologically later (NED s.v. *knot*, sb.), 13–16) and for the prevailing earlier use, cf. the derivative OE *cnotta* 'tie with a knot' (NE *knit*).

1. Grk. *ἄμμα* (anything for tying, covering 'knot', but more comprehensive), fr. *ἄπτω* 'fasten'. NG *κόμπος*, fr. late Grk. *κόμβος* 'roll, band', perh.: *σκαμβός* 'crooked', etc. Walde-P. 2.539 f. Boisacq 488.

2. Lat. *nōdus* (> Romance words), fr. a root \**ned-* seen in Ir. *naidm* 'bond', *nascim* 'bind', Goth. *nati* 'net', etc. Walde-P. 2.328. Ernout-M. 662 f., 674.

3. Ir. *snaidm*, Nlr. *snaidm*, perh. fr.

Rum. *şnur*, fr. NHG *schnur* (below, 4). Tiktin 1449.

3. Ir. *suanem*, prob.: *sōim* 'turn, wind', hence orig. 'twisted cord'. Pokorny in Walde-P. 2.481. Otherwise Pedersen 1.103.

Ir. *tēt*, Nlr. *tēad*, in older language esp. 'string of a musical instrument', cf. W. *tant* 'chord, string': Lat. *tendere* 'stretch', etc. Walde-P. 1.723.

Ir. *loman*, cf. W. *llyfan* 'string, rope' (not in last ed. of Spurrell), Br. *louan* 'strap', etym.? Pedersen 1.33, 164.

Nlr. *cōrda*, W. *cord*, fr. English. Macbain 101. Parry-Williams 185.

W. *rhaif*, orig.? Loth, RC 43.410 (: ON *reip*, OE *rāp*, etc. below 4, but phonetically difficult).

Br. *kordenn*, fr. Fr. *corde*. Henry 75. Br. *fun*, fr. Lat. *fūnis*. Loth, Mots lat. 171.

4. ON *reip*, Dan. *reb*, Sw. *rep*, OE *rāp*, ME *roop*, NE *rope*, Du. *reep*, OHG, MHG *reif* (esp. 'loop, circle, circular band', NHG *reifen* 'hoop, tire'), Goth. *-raip* (in *skauda-raip* 'shoe-lace'): ON *ript* 'piece of cloth', OE *rīft* 'garment', etc., root connection dub., but perh. (as orig. 'shreds'): ON *rija*, etc. 'tear'. Falk-Torp 884, 893. Walde-P. 2.345.

ON *taug*, Dan. *tov*, Sw. *tåg* (OE *tēah*, *tēag* 'plaid', orig. 'rope' as instrument for pulling, fr. the same root as Goth. *tiuhan*, Lat. *dūcere* 'draw', etc. Walde-P. 1.781. Falk-Torp 1250.

ON *strengr*, OE, ME *stranc* (NE *string*), OHG *strang*, MHG *stranc* (NHG *strang*): ON *strangr* 'violent, strong, hard', OE *strang* 'strong, hard', etc., fr. IE \**stren-k-*, beside \**stren-g-* in Grk. *στραγγός* 'twisted', Ir. *strengim* 'pull', Nlr. *sreang* 'string, cord, strap', etc. Walde-P. 2.650. Falk-Torp 1179.

ON *seil*, OE *sāl*, OHG, MHG, NHG *seil* (Goth. \**sail* in denom. *in-sailjan* 'let down' by ropes = OE *sēlan*, OHG

some by-form of \**snē(i)-* in Skt. *snāyu-* 'bond, sinew', Lat. *nēre* 'spin', Ir. *snāthe* 'thread', etc. Walde-P. 2.329, 694 f.

W. *clum*, *culwm*, Corn. *colmen*, Br. *koulm*, *skoulm*, prob.: Ir. *colum* 'skin' and 'sinew' (cf. *columne* gl. *nervus*), reflecting the old use of sinews for binding. Loth, RC 41.375 ff.

4. ON *knútr*, OE *cnotta*, OHG *knodo*, *knoto*, etc. general Gmc., fr. the root seen in Lith. *gnūde*, *gnūsti* 'press' and with a different extension in OHG *knopf* 'knot' (NHG 'knob, button'), etc. Walde-P. 1.582 f. Falk-Torp 553. Kluge-G. 314.

Du. *knoot* ('knot' and 'button') = OHG *knopf* (above).

5. Lith. *mazgas*, Lett. *mazgs*: Lith. vb. *mezgu*, *megsti* 'knot, knit', OE *maz* 'net', OHG *masca* 'mesh', etc. Walde-P. 2.301. Mühl.-Endz. 2.572.

6. ChSl. *qzālū* ('fastening', beside *qza* = *desyūs*), SCR. *uzao*, Boh., Russ. *uzel*, Pol. *wezel*, deriv. of *qza* 'bond' (9.16). Brückner 609 f.

7. Skt. *granthi-*: *grath-* 'tie', this perh.: OE *cradel* 'cradle', OHG *kratto* 'basket', fr. an extension of \**ger-* in words based on the notion of 'twist, wind'.

8. Ir. *snaidm*, Nlr. *snaidm*, perh. fr.

| 9.21 STRIKE (Hit, Beat) |   |       |  |
|-------------------------|---|-------|--|
| Grk.                    | τίκτω, κρούω, κόπτω                             | Goth. | <i>slahan</i> , <i>stautan</i> , <i>blig-</i>                            |
| NG                      | χρῶω, βαρῶ, θίρω                                | ON    | <i>slā</i> , <i>ljōsta</i> , <i>berja</i> , <i>drepa</i>                 |
| Lat.                    | ferire, percutere, caedere, percellere, tundere | Dan.  | <i>slaa</i>  |
| It.                     | colpire, percuotere, battere                    | Sw.   | <i>slå</i>   |
| Fr.                     | frapper, battre, heurter                        | OE    | <i>slēan</i> , <i>bēatan</i> , <i>drepan</i>                             |
| Sp.                     | golpear, pegar, batir                           | ME    | <i>sleye</i> , <i>smite</i> , <i>strike</i> , <i>hille</i> , <i>bete</i> |
| Rum.                    | lovi, bate                                      | NE    | <i>strike</i> (smite), <i>hit</i> , <i>beat</i>                          |
| Ir.                     | benim, sligim, slaidim, bialim                  | Du.   | <i>slaan</i>   |
| Nlr.                    | buailim   | OHG   | <i>slahan</i> , <i>bōzan</i> , <i>berjen</i> , <i>bliscan</i>            |
| W.                      | laro, curo                                      | MHG   | <i>slōn</i> , <i>bōsen</i> , <i>bern</i> , <i>bliscen</i>                |
| Br.                     | skei, kanna, dourna                             | NHG   | <i>schlagen</i>  |

'Strike' is a broad notion, represented by several IE roots and by a great variety of words in many of the IE languages. These are partly differentiated, esp. according to the kind of instrument or object involved. But the differentiation is too diverse and fluctuating to permit any general classification or fixed arrangement in the table. Just as NE *hammer* and *ram* may be used as verbs, so a few of the more general verbs for strike are derived from the name of the instrument used. Several, mostly of imitative origin, were first used with reference to the sound made by a blow (cf. NE *knock*, Fr. *frapper*, NG *χρῶω*, below). Some are used esp. for 'strike with a sharp instrument', and so overlap with 'cut'. Some are used esp. for 'strike to death', and so overlap with 'kill'. The notion of repeated action is usually, though not always, present in NE *beat* and *pound*, and elsewhere may be brought out by the use of cpds. or iteratives.

1. IE \**gʰen-* in words for 'strike', and esp. 'strike to death, wound, kill' (4.76). Walde-P. 1.679 ff. Ernout-M. 344. Walde-H. 1.332 f.

Grk. *θείνω* 'strike' (poet.), fut. *θεύω*, aor. *θεινω*, beside aor. *θεινρον* 'kill',

*φόνος* 'murder', etc.; Lat. *dē-fendere* 'ward off', *of-fendere* 'strike against'; Skt. *hān-*, Av. *jan-* 'strike, slay'; Arm. *ganem* 'strike'; Hitt. *kuen*, *kun-* 'strike, defeat, kill': Ir. *gonim* 'wound, kill'; Lith. *ginti*, ChSl. *gūnati* 'drive' (fr. 'strike'), etc.

2. IE \**bher-*. Walde-P. 2.159 f. Ernout-M. 348. Walde-H. 1.481 f.

Lat. *ferire* 'strike, beat, knock, slay' (> Sp. *herir* 'wound, hurt, strike', Fr. *fērir* 'strike, smite', obs.); ON *berja* 'strike, beat', OHG *berjen*, MHG *berjen*, *bern* 'strike, pound', also 'knead, mold'; ChSl. *borja*, *brati* 'fight', Av. *tīzi-bāra-* 'with a sharp cutting edge'; prob. also Lat. *forāre*, ON *bora*, OE *borian*, etc. 'bore' (9.46).

3. IE \**bhei-*. Walde-P. 2.137 f. Berneker 117.

Ir. *benim* 'strike, cut' (W. *bidio* 'trim a hedge', MBr. *benaff* 'cut', etc.); ChSl. *bija*, *biti*, SCR., Boh. *biti*, Pol. *bić*, Russ. *bit'* 'strike, beat'.

4. Grk. *τίκτω*, beside *τίκω* 'blow, imprint, form, image': Skt. *tup-*, *tump-* 'hurt' (Dhātup.), *pra-stumpati* (gramm.), Lat. *stupēre* 'stand stiff, be stupefied', ChSl. *tūpati* 'palpitare', *tūpātati* 'palpitare, calcare', etc., fr. \*(s)*teu-p-*, beside \*(s)*teu-d-* in Lat. *tundere* 'strike, beat,

Rum. *lovi*, fr. Slavic *loviti* 'hunt, catch' (3.79). Tiktin 923.

6. Ir. *benim*, above 3.

Ir. *sligim*: W. *lliasu* (arch.) 'slay, kill', perh. fr. a root \**sleg-* beside \**slak-* in Ir. *slac* 'sword', Goth. *slahan* 'strike', etc. (

| 9.22 CUT (vb.) |                        |       |                       |
|----------------|------------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk.           | κόπτω, κόπτεω          | Goth. | maitan, sneiþan       |
| NG             | scēdre, caedere        | ON    | skera, sniða, telgja, |
| Lat.           | tagliare               | Dan.  | hugga, meila          |
| It.            | tagliare               | Sw.   | skära, hugge          |
| Fr.            | couper, tailler, tran- | OE    | sceran, ceorfan,      |
|                | cher                   |       | sniþan, hēawan        |
| Sp.            | cortar, tajar          | ME    | schere, cerre, hewe,  |
| Rum.           | tăia                   |       | cutte                 |
| Ir.            | tescaim, snaidim,      | NE    | cut                   |
|                | scothaim               | Du.   | snijden, houwen       |
| Nlr.           | gearraim, snoighim     | OHG   | skidan, houwan, mei-  |
| W.             | lorri, naddu, trychu   |       | zan                   |
| Br.            | trou'ha, skeja         | MHG   | sniden, houwen, mei-  |
|                |                        | NHG   | schneiden             |

'Cut' is an extremely broad notion, represented by several IE roots and by a great variety of words in many of the IE languages. As in various non-IE languages there is no generic word for 'cut' but only special words according to the instrument used or the object cut, so even in IE there is only partial generalization. There is often a partial distinction between 'cut' with a knife, etc., and 'cut' by blows of an ax, etc., the latter use overlapping with 'strike' (as in Grk. κόπτω, Lat. caedere, etc.). There may be special expressions for 'cut wood or stone, hew or carve' (9.45, 9.81), for 'cut grass or grain, mow, reap', (8.32), for 'cut hair or wool, shear', for 'cut garments' (cf. sbs. for 'tailor', partly = 'cutter', 6.13), for 'cut apart', 'split' (9.27) or 'separate' (12.23), etc., so that the same roots appear here and under many other headings. Where there is widespread agreement in a particular special use, as in certain groups for 'hew' in carpentry and for 'mow' and so not listed here, the presumption is that this is inherited. In certain other cases the special use is clearly the result of specialization, as in the current use of NE *shear* (cf. its history in NED s.v.). But most often the same formal group shows

such interchange of generic and various special uses that it is impossible to determine whether the IE root in question carried some one of the special senses or was already generic. If the number of IE roots set up for 'cut' seems extravagant (some fifteen in Walde-P.), it is because 'cut' is merely a convenient common denominator for the historical uses.

From the preceding it is obvious how difficult is the selection and order of importance of words to be listed here, apart from those that are obviously the most generic, like NE *cut* and some others.

1. IE \**sek-*. Verbal forms in Italic, Celtic, and Balto-Slavic. Walde-P. 2.474 ff. Ernout-M. 913 ff.

Lat. *secāre* (> It. *segare*, Fr. *scier* (9.27) or 'separate' (12.23), etc., so that the same roots appear here and under many other headings. Where there is widespread agreement in a particular special use, as in certain groups for 'hew' in carpentry and for 'mow' and so not listed here, the presumption is that this is inherited. In certain other cases the special use is clearly the result of specialization, as in the current use of NE *shear* (cf. its history in NED s.v.). But most often the same formal group shows

2. IE \*(*s*)*ker-*, with extensions \*(*s*)*kert-*, \*(*s*)*krei-*, etc. Walde-P. 2.573 ff. Falk-Torp 1010. Berneker 172, 620. But labiovelar in Hitt. *kwer-*, most often the same formal group shows

3. IE \**tem-*. Walde-P. 1.719 f. Boisacq 954. Brückner 60.

Grk. *τέμνω*; Pol. *tnę*, *ciąć* (OBoh. *tnu*, *tieti* 'hew', ORuss. *tinu*, *tjiti* 'strike'); Lith. *tinti* 'sharpen by hammering'.

4. Grk. κόπτω 'strike, cut with a blow' (9.21), hence NG pop. κόπτω or more commonly (with new present to aor. *έκοψα*) κόβω 'cut'.

5. Lat. *caedere* 'strike, cut' (9.21). It. *tagliare*, Fr. *tailler*, Sp. *tajar*, Rum. *tăia*, fr. VLat. *tālāre* 'cut', deriv. of Lat. *tālea* 'rod, stick', in agriculture 'cutting, scion'. Ernout-M. 1013. REW 8542.

Fr. *couper*, orig. 'strike', hence 'divide by a blow, cut', fr. *coup* 'blow' (see under It. *colpire* 'strike', etc. 9.21).

Fr. *trancher* 'cut off', fr. Lat. *truncāre* 'cut off, maim', fr. *truncus* 'maimed'. REW 8953.

Sp. *cortar*, fr. Lat. *cutrāre* 'shorten', denom. of *curtus* 'shortened, mutilated', fr. the root \*(*s*)*ker-* (above, 2). Ernout-M. 248. REW 2418.

6. Ir. *tescaim*, above, 1. Ir. *snaidim*, Nlr. *snoighim*, *snoighim*, W. *naddu*, all esp. 'hew, chip', beside W. *neddy* 'adze', Br. (n) *eze* 'twibill': MHG *snat* (te 'weal, welt'), Swab. *schnat* 'cut in wood or flesh', Swiss *schnätzen* 'carve in wood', root \**snadh-*. Walde-P. 2.694. Otherwise Pedersen 2.29, 633.

Ir. *scothaim* 'cut off': Ir. *scoth* 'flower, young shoot' (8.57). Cf. VLat. *tālāre*: *tālea*, above, 5.

Nlr. *gearraim*, fr. Mlr. *gearraim* 'cut off, shorten', fr. *gerr* 'short' (12.59). W. *torri*, also 'break', as Br. *terri* 'break', see 9.26.

W. *trychu*, Br. *trou'ha*, beside W. *truch* 'broken, maimed', MCor. *trehy* 'hew', prob. fr. \**truk-*: Lith. *trukti* 'rend, break, burst', OE *brycan* 'press', etc. (Walde-P. 1.731). G. S. Lane, Language 13.27 f. (vs. Walde-P. 1.758, etc.).

Br. *skeja* 'cut, split': Grk. *σχίζω* 'split' (9.27). Walde-P. 2.544.

7. Goth. *maitan*, ON *meita*, OHG *meizan*, MHG *meizen*, beside sbs. ON *meitill*, OHG *meizil* 'chisel', OHG *meizo* in *stein-meizo* 'stonecutter', perh. fr. an extension of a root \**mai-* in Ir. *mael* 'bald, hornless', OW *mail* 'mutilum' (\**mai-*los 'cut off'), ON *meiða* 'injure, mutilate', beside *smt-* in Grk. *σμήν* 'knife for carving', OE *smiþ* 'smith', etc. Walde-P. 2.222. Feist 341 f. Falk-Torp 709.

Goth. *sneiþan* (renders *θερίω* 'reap', but *uf-sneiþan* 'kill' for sacrifice), ON *sníða*, OE *sniþan* (early ME *sniþen*, NE dial. *snithe*), Du. *snijden*, OHG *snidan*, MHG *sniden*, NHG *schneiden*, beside OHG *smiþ* 'cut', MHG *smiþen* 'carve (wood)', OE *snāðs*, ON *sneis* 'spit', outside root connections dub. Walde-P. 2.695 f. Feist 440. Falk-Torp 1097.

ON *telgja*: Ir. *dlongim* 'split' (9.27), fr. an extension of \**del-* in Lat. *dolāre* 'hew' (9.45). Walde-P. 1.812. Falk-Torp 1252.

ON *hggva*, Dan. *hugge*, Sw. *hugga*, OE *hēawan*, ME *heve*, W. *heu*, Du. *houwen*, OHG *houwan*, MHG *houwen*, NHG *hauen* (common Gmc. use 'strike with a cutting instrument, cut by a blow', whence in part 'hew, carve', also 'hoe', 8.25): ChSl. *kovati* 'forge', Russ.

young shoot' (8.57). Cf. VLat. *tālāre*: *tālea*, above, 5.

Nlr. *gearraim*, fr. Mlr. *gearraim* 'cut off, shorten', fr. *gerr* 'short' (12.59). W. *torri*, also 'break', as Br. *terri* 'break', see 9.26.

W. *trychu*, Br. *trou'ha*, beside W. *truch* 'broken, maimed', MCor. *trehy* 'hew', prob. fr. \**truk-*: Lith. *trukti* 'rend, break, burst', OE *brycan* 'press', etc. (Walde-P. 1.731). G. S. Lane, Language 13.27 f. (vs. Walde-P. 1.758, etc.).

Br. *skeja* 'cut, split': Grk. *σχίζω* 'split' (9.27). Walde-P. 2.544.

7. Goth. *maitan*, ON *meita*, OHG *meizan*, MHG *meizen*, beside sbs. ON *meitill*, OHG *meizil* 'chisel', OHG *meizo* in *stein-meizo* 'stonecutter', perh. fr. an extension of a root \**mai-* in Ir. *mael* 'bald, hornless', OW *mail* 'mutilum' (\**mai-*los 'cut off'), ON *meiða* 'injure, mutilate', beside *smt-* in Grk. *σμήν* 'knife for carving', OE *smiþ* 'smith', etc. Walde-P. 2.222. Feist 341 f. Falk-Torp 709.

Goth. *sneiþan* (renders *θερίω* 'reap', but *uf-sneiþan* 'kill' for sacrifice), ON *sníða*, OE *sniþan* (early ME *sniþen*, NE dial. *snithe*), Du. *snijden*, OHG *snidan*, MHG *sniden*, NHG *schneiden*, beside OHG *smiþ* 'cut', MHG *smiþen* 'carve (wood)', OE *snāðs*, ON *sneis* 'spit', outside root connections dub. Walde-P. 2.695 f. Feist 440. Falk-Torp 1097.

ON *telgja*: Ir. *dlongim* 'split' (9.27), fr. an extension of \**del-* in Lat. *dolāre* 'hew' (9.45). Walde-P. 1.812. Falk-Torp 1252.

ON *hggva*, Dan. *hugge*, Sw. *hugga*, OE *hēawan*, ME *heve*, W. *heu*, Du. *houwen*, OHG *houwan*, MHG *houwen*, NHG *hauen* (common Gmc. use 'strike with a cutting instrument, cut by a blow', whence in part 'hew, carve', also 'hoe', 8.25): ChSl. *kovati* 'forge', Russ.

young shoot' (8.57). Cf. VLat. *tālāre*: *tālea*, above, 5.

Nlr. *gearraim*, fr. Mlr. *gearraim* 'cut off, shorten', fr. *gerr* 'short' (12.59). W. *torri*, also 'break', as Br. *terri* 'break', see 9.26.

W. *trychu*, Br. *trou'ha*, beside W. *truch* 'broken, maimed', MCor. *trehy* 'hew', prob. fr. \**truk-*: Lith. *trukti* 'rend, break, burst', OE *brycan* 'press', etc. (Walde-P. 1.731). G. S. Lane, Language 13.27 f. (vs. Walde-P. 1.758, etc.).

Br. *skeja* 'cut, split': Grk. *σχίζω* 'split' (9.27). Walde-P. 2.544.

7. Goth. *maitan*, ON *meita*, OHG *meizan*, MHG *meizen*, beside sbs. ON *meitill*, OHG *meizil* 'chisel', OHG *meizo* in *stein-meizo* 'stonecutter', perh. fr. an extension of a root \**mai-* in Ir. *mael* 'bald, hornless', OW *mail* 'mutilum' (\**mai-*los 'cut off'), ON *meiða* 'injure, mutilate', beside *smt-* in Grk. *σμήν* 'knife for carving', OE *smiþ* 'smith', etc. Walde-P. 2.222. Feist 341 f. Falk-Torp 709.

Goth. *sneiþan* (renders *θερίω* 'reap', but *uf-sneiþan* 'kill' for sacrifice), ON *sníða*, OE *sniþan* (early ME *sniþen*, NE dial. *snithe*), Du. *snijden*, OHG *snidan*, MHG *sniden*, NHG *schneiden*, beside OHG *smiþ* 'cut', MHG *smiþen* 'carve (wood)', OE *snāðs*, ON *sneis* 'spit', outside root connections dub. Walde-P. 2.695 f. Feist 440. Falk-Torp 1097.

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ON *hggva*, Dan. *hugge*, Sw. *hugga*, OE *hēawan*, ME *heve*, W. *heu*, Du. *houwen*, OHG *houwan*, MHG *houwen*, NHG *hauen* (common Gmc. use 'strike with a cutting instrument, cut by a blow', whence in part 'hew, carve', also 'hoe', 8.25): ChSl. *kovati* 'forge', Russ.

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Nlr. *gearraim*, fr. Mlr. *gearraim* 'cut off, shorten', fr. *gerr* 'short' (12.59). W. *torri*, also 'break', as Br. *terri* 'break', see 9.26.

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Br. *skeja* 'cut, split': Grk. *σχίζω* 'split' (9.27). Walde-P. 2.544.

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Goth. *sneiþan* (renders *θερίω* 'reap', but *uf-sneiþan* 'kill' for sacrifice), ON *sníða*, OE *sniþan* (early ME *sniþen*, NE dial. *snithe*), Du. *snijden*, OHG *snidan*, MHG *sniden*, NHG *schneiden*, beside OHG *smiþ* 'cut', MHG *smiþen* 'carve (wood)', OE *snāðs*, ON *sneis* 'spit', outside root connections dub. Walde-P. 2.695 f. Feist 440. Falk-Torp 1097.

ON *telgja*: Ir. *dlongim* 'split' (9.27), fr. an extension of \**del-* in Lat. *dolāre* 'hew' (9.45). Walde-P. 1.812. Falk-Torp 1252.

ON *hggva*, Dan. *hugge*, Sw. *hugga*, OE *hēawan*, ME *heve*, W. *heu*, Du. *houwen*, OHG *houwan*, MHG *houwen*, NHG *hauen* (common Gmc. use 'strike with a cutting instrument, cut by a blow', whence in part 'hew, carve', also 'hoe', 8.25): ChSl. *kovati* 'forge', Russ.

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Br. *skeja* 'cut, split': Grk. *σχίζω* 'split' (9.27). Walde-P. 2.544.

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ON *telgja*: Ir. *dlongim* 'split' (9.27), fr. an extension of \**del-* in Lat. *dolāre* 'hew' (9.45). Walde-P. 1.812. Falk-Torp 1252.

ON *hggva*, Dan. *hugge*, Sw. *hugga*, OE *hēawan*, ME *heve*, W. *heu*, Du. *houwen*, OHG *houwan*, MHG *houwen*, NHG *hauen* (common Gmc. use 'strike with a cutting instrument, cut by a blow', whence in part 'hew, carve', also 'hoe', 8.25): ChSl. *kovati* 'forge', Russ.

young shoot' (8.57). Cf. VLat. *tālāre*: *tālea*, above, 5.

Nlr. *gearraim*, fr. Mlr. *gearraim* 'cut off, shorten', fr. *gerr* 'short' (12.59). W. *torri*, also 'break', as Br. *terri* 'break', see 9.26.

W. *trychu*, Br. *trou'ha*, beside W. *truch* 'broken, maimed', MCor. *trehy* 'hew', prob. fr. \**truk-*: Lith. *trukti* 'rend, break, burst', OE *brycan* 'press', etc. (Walde-P. 1.731). G. S. Lane, Language 13.27 f. (vs. Walde-P. 1.758, etc.).

Br. *skeja* 'cut, split': Grk. *σχίζω* 'split' (9.27). Walde-P. 2.544.

7. Goth. *maitan*, ON *meita*, OHG *meizan*, MHG *meizen*, beside sbs. ON *meitill*, OHG *meizil* 'chisel', OHG *meizo* in *stein-meizo* 'stonecutter', perh. fr. an extension of a root \**mai-* in Ir. *mael* 'bald, hornless', OW *mail* 'mutilum' (\**mai-*los 'cut off'), ON *meiða* 'injure, mutilate', beside *smt-* in Grk. *σμήν* 'knife for carving', OE *smiþ* 'smith', etc. Walde-P. 2.222. Feist 341 f. Falk-Torp 709.

Goth. *sneiþan* (renders *θερίω* 'reap', but *uf-sneiþan* 'kill' for sacrifice), ON *sníða*, OE *sniþan* (early ME *sniþen*, NE dial. *snithe*), Du. *snijden*, OHG *snidan*, MHG *sniden*, NHG *schneiden*, beside OHG *smiþ* 'cut', MHG *smiþen* 'carve (wood)', OE *snāðs*, ON *sneis* 'spit', outside root connections dub. Walde-P. 2.695 f. Feist 440. Falk-Torp 1097.

ON *telgja*: Ir. *dlongim* 'split' (9.27), fr. an extension of \**del-* in Lat. *dolāre* 'hew' (9.45). Walde-P. 1.812. Falk-Torp 1252.

ON *hggva*, Dan. *hugge*, Sw. *hugga*, OE *hēawan*, ME *heve*, W. *heu*, Du. *houwen*, OHG *houwan*, MHG *houwen*, NHG *hauen* (common Gmc. use 'strike with a cutting instrument, cut by a blow', whence in part 'hew, carve', also 'hoe', 8.25): ChSl. *kovati* 'forge', Russ.

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Br. *skeja* 'cut, split': Grk. *σχίζω* 'split' (9.27). Walde-P. 2.544.

7. Goth. *maitan*, ON *me*



| 9.27 SPLIT (vb. trans.) |                   |       |                        |
|-------------------------|-------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk.                    | σχιζω             | Goth. | ....                   |
| NG                      | σχιζω, σκίω       | ON    | kljāfa                 |
| Lat.                    | findere           | Dan.  | spalte, kløve, splitte |
| It.                     | fendere, spaccare | Sw.   | splittra, klyva        |
| Fr.                     | fendre            | OE    | clēfan                 |
| Sp.                     | hender, rajar     | ME    | cleve                  |
| Rum.                    | despica           | NE    | split (cleave)         |
| Ir.                     | dlongim           | Du.   | splitzen               |
| Nir.                    | scoillim          | OHG   | spaltan, kloban        |
| W.                      | holiti            | MHG   | spalten                |
| Br.                     | jaouta            | NHG   | spalten                |

In words for 'split' the distinctive notion is 'cut in two along the length, the grain, etc.', though they may also be used more broadly for 'sever, divide'. Many are from roots that appear also in words for 'cut', 'tear', 'flay', etc.

1. Grk. σχιζω : Skt. *chid-* 'cut off, split', Av. *sid-* 'split, destroy', Lat. *scindere*, sometimes 'split' (*cuneis lignum*, etc.), mostly 'tear', Goth. *skaidan* 'separate', Lith. *skiesti*, Lett. *šk'iest* 'separate', etc., with numerous and complicated root connections. Walde-P. 2.543 f. Ernout-M. 905 f.

2. Lat. *findere* (> It. *fendere*, Fr. *fendre*, Sp. *hender*) : Skt. *bhid-* 'split', Goth. *beitan*, ON *bíta*, OE *bítan*, etc. 'bite', fr. IE \**bheid-*. Walde-P. 2.138. Ernout-M. 360 f. Walde-H. 1.500 f.

It. *spaccare*, fr. Gmc. (Langob. \**spah-*), cf. MHG *spachen* 'split', OHG *spahha* 'dry twig', of which further connections are dub. Walde-P. 2.652. REW 8114.

Sp. *rajat*, deriv. of *raja* 'a crack, slice', this fr. Lat. *radula* 'scraper'? REW 7001.

Rum. *despica*, fr. late Lat. *despicere* 'break apart, break open' (*despicatis foribus*, *lectis*, Rönisch, Coll. phil. 295 f.; *despicatis* glossed by *patefactis*, *disruptis*, *incisus*, also *spiculis decoratis*, CGL 6.331.), same word as *despicere* (cf. Du Cange s.v.) used with *bladum* for 'pluck grain', that is 'break off the ears', deriv.

Du. *splijten* (MHG *spłizan*, NHG *spleissen*) and *spalten* (MDu. > NE *split*; MLG > Dan. *splitte*), MHG *splittern* (> Sw. *splittra*), NHG *splittern*, all fr. a \**spleid-*, prob. connected with \**sp(h)el-* of the following group. Walde-P. 2.684. Falk-Torp 1126. NED s.v. *split* vb.

OHG *spaltan*, MHG, NHG *spalten*, with Goth. *spilda* 'tablet', etc. (prob. also, with secondary meaning, the group ON *spilla*, OE *spildan*, *spillan* 'destroy')

: Skt. *spṛuḥ-* (fr. *ṛ*) 'burst, split open', *phal-* 'burst, ripen', Grk. *σφαλάσσειν* *τῆμεν*, *κεντείν* (Hesych.), etc., fr. a root \**(s)p(h)el-*. Walde-P. 2.677 f. Falk-Torp 1111.

5. Lith. *skelti*, *skaldyti*, Lett. *šk'elt*, *skalditi* (cf. ChSl. *skala* 'cliff, stone', Russ. *ščel'* 'a cleft', etc.) : Nir. *scoillim*, etc., above, 3.

6. Late ChSl. *cěpiti*, SCR. *cijepati* (cf. Russ. dial. *cepinka* 'stick, staff', etc.) perh. : Grk. *σκήπων*, Lat. *scipio* 'staff', ON *skifa* 'slice', and by parallel root extensions, Grk. *σχιζω*, etc. (above, 1). Walde-P. 2.545 (cf. also 1.364). Berneker 125.

Boh. *štipati*, Pol. *szczerpać*, Russ. *ščepat'* : ChSl. *skopiti* 'castrate', Grk.

## 9.28 TEAR (vb. trans.)

|      |                    |       |                       |
|------|--------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | σπαράσσω           | Goth. | tahjan, distairan     |
| NG   | εσχίζω             | ON    | rifa, sila            |
| Lat. | scindere           | Dan.  | rive                  |
| It.  | stracciare         | Sw.   | riva, sila            |
| Fr.  | déchirer           | OE    | teran, slitan         |
| Sp.  | rasgar, desgarrar  | ME    | tere, rende, rype     |
| Rum. | rupe               | NE    | tear (rend)           |
| Ir.  | réabaim            | Du.   | scheuren              |
| Nir. | réabaim, s(r)acaim | OHG   | slizan, zerran, rizan |
| W.   | rhuygo             | MHG   | slizen, zerren, rizen |
| Br.  | regi               | NHG   | reissen               |

Words for 'tear' are used, partly distinguished by prefixes, for 'tear in two, in pieces' or for 'tear off' (from the main body). In the latter sense they overlap with 'flay, pull, snatch, pluck, etc.'. But many words that may be rendered 'tear off' as an emphatic expression for 'pull off with violence' and do not cover the other use of 'tear' are not considered here. Several of the words, though listed in the simplex, are more commonly used in cpds., as NHG *zerreissen*, Russ. *raz-dírat'*, etc., lit. 'tear apart'.

1. IE \**der-* in words for 'tear' and

|       |                 |
|-------|-----------------|
| Lith. | plėšti, drėksti |
| Lett. | plīst, draskāt  |
| ChSl. | drati           |
| SCR.  | kidati, tgrati  |
| Boh.  | thati, rati     |
| Pol.  | drzeć, rwać     |
| Russ. | rvat', drat'    |
| Skt.  | dr-             |
| Av.   | niš-dar         |

'flay' (9.29). Walde-P. 1.797 ff. Feist 120. Berneker 185.

Here as 'tear' : Goth. *dis-tairan* 'tear, burst' (leather bottles, where Grk. *ρήγνυμι*; also *go-tairan* 'destroy, break'), OE *teran*, ME *tere*, NE *tear*, OHG *zer-*, MHG *zerren* (NHG 'tear off, pull, tug'; OHG *fir-zeran* 'destroy', NHG *verzehren* 'consume'); ChSl. *drati*, Pol. *drzeć*, Russ. *drat'*, *drat'* (SCR. *derati*, Boh. *drati* mostly in secondary uses); Skt. *dr-* 'burst, tear'. Cf. also Toch. *tsar-* 'separate' (SSS 483).

an extension of \**der-* (above, 1). Walde-P. 1.803. Berneker 220 f., 224.

7. ChSl. *drati*, etc., above, 1. ChSl. *trūgnati*, *trugati*, *trūzati* (mostly in cpds. meaning 'tear off, pluck', SCR. *trgati*, Boh. *trhati* (both also 'pluck'), prob. (with variants of final guttural) : Lat. *tergere* 'wipe off', Skt. *trh-* 'crush'. Walde-P. 1.732. SCR. *kidati* : Russ. *kidat'* 'throw'.

## 9.29 FLAY, SKIN

|      |                  |       |                  |
|------|------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | δέρω             | Goth. | ....             |
| NG   | δέρω             | ON    | flā              |
| Lat. | dēglubere        | Dan.  | flā              |
| It.  | scorticare       | Sw.   | flā              |
| Fr.  | écorcher         | OE    | flēan, hyldan    |
| Sp.  | desollar         | ME    | fle(n)           |
| Rum. | jupui            | NE    | flay, skin       |
| Ir.  | fennaim          | Du.   | villen           |
| Nir. | feannaim         | OHG   | scintan, fillen  |
| W.   | blingo, digroeni | MHG   | schinden, villen |
| Br.  | digroc'henna     | NHG   | schinden, hüllen |

Words for 'flay' are mostly from roots seen also in words for 'tear' or 'peel' or are derivs. of words for 'skin, hide'.

Secondary uses, as 'flog, despoil, plunder', etc., are widespread, and in some languages 'flay' in the old literal sense is now more commonly expressed by new derivs. of words for 'skin' (so NE *skin*, not *flay*, in common use), or by phrases containing them (Russ. *sdirat' kožu*, etc.), though such phrases are not entered in the list.

1. IE \**der-* in words for 'flay' and 'tear' (9.28). Walde-P. 1.797 ff.

Here as 'flay' : Grk. *δέρω* (with *δέρμα*, *δόρα* 'skin, hide'), NG *δέρω* (fr. *ἐκδέρω*); Lith. *dirti*, Lett. *drāt*, ChSl. *drati* (quotable as 'flay?'), SCR. *derati*, Boh. *dríti*, Pol. *drzeć*, (z)dzierać, Russ. *drat'*, *sdirat'*, etc.; Arm. *terem*.

2. Lat. *dēglubere*, cpd. of *glūbere* 'peel' : Grk. *γλύφω* 'carve, engrave', OE *clēofan* 'split, cleave', etc. (9.27). Walde-

ChSl. *iskydati* 'throw out', ON *skjóla*, OE *scēotan*, OHG *sciozan* 'shoot', etc. Walde-P. 2.554. Berneker 676.

Boh. *rvati*, Pol. *rwąć*, Russ. *rvat'* : ChSl. *rwati* 'tear off, pluck', Lith. *rauti* 'root out', Lett. *raut* 'pluck, carry off, etc.', perh. Lat. *ē-ruere* 'tear out, pluck out' (but history of Lat. *ruere* and cpds. difficult), Skt. *ru-* 'break in pieces', etc. Walde-P. 1.352. Brückner 470.

8. Skt. *dr-*, Av. *niš-dar-* above, 1.

(9.28), etc. Walde-P. 1.98. Falk-Torp 228.

OE (*be-*)*hyldan*, fr. *hold* 'carcass' = ON *hold* 'flesh' (4.13).

NE *skin* = sb. *skin* used verbally. Du. *villen*, OHG *fillen*, MHG *villen* (but mostly in OHG and often in MHG 'flog, scourge'), derivs. of Du. *vel*, etc. 'skin, hide' (4.12).

OHG *scintan*, MHG, NHG *schinden*, deriv. of OHG \**scind* : ON *skinn* 'skin, hide', etc. (4.12).

NHG *häuten*, deriv. of *haut* 'skin, hide' (4.12).

5. Lith. *dirti*, Lett. *drāt*, above, 1. Lith. *bieliyti*, fr. W.Russ. *běliti* 'flay' = Russ. *beliť* 'whiten, bleach' : ChSl. *bělŭ* 'white', etc. (15.64). Cf. Bulg. *bělja*

## 9.31 RUB

|      |                 |       |                       |
|------|-----------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | ρρίβω           | Goth. | bnauan                |
| NG   | ρρίβω           | ON    | gnūa                  |
| Lat. | fricāre, terere | Dan.  | gnide                 |
| It.  | fregare         | Sw.   | gnida                 |
| Fr.  | frotter         | OE    | gnidan                |
| Sp.  | frotar, fregar  | ME    | gnide (gnodde), rubbe |
| Rum. | freca           | NE    | rub                   |
| Nir. | cuimlim         | Du.   | wrijuen               |
| W.   | rhubbio         | OHG   | gnitan, riban         |
| Br.  | frola           | MHG   | gniten, riben         |
|      |                 | NHG   | reiben                |

For 'rub' there is one considerable inherited group. There are more or less probable connections with words for such various notions as 'scrape', 'gnaw', 'grind', 'turn around' (hence first 'rub with a circular motion'), 'strike, break' (hence first 'rub to pieces'), etc.

1. IE \**ter-*, with extensions \**tr-*, \**treu-*. Here kept apart fr. \**ter-*, etc. in words for 'bore' (9.46), though generally thought to be ultimately the same, fr. an orig. notion of 'rub with circular motion'. Walde-P. 1.728 ff. Ernout-M. 1032 ff.

Grk. *ρρίβω* (*ρρίβ-*, cf. Lat. *trivē*, *tritūs*; the common word for 'rub' down to the

'bleach', also 'peel' and 'flay' (Gerof s.v.), Sorb. *bělic* also 'peel'. Development apparently through 'cleanse' > 'scrape off' > 'peel, flay', (cf. history of Fr. *déchirer* 'tear', 9.28). Buga, Kalba ir Senovė 28. Berneker 55.

Lith. *lupti* (but mostly and orig. 'peel') : Lett. *lupt* 'peel', Russ. *lupit'*, etc. 'peel' (Pol. *tupić* also 'flay'), Goth. *laufs*, etc. 'leaf', perh. Skt. *lup-* 'break'. Walde-P. 2.417 f. Berneker 746.

6. SCR. *derati*, etc., above, 1. SCR. *guliti*, etym.? Berneker 362.

Pol. *tupić* : Lith. *lupti*, above, 5.

7. Skt. *dr-* not quotable for 'flay'. Other words?

Av. *vī-naḥ-*, root connection? Barth. 1038.

## 9.32 STRETCH

|      |                    |       |                           |
|------|--------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| Grk. | τεῖνω              | Goth. | uf-panjan                 |
| NG   | τενύω (τενέω lit.) | ON    | penja                     |
| Lat. | tendere            | Dan.  | strække spænde            |
| It.  | (t)endere          | Sw.   | sträcka, späanna (läns)   |
| Fr.  | (t)endere          | OE    | jennan, streccan          |
| Sp.  | tender             | ME    | strecche                  |
| Rum. | întinde            | NE    | stretch                   |
| Ir.  | sinim              | Du.   | strecken, spannen         |
| Nir. | estyn              | OHG   | dennen, streccan          |
| W.   | astenn             | MHG   | den(n)en, strecken        |
| Br.  |                    | NHG   | dehnen, strecken, spannen |

present day; in secondary uses *τεῖνω* 'wear out, distress', *τενέω* 'waste, consume'; Lat. *terere* (*trivē*, *tritūs*); Lith. *trinti*, Lett. *trīt*; ChSl. *trěti* (\**teriti*), SCR. *triti* (with deriv. *trijati*), Boh. *třiti*, Pol. *trzeć*, Russ. *teret'*.

2. Lat. *fricāre* (> It. *fregare*, Sp. *fregar*, Rum. *freca*). VLat. also \**frictāre* (> Fr. *frotter* > Sp. *frotar*, Br. *frola*; but explanation of *o* dub.; REW 3505, Gamillscheg 445 f., Wartburg 3.787) : *frīare* 'rub to pieces', this perh. : Skt. *bhri-* 'hurt, injure', ChSl. *briti* 'shear', and ultimately Lat. *ferire* 'strike', etc. Walde-P. 2.194. Ernout-M. 389. Walde-H. 1.549.

The majority of the words for 'stretch' belong to an inherited group. In this group and in some of the other words there are frequent relations between 'stretch' and 'draw, pull' (9.33), and, besides the words listed, there are others for 'pull out' virtually equivalent to 'stretch', as It. *stirare*, Sp. *estirar*, etc.

From the central notion of 'stretch' involving tension come a great variety of special uses, as 'stretch out, put forth' (the hand, etc.), 'reach for, tend', 'spread out, extend, lengthen', etc., with considerable divergence in this respect between the different words (as 'tend, strive' esp. in Lat. *tendere*, 'extend, lengthen' dominant in NHG *dehnen*). Conversely, some one of these notions may be the more original, as in the case of NE *stretch* (cf. below, 5), or if a word for 'lengthen' is used for 'stretch', as It. *allungare*.

1. IE \**ten-*, with extensions. Walde-P. 1.722 ff., also 721, 726, 727. Ernout-M. 1026 f. Brückner 61.

Grk. *τεῖνω* (\**ten-*); Lat. (*ten-*)*d-* beside *ten-* in *tenēre* 'hold', *tenuis* 'thin', and *tentus*, old pple. of *tendere* *tendere* (> It. *tendere*, Fr. *tendre*, Sp. *tender*), *extendere* (> It. *stendere*, Fr. *étendre*), *intendere* (> Rum. *întinde*); W. *estyn*, Br. *astenn*, fr. Lat. *extendere*, beside W. *tynnu*, Br. *tenna* 'pull' fr. Lat. *tendere* (but cf. also Lott, Mots lat. 165); Goth. *uf-panjan*, ON *penja* (Norw. dial. *tenja*; Sw. *tänja*, nearly obs.), OE *pennan*, OHG *dennen*, MHG *denen*, NHG *dehnen*; Lith. *testi* (\**ten-*), cf. Skt. *tan-* 'shake', Goth. *at-pinsan* 'draw', etc.) and *tempti* (\**tem-*, cf. Lat. *tempus* 'time', etc.); ChSl. *rasěšti*, *rastegnati*, cpd. of *raz-* 'apart' and *tegnati* 'draw' (this prob. fr. a guttural extension of \**ten-*; cf. 9.33) and so (or in part with other prefixes) SCR. *rastegnati*, Boh. *rostáhnouti*, Pol.

6. Lith. *testi* and *tempti*, above, 1. Lett. *steipt* : Lith. *steipti* 'stretch the body, stand on tiptoe', *steipti* 'become stiff' (with death or cold), OE *stif* 'stiff', Lat. *stipāre* 'press together', etc. Semantic development as in NE *stretch* (above, 5). Walde-P. 2.646 ff.

Lat. *terere* (much less common than *fricāre* for plain 'rub'; used esp. for 'thresh' and mostly 'wear out, waste'), above, 1.

3. Ir. *commelim*, Nir. *cuimlim*, cpd. of *com-* and *melim* 'grind' : Lat. *molere* 'grind', etc. (5.56). Pedersen 2.577.

W. *rhubbio*, fr. NE rub. Parry-Williams 160.

Br. *frola*, fr. Fr. *frotter*. Henry 126.

4. Goth. *bnauan*, ON *bnūa* (rare), prob. cpd. *bi-*, but root connection dub. (ON *nūa*, OHG *nūa* here or to foll.?), Feist 101. Falk-Torp 335.

ON *gnūa* (Norw. *gnu*), also *gnīða* (rare), OE *gnidan*, ME *gnide* (gnodde), OHG *gnitan*, MHG *gniten*, MLG *gniden* (> Dan. *gnide*, Sw. *gnida*), perh. with various extensions : Grk. *χρᾶω* 'gnaw, nibble', OE *gnagan* 'gnaw', etc., or with variant init. : Grk. *κνᾶω*, *κνίω* 'scrape', etc., all uncertain. Walde-P. 1.584 f. Falk-Torp 334, 335.

ME *rubbe*, NE *rub*, with East Fris. *rubben* 'scrape, rub', Dan. *rubbe* 'rub, scour', Sw. *rubba* 'move from one place to another', prob. : OE *rēofan* 'break, rend', etc. (9.26). Walde-P. 2.355. Falk-Torp 915.

Av. word for 'rub'? NPers. *māldān* 'rub, polish' : Av. *maraz-* 'touch lightly', rend', etc. (9.26). Walde-P. 2.355. Falk-Torp 915.

## 9.33 DRAW, PULL

|      |                    |       |                           |
|------|--------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| Grk. | τεῖνω              | Goth. | uf-panjan                 |
| NG   | τενύω (τενέω lit.) | ON    | penja                     |
| Lat. | tendere            | Dan.  | strække spænde            |
| It.  | (t)endere          | Sw.   | sträcka, späanna (läns)   |
| Fr.  | (t)endere          | OE    | jennan, streccan          |
| Sp.  | tender             | ME    | strecche                  |
| Rum. | întinde            | NE    | stretch                   |
| Ir.  | sinim              | Du.   | strecken, spannen         |
| Nir. | estyn              | OHG   | dennen, streccan          |
| W.   | astenn             | MHG   | den(n)en, strecken        |
| Br.  |                    | NHG   | dehnen, strecken, spannen |

7. ChSl. *rasěšti*, etc., above, 1. ChSl. *peiti* in *ras-(pro-)peiti* 'stretch out, crucify', Boh. *pnouti*, na-(roz-) *pínati*, etc. : Lith. *pinti* 'plait' (9.75),

8. Skt., Av. *tan-*, above, 1.

7. ChSl. *rasěšti*, etc., above, 1. ChSl. *peiti* in *ras-(pro-)peiti* 'stretch out, crucify', Boh. *pnouti*, na-(roz-) *pínati*, etc. : Lith. *pinti* 'plait' (9.75),

8. Skt., Av. *tan-*, above, 1.

|      |                   |       |                |
|------|-------------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | τεῖνω             | Goth. | uf-panjan      |
| NG   | τενύω             | ON    | penja          |
| Lat. | trahere (ducere)  | Dan.  | trække, drage  |
| It.  | trāre (trarre)    | Sw.   | trāra          |
| Fr.  | tirer             | OE    | tēon, dragan   |
| Sp.  | tirar, sacar      | ME    | drave          |
| Rum. | trage             | NE    | draw, pull     |
| Ir.  | srengim (airngim) | Du.   | trekken        |
| Nir. | tarraingim        | OHG   | ziohan, dīnsan |
| W.   | tynnu             | MHG   | ziehen         |
| Br.  | tenna             | NHG   | ziehen         |

Only the more generic words for 'draw' are listed, with exclusion of many others, like NE *drag*, *trail*, *tug*, *tow*, etc. (and so for other languages), which fall under the general notion and in many cases are cognate with the generic words (or even orig. identical as NE *draw* and *drag*), but are used with more restricted application.

1. Grk. *τεῖνω* : Lat. *sulcus* 'furrow', OE *sulh* 'furrow, plow', Alb. *helk*, *hek* 'pull, tear off', fr. IE \**selk-*, beside \**welk-* in Lith. *vilkiti*, etc. (below, 5), both fr. \**swelk-* (?).

'stretch'. Pedersen 1.198. Loth, Mots lat. 213.

4. Goth. *tiuhan* (but mostly 'lead'; ON \**tjúga*, pple. *toginn*), OE *lēon*, OHG *ziohan*, MHG, NHG *ziehen*, also caus. *on tegja*, and fr. weak grade (cf. ON *tog* 'rope, cord') ON *toga*, OE *togian* (NE *tow*) : Lat. *dūcere* 'draw, lead', Grk. *δαι-δύσασθαι* 'δύσασθαι' (Hesych.), fr. IE \**deuk-*. Walde-P. 1.780 f. Ernout-M. 287. Walde-H. 1.377. Falk-Torp 1315. Feist 478 f.

Goth. *at-pīnsan*, OHG *thinsan*, *dīnsan* : Lith. *tešti* 'stretch', etc. (9.32). Walde-P. 1.727. Feist 62.

ON *draga*, Dan. *drage*, Sw. *draga*, OE *dragan*, ME *dragen*, *drage*, NE *draw*, *drag*, also Goth. *ga-dragan* 'bring together', OHG *tragan* 'bear, carry', prob. with variant initial : Lat. *trahere* (above, 2), other connections remote and dub. Walde-P. 1.862. Feist 123. Falk-Torp 151.

MLG *trecken* (> Dan. *trække*), Du. *trekken* = OHG *trehan* 'shove, etc.', perh. : Lett. *dragāt* 'tear, shake', and fr. an extension of \**der-* in words for 'tear'. Walde-P. 1.801. Falk-Torp 1292. Franck-v. W. 708.

OE (*a*)*pullian*, ME *pulle*, NE *pull*, in early period 'pluck, snatch, pull with violence', and still with something of this feeling, but often only a colloq. equivalent of *draw*. Etym. ? NED s.v. *pull*, vb.

5. Lith. *traukti* : Lett. *traukti* 'strike, knock down', Lith. *trukti* 'tear, break' (intr.), perh. : ON *brūga*, OHG *drucken* 'press', etc. Walde-P. 1.731. Mühl.-Endz. 4.225.

Lith. *vilkti* (now 'drag', but once 'draw' whence refl. or *vilkti* 'put on clothes, wear'), Lett. *vilkt*, ChSl. *vlěsti*, *vlěka* (in Gospels *pri-vlěsti*), SCR. *vući* ('draw' or 'drag'; but Boh. *vleci*, Pol. *wleć*, Russ. *voloc'*, *volocit'* 'drag') : Grk. *αἰλαξ* (\**αἰλακ-*) 'furrow', Av. *varak-* 'draw' in cpds. (Barth. 1366), all fr. \**welk-*. (cf. \**selk-* in Grk. *ἔλω*, etc., above, 1). Walde-P. 1.306.

6. ChSl. *vlěsti*, etc., above, 5. ChSl. (late) *tegnati*, SCR. *tegnuti*, Boh. *tahnouti*, Pol. *ciagnać*, Russ. *tjanut'*, all with cpds. meaning 'stretch', and prob. fr. a guttural extension of \**ten-* 'stretch', though taken by some as a wholly different root \**theng(h)-* on account of Av. *banj-* 'draw', etc. Walde-P. 1.726 f. (with many dub. connections). Brückner 61.

7. Skt. *karṣ-*, Av. *karš-*, both 'draw' (so Av. only in cpds.; NPers. *kašidan* 'draw') and 'draw furrows, plow', with Skt. *karṣu-*, Av. *karša-* 'furrow', etc., outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.429.

Av. *banj-*, apparently, but with unexplained initial (also in *banvan-*, *banvar-* 'bow') : ChSl. *tegnati*. See above, 6.

## 9.34 SPREAD OUT, STREW

|      |                          |       |                                 |       |                                      |
|------|--------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| Grk. | σπέννυμι, σπράννυμι      | Goth. | straujan                        | Lith. | ištiesti, kloti, berti, kreikiti     |
| Lat. | sternere, spargere       | ON    | breiða, strá                    | Let.  | klāt, kaisti, bērt                   |
| NG   | sternere, spargere       | Dan.  | brede ud, strå                  | ChSl. | postilati, rasypati                  |
| It.  | spandere                 | Sw.   | breda ut, strå                  | SCR.  | sterati, prostrijati                 |
| Fr.  | étendre, répandre        | OE    | (ge)brædan, stræwi-an, stregdan | Boh.  | prostřiti, sldati, sypati, troustiti |
| Sp.  | tender, esparcir         | ME    | spreade, streue                 | Pol.  | sypać, trąsić                        |
| Rum. | asterna, împrăştia       | NE    | spread, streu                   | Russ. | silať, razstilať, sypať              |
| Ir.  | sernim, asrēdim          | Du.   | uitbreiden, strooien, spreiden  | Skt.  | str-                                 |
| Nl.  | leathnuighim, sprēi-dhim | OHG   | streuwen, breiten, spreitan     | Av.   | star-                                |
| W.   | laenu, chwalu            | MHG   | breiten, ströuwen, spreiten     |       |                                      |
| Br.  | astenn, streoui, skuilh  | NHG   | ausbreiten, streuen (spreiten)  |       |                                      |

The somewhat disparate notions suggested by the English words of the heading, with their widely different areas of usage, are combined here because they are interwoven and virtually one in the early uses of the widespread cognate group to which NE *strew* belongs (below, 1). In this the central notion seems to be 'spread out over a surface', with two types of application which have tended to become differentiated, namely a) 'spread bedding over a bed, a garment on the ground' or the like, and b) with small detached objects 'spread branches, leaves, flowers, sand over the ground' or the like, as NE *strew*—both conveniently illustrated in the NT, Mt. 21.8, Mk. 11.8, where the people spread their garments and strewed branches in the way, expressed alike by Grk. *σπαρύνω*, Lat. *sternere* in the Vulgate, Goth. *straujan*, OE *strēowian* (so *strew* in Wyclif, but separated in Tyndale). Both types of application are common in Greek (down to the present day), Latin, and Indo-Iranian, and in part elsewhere. So Goth. *straujan* and in part OHG *streuwen*, but with a tendency in Gmc. to restrict the application to type b 'strew', as in present English. For type a are employed other words for

'spread out, stretch out' or the like, too numerous to be fully noted here.

From phrases of type b, 'strew' absorbed the notional element of dispersal and so came into a certain relation with 'scatter', in which this is the dominant element, without becoming identical in range with the latter. Thus NE *strew* and *scatter* may be used indifferently in many connections (as *strew* or *scatter* stones on the ground), but the old element of 'over the surface' is still felt in *strew* as contrasted with the more generic *scatter*. On the other hand, several of the words entered here to cover 'strew' are used without any such feeling of difference between 'strew' and 'scatter', though the latter is most apt to be expressed by cpds. or intensive forms, as Lat., It. *dispergere*, Fr. *disperser*, NHG *zerstreuen*, Russ. *razsypat'*, Lith. *išberti* or intens. *barstyti*. But it is not intended to cover here the general notion of 'scatter' for which there are numerous other words of totally different connections, e.g., Grk. *σκαδάννυμι* and NE *scatter* (both resting on the notion of 'split', Walde-P. 2.558), Grk. *διασκορπίζω* (prob. : Lat. *carpere* 'pluck'), Goth. *distahjan* (cpd. of *tahjan* 'tear'), ChSl. *rastochiti*

: Grk. *ὥθω* 'push', Skt. *vadh-* 'strike, slay', *vāh-* 'press'. Walde-P. 1.255. Pedersen 2.515. Stokes 260.

4. Goth. *preihan*, ON *þryngva*, OE *þringan*, OHG *dringan*, etc., all of these mostly 'press around, throng', prob. : Lith. *trenkti* 'throw violently, clash', *trankus* 'jolting', Av. *θraza-* 'crowded together' (Barth. 801.). Walde-P. 1.758 f. Falk-Torp 1293 f. Feist 501 f.

OE *þryccan*, OHG *drucchen*, MHG *drucken*, NHG *drücken* (vs. *drucken* 'print'), Du. *drukken*, Dan. *trykke*, Sw. *trycka* : Lith. *trukti* 'rend, break'. Walde-P. 1.731. Falk-Torp 1288, 1290.

OHG *pressōn*, MHG *pressen* (> Dan. *presse*, Sw. *pressa*), NE *press*, Du. *persen*, fr. Lat. *pressare* or Fr. *presser* (above, 2). Falk-Torp 848. Franck-v. W. 497.

NE *squeeze* 'press hard', etym. dub. NED s.v.

5. Lith. *spausti* : Grk. *σπείδω* 'urge on, hasten' (14.23), Walde-P. 2.659. Trautmann 273 f.

Lett. *spiest*, prob. : *spiest*, Lith. *spiesti* 'swarm', Lat. *spissus* 'thick, compact' (12.64), etc. Walde-P. 2.658. Traut-

mann 274. Otherwise Mühl.-Endz. 3.1006.

6. ChSl. *tiskati* (rare; *tisnati* 'push out'), SCR. *pritisnuti*, *pritisikvati*, Boh. *tisknouti* (*tisniti* 'oppress'), Pol. (*ciskać* 'throw') *ciskać*, *sciskać*, Russ. (but not the usual words for 'press') *tiskat'*, *tisnut'*, prob. fr. the same root as ChSl. *těsto*, etc. 'dough' (5.53). Walde-P. 1.702.

ChSl. *žeti*, *žimaq* (late), Russ. *žat*, 1sg. *žmu* (also, but not common, SCR. *žeti*, *žmem*, Boh. *žámati*, Pol. *żąć*, *żme*) : Grk. *γίω* 'be full', *γέω* 'seized', etc. Walde-P. 1.572 ff. Miklosich 408.

ChSl. *gnesti*, *gnetaq* (late, but iter. *ugnēti* 'crowd upon', Ostrom.), Boh. *hněti* (esp. 'knead'), Russ. *gnesti* (now esp. 'oppress'), etc. : OE *cnedan*, OHG *knetan*, etc. 'knead' (5.54) Walde-P. 1.580. Berneker 311 f.

Boh. *tláčiti* : *tlouci*, ChSl. *tlāka*, *tlěsti* 'knock, beat, strike' (9.21). Miklosich 349.

Russ. *davit'* (also 'choke, choke') : ChSl. *daviti*, etc. 'choke', perh. : Grk. *δαψ* 'dead', etc. Berneker 181 f. Feist 118.

7. Skt. *pid-* : Grk. *πίδω* (above, 1).

## 9.35 POUR

|      |                  |       |                               |       |              |
|------|------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|--------------|
| Grk. | χέω              | Goth. | giutan                        | Lith. | pilti, lieti |
| NG   | fundere          | ON    | hella, skenkja                | Let.  | liet, gāst   |
| Lat. | versare          | Dan.  | hælde, gyde, skænke           | ChSl. | liati        |
| It.  | verser           | Sw.   | hälla, gjuta, skänka          | SCR.  | liiti        |
| Fr.  | verser           | OE    | giotan (scenacan)             | Boh.  | liiti        |
| Sp.  | verter           | ME    | gete, poure, skynke, schenche | Pol.  | lać          |
| Rum. | vārsa, turna     | NE    | pour                          | Russ. | liť          |
| Ir.  | teismim, doirtim | Du.   | pour                          | Skt.  | stic-        |
| Nl.  | doirtim          | OHG   | giotan, schenken              | Av.   | hič          |
| W.   | tywalli          | MHG   | giessen, schütten, schenken   |       |              |
| Br.  | skuilh, dinaoui  | NHG   | giessen, schütten, schenken   |       |              |

Br. *dinaoui* 'tip over, pour out', MBr. *dinou* = W. (obs.) *dineu* 'pour out, spill', Corn. *deneuy* 'pour out', cpd. of *di-* (cf. MW *dywallaw*, above), second part perh. : Ir. *snāim*, Br. *neu* Lat. *nāre*, Grk. *νέω* 'swim' (10.35). Ernault,

Apart from the inherited group, words for 'pour' rest on such notions as 'turn', 'tip up' (the vessel), 'shake', 'make flow'.

1. IE \**gheu-*, with extension \**gheud-*. Walde-P. 1.563 f. Ernout-M. 440 f. Walde-H. 1.563.

Grk. *χέω*, NG *χίω* (new present to aor. *ἐχώρα*); Lat. *fundere* (also 'cast' metals and specialized in this sense in Romance; 9.63); Goth. *giutan*, OE *gēotan*, OHG *giotan*, etc., general Gmc. (but ON *gjōta* 'cast, drop young, etc.'). Skt. *hu-*, specialized to 'pour a libation, sacrifice'.

2. It. *versare*, Fr. *verser*, Rum. *vārsa*, fr. Lat. *versare* 'turn, wind' (fr. *vertere* 'turn'). REW 9242.

Sp. *verter*, fr. Lat. *vertere* 'turn'. REW 9249.

Rum. *turna* (esp. 'pour in', as opposed to *vārsa* 'pour out'), fr. Lat. *turnāre* 'turn (in a lathe)', but general Romance 'turn'. REW 8796.

3. Ir. *teismim* (3pl. *doesmet*, 2sg. imperat. *teissim*, etc.), fr. a cpd. *to-eks-sem-* : Lith. *semti* 'draw, dip (water)', Lett. *smelt* id. (root \**sem-*). Walde-P. 2.487. Pedersen 2.624.

Ir. *doirtim* (older mostly 'pour out, spill'), fr. a cpd. \**de-fort-* : Lat. *vertere* 'turn', etc., with semantic development of Sp. *verter*, etc. (cf. above, 2). Pedersen 2.526. Walde-P. 1.274.

W. *tywalli*, MW *dywallaw*, cpd. of *dy-* (intensive) and *gwallaw* 'draw, pour, serve', lit. 'empty' : Br. *goull* 'empty', etc. Morris Jones 266. Pedersen 1.34.

Br. *skuilh*, also 'spread, strew' (9.34).

Br. *dinaoui* 'tip over, pour out', MBr. *dinou* = W. (obs.) *dineu* 'pour out, spill', Corn. *deneuy* 'pour out', cpd. of *di-* (cf. MW *dywallaw*, above), second part perh. : Ir. *snāim*, Br. *neu* Lat. *nāre*, Grk. *νέω* 'swim' (10.35). Ernault,

Dict. étym. s.v. *dinou*. Otherwise (: Ir. *snigim* 'drop, rain') Stokes 316.

4. ON *hella*, Dan. *hælde*, Sw. *hälla*, lit. 'lean (the vessel)', hence 'pour out' : ON *halla* 'lean, slope', OHG *haldōn* 'stoop', ON *hallr*, OE *heald* 'inclined', etc. Walde-P. 1.430. Falk-Torp 394.

ON *skenkja*, OHG *scenken*, etc., general Gmc. (ME *skynke*, fr. Du. or LG, cf. NED s.v.) special term for 'pour out drink' (hence OE *scenacan* mostly merely 'give to drink', and in later MHG, NHG, also simply 'give'), prob. (with same semantic development as ON *hella*, above) : ON *skakkr* 'oblique', etc. Walde-P. 2.564. Falk-Torp 1004.

CF. NED s.v. *pour*, orig. obscure.

MHG *schüt(t)en*, NHG *schütten*, in MHG also 'shake hard, move violently', in this sense OHG *sculan* : OE *scūdan* 'shake, tremble', OS *scuddian* 'shake', Lith. *kušėti* 'shake up', etc. Weigand-H. 2.805 f. Walde-P. 2.601.

5. Lith. *pilti* : Lett. *pilt* 'drip, trickle', prob. fr. the root in Skt. *pr-*, Grk. *πίπτω* 'fall', Lith. *pilnas*, Skt. *pūrṇa-*, etc. 'full'. Walde-P. 2.54 f. Mühl.-Endz. 3.217.

Lith. *lieti*, Lett. *liet*, ChSl. *liati*, iter. *liati*, Skt. *liṭi*, etc., general Slavic : Goth. *leiþu* (acc.) 'wine', ON *līð* 'strong drink', W. *liant* 'flood, stream', Ir. *lia* 'flood', Alb. *lum* 'river'. Walde-P. 2.392. Berneker 709 f.

Lett. *gāzt* : Lith. *gožti* 'overthrow', also 'pour out' (NSB s.v.), root connection dub. Mühl.-Endz. 1.620.

6. Skt. *sic-*, Av. *hič* : ChSl. *sicati* 'urinate', OHG *sihan* 'filter', *siġan* 'drip down, trickle', etc. Walde-P. 2.466. Barth. 1727.

'Pour' also expressed in Skt. by causatives of *śru-* 'flow' or *pat-* 'fly, fall'.

(lit. 'make run apart' : *teka*, *tešti* 'run'), etc.

Apart from the inherited group, the connections are mostly with words for 'stretch', 'throw', 'pour', and 'broad'.

1. IE \**ster-*, *streu-*, etc. Walde-P. 2.638 ff. Ernout-M. 973 f.

Grk. *σπέννυμι*, *σπράννυμι*, *σπαρύνω*, NG *sternere* (hence or with *ad-*, Rum. *asterna*, OFr. *esterner*, etc.; REW 8248, Puscariu 151), and in different use *struere* 'pile up, construct'; Ir. *sernim*, Br. *streoui*; Goth. *straujan*, OE *strēowian*, etc., general Gmc. (also perh. with different extension or by some analogy OE *stregdan*); SCR. *sterati*, *prostrijati*, Boh. *prostrěti*, etc. rather 'stretch out, extend'; Skt. *str-*, Av. *star-*.

2. Lat. *spargere* 'strew, scatter, sprinkle' (> It. *spargere*, Sp. *esparcir*), prob. fr. an extension of \**sp(h)er-* in Grk. *σπείρω* 'scatter seed, sow', Arm. *sp'rem* 'scatter', etc. (Walde-P. 2.670 ff.), rather than (as Walde-P. 2.673) more directly to Skt. *spūrj-* 'roar, crash, burst forth', etc., which seem to be of imitative origin. Walde-P. 1.c. Ernout-M. 959 f.

It. *stendere*, Fr. *étendre*, Sp. *tender*, all lit. 'stretch, stretch out', fr. Lat. *tendere* 'stretch' (9.32) or cpds. REW 3083. It. *spandere*, Fr. *répandre*, fr. cpds. of Lat. *patere* 'unfold, expand, lay open' (: *patēre* 'stand open', Grk. *πατέωννυμι* 'spread out, apart, open', etc. Walde-P. 2.18). REW 3030.

3. Ir. *sernim*, Br. *streoui*, above, 1. Ir. *assrēdim*, cpd. of *srdēm* 'throw', prob., with unoriginal *d-*, fr. *srdēm* 'throw, hurl', this fr. the root \**ster-* in

*sernim* 'strew, spread', etc. (above, 1). Pedersen 2.626.

Nl. *sprēidhim*, fr. ME *sprede*, NE *spread*.

Nl. *leathnuighim*, fr. *leathan* 'broad, wide'.

W. *taenu*, fr. *taen* 'a spreading, sprinkling', perh. fr. \**(s)tagnā* : Br. *ster* 'river, brook' (\**stagrā*), Grk. *στᾶζω* 'drip', *στᾶζών* 'drop', Lat. *stagnum* 'pool'. 'Spread' in general sense from 'sprinkle (water) over'. Walde-P. 2.612.

W. *chwalu*, Br. *skuilh* (Ir. *scailim* 'let loose, scatter') : ON *skilja* 'divide, separate', Lith. *skelti* 'split', etc. (9.27). Walde-P. 2.592.

Br. *astenn*, fr. Lat. *extendere* 'stretch out, extend'. Loth, Mots lat. 165 f.

4. ON *breiða*, Dan. *brede* ud, Sw. *breda* ut, OE (ge)*brædan*, Du. *uitbreiden*, OHG, MHG *breiten*, NHG *ausbreiten* (in the older languages orig. 'broaden, make wider'), fr. the words for 'broad, wide', ON *breiðr*, OE *brād*, OHG *breit*, etc. Walde-P. 2.194. Falk-Torp 100.

OE *sprædan*, only in cpds. *tosprædan* 'extend, expand' (wings, fingers, etc.), *ge-sprædan* 'extend (the hand)', *ofer-sprædan* 'cover (a bed)', ME *sprede*, NE *spread*, Du. *spreiden*, OHG *spreiten*, MHG, NHG *spreiten*, fr. an extension of the root \**(s)p(h)er-* seen in Grk. *σπείρω* 'sow', Lat. *spargere*, etc. (above, 2). Walde-P. 2.671.

5. Lith. *ištiesti*, lit. 'stretch out', cpd. of *tiesti* 'straighten, stretch' : *tiesus* 'straight' (12.73). Lith. *kloti*, Lett. *klāt* : ChSl. *klāsti*, *kladaj* 'lay, put' (12.12), ON *hlāða*, OE, OHG *hladan* 'load', etc. Walde-P. 1.489. Mühl.-Endz. 2.218.

Lith. *berti*, Lett. *bērt* : Grk. *ῥέπω*, etc. 'carry', IE \**bher-*, with sense 'strew, scatter' taken over from cpds. Hermann, Studi baltici 3.65 ff. Trautmann 31. Mühl.-Endz. 1.292. Otherwise Walde-

P. 2.165 and Meillet, Streitberg Festgabe 258 ff.

Lith. *kreikiti*, intens. *kraikyti*, beside *kreikimas* 'strewing, spreading', *kraikas* 'litter', *kraika* 'spread of flax', Lett. *kreiki* 'litter' (Mühl.-Endz. 2.270), etym.?

Lett. *kaisti*, etym. dub. Mühl.-Endz. 2.134.

6. ChSl. *stlāti*, *steljā* (rare in simplex; in Gospels *postilati* = *σπαρύνω* in both uses, Mt 21.8, etc.), Boh. *slditi*, Pol. *stać*, Russ. *stlat'*, *razstilať*, fr. a root \**stel-* to be recognized also in Lat. *stlatta* 'genus navigii latum magis quam altum

et a latitudine sic appellatum', *lātus* 'wide' (\**stlātos*). Walde-P. 2.643. Ernout-M. 527 f.

ChSl. *rasypati*, SCR. *sipati*, Boh. *sypati*, Pol. *sypać*, Russ. *sypat'* 'pour out, shake out, strew, scatter' : Lith. *supli* 'swing, rock', Lat. *supāre* 'throw' (Festus), cpd. *dissipāre* 'scatter'. Walde-P. 2.524. Trautmann 293. Ernout-M. 1005. Walde-H. 1.356 f.

Boh. *trousiti*, Russ. *trusit'*, through sb. fr. the root of ChSl. *tręsti*, etc. 'shake' (10.26). Miklosich 360. Trautmann 330.

7. Skt. *str-*, Av. *star-*, above, 1.

## 9.342 PRESS (vb.)

|      |                       |       |                |       |                         |
|------|-----------------------|-------|----------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | πίδω (ἐπίδω)          | Goth. | preihan        | Lith. | spausti                 |
| NG   | πίδω, ἐπιδωμι, σφίγγω | ON    | þryngva        | Let.  | spiest                  |
| Lat. | premere               | Dan.  | trykke, presse | ChSl. | (tiskati, žeti, gnesti) |

*fra-dav-* 'rub off', Grk. *θάω* . . . *λαμ-  
πρός*, *θαλάω* . . . *λαμπρύνω* Hesych.,  
etc., *θίω* 'shine' (Hes., Theoc., etc.).  
Walde-P. 1.835.  
Av. *snā-*, esp. cpd. *fra-snā-* (quotable  
1628.

## 9.37 SWEEP

|      |                                  |       |                              |       |                        |
|------|----------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>κόπος</i> , <i>σάω</i>        | Goth. | <i>usbaugjan</i>             | Lith. | <i>šluoti</i>          |
| NG   | <i>σαρώνω</i> , <i>σκουρίζω</i>  | ON    | <i>sōpa</i>                  | Lett. | <i>mēzt (slauclit)</i> |
| Lat. | <i>vertere</i>                   | Dan.  | <i>fejje</i>                 | ChSl. | <i>pomesti</i>         |
| It.  | <i>spazzare</i> , <i>scopare</i> | Sw.   | <i>sopa</i>                  | Boh.  | <i>městi</i>           |
| Fr.  | <i>balayer</i>                   | OE    | <i>swāpan</i>                | Pol.  | <i>zamiatć</i>         |
| Rum. | <i>barrer</i>                    | ME    | <i>sweep</i> , <i>swowe</i>  | Russ. | <i>mesti</i>           |
| Ir.  | <i>mātura</i>                    | NE    | <i>sweep</i>                 | Skt.  | <i>mṛj-</i>            |
| Nir. | <i>scōpaim</i>                   | Du.   | <i>vegen</i>                 | Av.   | <i>māraz-</i>          |
| W.   | <i>scuabaim</i>                  | OHG   | <i>kehen</i>                 |       |                        |
| Br.  | <i>ysgubo</i>                    | MHG   | <i>keren</i>                 |       |                        |
|      | <i>skuba</i>                     | NHG   | <i>fegen</i> , <i>kehren</i> |       |                        |

Several of the words for 'sweep' are derived from those for 'broom', one from the word for 'floor'. In most of the others, so far as there are clear cognates, 'sweep' is a specialization of either 'cleanse, adorn' or various motions like 'turn, throw', etc., applicable to the removal of dirt.

1. Grk. *κόπος* (whence *κόρημα* 'sweepings' and 'broom'; cf. also *κόρος* . . . *κάλλυρον*, Hesych., *νάο-κόρος* 'caretaker of a temple', etc.), etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.462. Boisacq 495 f.

Grk. *σαίρω* (cf. *σάματα* 'sweepings', etc.), later *σαρώω* (whence Byz. *σάρωρον*, NG *σάρωρον* 'broom'), NG *σαρώνω*, perh.: *σάρω* 'drag', *συρφερός* 'sweepings', but root connection dub. Walde-P. 2.530. Boisacq 849.

NG *σκουρίζω*, deriv. of *σκοῖπα* 'broom' (9.38).

2. Lat. *vertere* (> Sp., Port. *barrer*): ChSl. *vrěcha*, *vrěšti* 'thresh' (fr. 'drag', cf. 8.34), perh. Grk. *θρόω* 'walk with difficulty, go to destruction, perish', dial. *φάρω* 'be exiled'. Walde-P. 1.292. Ernout-M. 1091.

It. *spazzare*, fr. OIt. *spazzo* 'floor' (Lat. *spatium* 'space'). REW 8121.

It. *scopare*, fr. late Lat. *scōpāre*, deriv. of *scōpa* 'broom' (9.38). REW 7735.

Fr. *balayer*, fr. *balai* 'broom' (9.38).

Rum. *mătura*, fr. *mătură* 'broom' (9.38).

3. Ir. *scōpaim*, Nir. *scuabaim*, W. *ysgubo*, Br. *skuba*, fr. late Lat. *scōpāre* (above). Vendryes. De hib. voc. 176. Loth, Mots lat. 216.

4. Goth. *us-baugjan*, prob. fr. caus. of *biugan* 'bend', with specialization from 'make bend, turn aside'. Cf. 'sweep' fr. 'swing' in OE *swāpan*, fr. 'throw' in Slav. *mesti*, etc. Feist 529 (with other views). Walde-P. 2.145 (otherwise).

ON *sōpa* (with *sōfl* 'broom'), Sw. *sopa* (older Dan. *sobe*), prob. fr. a root \**swēb-* beside \**swēp-* in ChSl. *syptati*, etc. 'strew, scatter' (9.34), Lat. *dis-sipāre* 'scatter'. Walde-P. 2.524. Falk-Torp 1108.

Dan. *fejje* (Sw. *fejja*, ON *fægja* 'clean, polish'), prob. influenced by the German group, Du. *vegen*, NHG *fegen* (MHG *vegen* 'clean, polish', still the ordinary meaning in most of South Germany): ON *fāga* 'adorn, cleanse', Lith. *puošti* 'adorn', Lett. *puost* 'clean, tidy up, sweep'. Walde-P. 2.16. Falk-Torp 210 f.

It. *spazzare*, fr. OIt. *spazzo* 'floor' (Lat. *spatium* 'space'). REW 8121.

(as Miklosich, Berneker). Pušeariu 1053. Tiktin 963.

2. Dan. *kost* (ODan. *kvozt*, fr. *kvast*), Sw. *kvast*: MLG, MHG *quast* 'cluster, wisp' (of foliage, straw, etc.); OSc. *quozd* 'woods', etc. Walde-P. 1.644. Falk-Torp 568 f. Hellquist 534.

OE *bes(e)ma*, ME *besum* (NE *besome* still the generic word in Scotland), OHG *besamo*, etc., general West Gmc., also (OE, OHG) 'rod, switch (esp. for punish-

ing)', hence orig. prob. a bundle of twigs used as a broom, but root connection dub. Walde-P. 2.136.

ME *brome*, NE *broom*, from the name of the plant (OE *brōm* 'genesta'), from which brooms were frequently made. Cf. above Fr. *balai*.

3. Boh. *košič*, contracted fr. older *chostičiče* id., fr. *chvost* 'tail' (4.18). Berneker 409.

## 9.41 CRAFT, TRADE

|      |                                  |       |                                    |       |                                 |
|------|----------------------------------|-------|------------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>τέχνη</i>                     | Goth. | ...                                | Lith. | <i>amatas</i>                   |
| NG   | <i>τέχνη</i> , <i>δοκεία</i>     | ON    | <i>ðēn, ðija</i>                   | Lett. | <i>amats</i>                    |
| Lat. | <i>ars</i> , <i>artificium</i>   | Dan.  | <i>håndværk</i>                    | ChSl. | <i>chytrosti, remisto, kizn</i> |
| It.  | <i>arte</i>                      | Sw.   | <i>handverk</i>                    | Boh.  | <i>řemeslo</i>                  |
| Fr.  | <i>métier</i>                    | OE    | <i>craft</i> , <i>handcraft</i>    | Pol.  | <i>rzemiołto</i>                |
| Sp.  | <i>oficio</i>                    | ME    | <i>craft</i> , <i>handcraft</i>    | Russ. | <i>remeslo, masterstvo</i>      |
| Rum. | <i>meșteșug</i> , <i>meserie</i> | NE    | <i>(handi)craft</i> , <i>trade</i> | Skt.  | <i>çilpa-</i>                   |
| Ir.  | <i>ceard</i>                     | Du.   | <i>handwerk</i> , <i>ambacht</i>   | Av.   | ...                             |
| Nir. | <i>ceard</i>                     | OHG   | <i>hantwerch</i>                   |       |                                 |
| W.   | <i>crefft</i>                    | MHG   | <i>hantwerc</i>                    |       |                                 |
| Br.  | <i>micher</i>                    | NHG   | <i>handwerk</i> , <i>gewerbe</i>   |       |                                 |

Although the beginnings of various crafts go back to remote prehistoric periods, they long remained merely household crafts. Such was the situation in the IE period, as still to a considerable extent in the Homeric period of Greece and in the early periods of the other lands of IE speech. The development of professional crafts with the distinct classes of craftsmen is a later outgrowth. Cf. Schrader, Reallex. 1.392 ff.

Hence, as to be expected, there are no inherited groups pointing to IE words for 'craft' or 'craftsman' in general, or for a particular craft or craftsman, with the exception of the group Grk. *τέχνας*, Skt. *taṣan-*, Av. *tašan-*, which reflects an IE word, though the earliest scope of its application is not entirely clear, 'fashioner, builder', or 'carpenter' (see under 'artisan').

Most of the words listed have a wider application than 'manual craft' and

cover also either 'skill, art' or 'business, occupation', and etymologically they are mostly connected with general notions of either 'work, skill', etc. or 'occupation', these being of diverse sources.

1. Grk. *τέχνη* 'skill, art, craft, trade': *τέκτων* 'artisan, carpenter' (9.42).

NG *ἐπάγγελμα* 'profession' (class. Grk. 'announcement' and 'profession': *ἐπαγγελία* 'announcement', mid. also 'make profession of'), used also for one's 'trade'. But the pop. term is simply *δοκεία* 'work' (9.12).

2. Lat. *ars*, *artis* 'skill, art, craft, trade' (> It. *arte* still in part 'craft'), esp. *ars sordida* as opposed to the liberal arts; *artificium* (cpd. with *facere* 'do, make'; cf. *artifex* 'artisan') fr. the notion of 'fit together': Lat. *artus* 'joint', *armus* 'shoulder', Grk. *ἀρπισκω* 'fit', etc. Walde-P. 1.71 f. Ernout-M. 76. Walde-H. 1.70.

Fr. *métier* (OFr. *mestier* > It. *mes-*

OE *swāpan*, ME *swowe*, also ME *swepe*, NE *sweep* (prob. fr. a mutated form, but cf. NED s.v.): ON *swēipa* 'stroke, sweep over, wrap about', OHG *swēifan* 'swing', etc., root \**swēi-* with numerous extensions in words for 'swing, bend'. Walde-P. 2.520. Falk-Torp 1223.

OHG *kerren*, MHG *ker(e)n*, NHG *kehren*, OLG *kerren*, cf. OHG *uber-kara* 'sweepings', Norw. *kare*, Sw. *kara* 'scrape', perh.: Lith. *žerti* 'scrape, scratch'. Falk-Torp 496. Kluge-G. 293. Weigand-H. 1.1017. On the distribution of NHG *kehren* and *fegen*, cf. Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 194 ff.

5. Lith. *šluoti*, Lett. *slauclit*, beside Lith. *šluota*, Lett. *sluota* 'broom': Grk. *κλίσω* 'rinse', OLat. *cluere* 'cleanse' (cf.

*clōca*), Goth. *hlutrs* 'bright, clean', etc. Walde-P. 1.495.

Lett. *mēzt*, also 'to dung, clear away manure': Lith. *mēži* 'work the dung', root connection dub. (Mühl.-Endz. 2.622. Walde-P. 2.246), but Lett. 'sweep' clearly generalized fr. 'sweep up the dung'.

6. ChSl. *mesti*, *pomesti* (σάρωω, Lk. 15.8), etc., general Slavic (with SCr. *mella*, etc. 'broom', also general Slavic) = ChSl. *mesti*, etc. 'throw' ('sweep', fr. 'throw the sweepings'). Berneker 2.41.

7. Skt. *mṛj-* 'wipe off, cleanse', Av. *māraz-* 'touch' (Grk. *ἀμείλω* 'milk', etc. 5.87) serve for 'sweep away'. Cf. BR s.v. and Barth. 1152 (*fra-māraz-*), also Skt. *saṁmārjanā-* 'sweeping' and esp. *saṁmārjanī-* 'broom' (BR s.v.).

## 9.38 BROOM

|      |                                 |       |                             |       |                               |
|------|---------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>κόρημα</i>                   | Goth. | ...                         | Lith. | <i>šluota</i>                 |
| NG   | <i>σκούρα</i> , <i>σάρωρον</i>  | ON    | <i>sōfl</i>                 | Lett. | <i>sluota</i>                 |
| Lat. | <i>scōpae</i>                   | Dan.  | <i>kost</i>                 | ChSl. | ...                           |
| It.  | <i>granata</i> , <i>scopa</i>   | Sw.   | <i>kvast</i>                | Boh.  | <i>košič</i> , <i>potello</i> |
| Fr.  | <i>balai</i>                    | OE    | <i>bes(e)ma</i>             | Pol.  | <i>motla</i>                  |
| Sp.  | <i>escoba</i>                   | ME    | <i>besum</i> , <i>brome</i> | Russ. | <i>mella</i>                  |
| Rum. | <i>mătură</i>                   | NE    | <i>broom</i>                | Skt.  | <i>saṁmārjanī-</i>            |
| Ir.  | <i>scūap</i>                    | Du.   | <i>bezem</i>                | Av.   | ...                           |
| Nir. | <i>scuab</i>                    | OHG   | <i>besamo</i>               |       |                               |
| W.   | <i>ysgub</i>                    | MHG   | <i>beseme</i>               |       |                               |
| Br.  | <i>skubell</i> , <i>balaenn</i> | NHG   | <i>besen</i>                |       |                               |

Many of the words for 'broom' are derived from those for 'sweep' and have been cited with the latter (9.37). Others reflect the material of which the broom was made as 'twigs, leaves' and in two instances the plant 'broom'.

1. Lat. *scōpae*, lit. 'twigs' (sg. *scōpa* not common): *scōpiō* 'stalk or pedicle of a bunch of grapes', *scōpus* 'shaft', etc. Hence It. *scopa*, Sp. *escoba*; NG *σκούπα*; Ir. *scūap*, Nir. *scuab*, W. *ysgub*, Br. *skubell*, *balaenn*, generally derived fr. Lat. *mētula*, dim. of *mētā* 'post, cone, pyramid', but its use as 'broom' doubtless helped by Slavic word SCr. *mella*, etc. (9.37) if not actually derived fr. it

It. *granata*, deriv. of Lat. *grānum* 'grain', prob. through a plant name. REW 3846.

Fr. *balai*, OFr. *balain(s)*, fr. Gall. \**banallo* (> \**balatno* by metathesis), cf. W. *banadl*, Br. (V.) *benal*, bonal 'broom' (the plant); Fr. dial. (Lyon) *balan*, *balain* still used for plant also. Wartburg 1.232 f. REW 897. Hence Br. *balaenn*. Henry 24.

Rum. *mătură*, generally derived fr. Lat. *mētula*, dim. of *mētā* 'post, cone, pyramid', but its use as 'broom' doubtless helped by Slavic word SCr. *mella*, etc. (9.37) if not actually derived fr. it

*tiere*, fr. Lat. *ministerium* 'office, occupation, service', fr. *minister* 'servant, minister'. REW 5589.

Sp. *oficio*, fr. Lat. *officium* 'service, function, business', fr. \**opificium*, cpd. of *opus* 'work, deed' and *facere* 'do, make'. Rum. *meșteșug*, fr. Hung. *mesteriség* 'trade, craft', this a deriv. of *mester* 'master', loanword fr. NHG *meister*. Tiktin 971.

Rum. *meserie*, prob. connected with *meserere* 'mercy, favor' (fr. Lat. *miserere* 'pity') through its secondary meaning 'honor, office', perh. also influenced in its use by the group It. *mestiere*, etc. (above). Tiktin 970.

3. Ir. *ceard*, fr. Lat. *artificium* 'service, function, business', fr. \**opificium*, cpd. of *opus* 'work, deed' and *facere* 'do, make'. Rum. *meșteșug*, fr. Hung. *mesteriség* 'trade, craft', this a deriv. of *mester* 'master', loanword fr. NHG *meister*. Tiktin 971.

Rum. *meserie*, prob. connected with *meserere* 'mercy, favor' (fr. Lat. *miserere* 'pity') through its secondary meaning 'honor, office', perh. also influenced in its use by the group It. *mestiere*, etc. (above). Tiktin 970.

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various craftsmen, fr. Lat. *magister* 'master'. Berneker 2.3.

7. Skt. *çilpa-*, adj. 'variegated', sb. 'variegated appearance, decoration, work of art, art, craft', etym.?

9.412. 'Art'. Phrases like NE *arts and crafts*, NHG *kunst und gewerbe* represent a differentiation that is modern and still not rigidly defined, though the terms for 'art' and 'artist' are most commonly used with reference to painting and sculpture. Formerly the various types of work demanding special skill were covered by the same word, as by Grk. *τέχνη*, Lat. *ars*, Skt. *çilpa-* (9.41).

The differentiation began with such phrases as Fr. *beaux arts*, NE *fine arts*. The descendants of Lat. *ars*, *artis* (It., Sp. *arte*, Rum. *artă*, Fr. *art* > ME, NE *art*) have come to be used mainly in this more restricted sense (It. *arte* also 'craft').

Other terms for 'art' are as follows:  
1. Ir. *elatha*, *elada* ('skill, art', cf. Laws, Gloss. 300), Nir. *ealadha*, etym.? Macbain 149.

W. *clŷf* (cf. *clŷfydd* 'skilful'): OBr. *celmŷ gl. eŷficaz*, Ir. *calma* 'brave', root connection? Pedersen 1.168.

2. Du., NHG *kunst* (> Dan. *kunst*, Sw. *konst*, orig. 'knowledge, skill', fr.

the root of NHG *kennen* 'know', *können* 'know how, be able'. Kluge-G. 336.

3. Lith. *menas* (cf. NSB s.v.), orig. 'understanding': *minti*, *menu* 'fitting, remember'. Leskien, Ablaut 336. Neolog. in this sense, influenced by NHG *kunst*, etc.

Lith. *dailė*, with *dailininkas* 'artist': *dailus* 'beautiful' (16.81).

Lett. *māksla*: *mācēt* 'be able' = Lith. *mokėti* 'be able', beside Lith. *mokyti*, Lett. *mācīt* 'teach' (17.25). Mühl.-Endz. 2.579.

4. SCr. *umjetnost*, Boh. *umění*, orig. 'understanding', fr. *umjeti*, *uměti* 'know how, be able'. Cf. ChSl. *umā*, *raz-umā* 'intelligence' (17.12), *razuměti* 'understand' (17.16), etc.

Pol. *sztuka* 'piece' (fr. NHG *stuck*), also 'work of art' and 'art' (*sztuka malar-ska* 'art of painting'), for which also *kunst*, directly fr. NHG *kunst*. Brückner 555 f.

Russ. *iskusstvo* = late ChSl. *iskusi-stvo* 'trial', fr. *iskusti* 'try' (9.98). Berneker 653.

Russ. *chudožestvo* = late ChSl. *chadō-žestvo* 'art, science', fr. \**chadogū*, *chudogū* 'wise', loanword fr. a Gmc. form \**hand-dags* beside Goth. *handugs* 'wise' (17.21). Berneker 400. Stender-Petersen 334.

## 9.42 ARTISAN, CRAFTSMAN

|      |                                     |       |  |       |                               |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------|--|-------|-------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>τεχνίτης</i>                     | Goth. | (-smīpa)                               | Lith. | <i>amatininkas</i>            |
| NG   | <i>τεχνίτης</i> , <i>μάστορας</i>   | ON    | <i>smiðr</i> , <i>iðnarmaðr</i>        | Lett. | <i>amatnieks</i>              |
| Lat. | <i>faber</i> , <i>artifex</i>       | Dan.  | <i>haandwerker</i>                     | ChSl. | <i>chytřič, kiznřnikū</i>     |
| It.  | <i>artigiano</i>                    | Sw.   | <i>handverkare</i>                     | SCr.  | <i>zanatlija, obrtnik</i>     |
| Fr.  | <i>artisan</i>                      | OE    | <i>wyrhta</i> , <i>craftiga</i>        | Boh.  | <i>řemeslník</i>              |
| Rum. | <i>artesan</i>                      | ME    | <i>wright</i> , <i>craftsman</i>       | Pol.  | <i>rzemieślnik</i>            |
| Sp.  | <i>meșteșugar</i> , <i>meseriaș</i> | NE    | <i>artisan</i> , <i>craftsman</i>      | Russ. | <i>remeslennik, master-oj</i> |
| Ir.  | <i>sder</i> , <i>ceard</i>          | Du.   | <i>handwerker</i> , <i>ambachtsman</i> | Skt.  | <i>çilpin-, kārū-</i>         |
| Nir. | <i>saor</i> , <i>ceard</i>          |       |  | Av.   | ...                           |
| W.   | <i>saer</i> , <i>crefftwr</i>       | OHG   | <i>wurhto</i> , <i>wercmeister</i>     |       |                               |
| Br.  | <i>micher</i>                       | MHG   | <i>wercmeister</i> , <i>handwerker</i> |       |                               |
|      |                                     | NHG   | <i>handwerker</i>                      |       |                               |

## 9.422 TOOL

|      |   |       |                                 |       |                        |
|------|---|-------|---------------------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>ἐργαλείον</i> , <i>ὄργανον</i>           | Goth. | ...                             | Lith. | <i>įnagis, įrankis</i> |
| NG   | <i>ἐργαλείον</i>                            | ON    | <i>tōl (pl.)</i>                | Lett. | <i>riks</i>            |
| Lat. | <i>instrumentum</i>                         | Dan.  | <i>værktøj</i> , <i>redskab</i> | ChSl. | <i>oradje</i>          |
| It.  | <i>ordigno</i> , <i>utensili</i> (pl.)      | Sw.   | <i>verktyg</i> , <i>redskap</i> | SCr.  | <i>orude, alat</i>     |
| Fr.  | <i>outil</i> , <i>instrument</i>            | OE    | <i>tōl</i>                      | Boh.  | <i>nāčřn, nástroj</i>  |
| Sp.  | <i>herramienta</i>                          | ME    | <i>tole</i>                     | Pol.  | <i>narzędzie</i>       |
| Rum. | <i>unealtă</i>                              | NE    | <i>tool</i>                     | Russ. | <i>orudie</i>          |
| Ir.  | <i>airnisi</i> (pl.)                        | Du.   | <i>werktuig</i>                 | Skt.  | <i>karaṇa-</i>         |
| Nir. | <i>airis</i> , <i>airnēis</i> , <i>acra</i> | OHG   | <i>giziuc</i>                   | Av.   | ...                    |
| W.   | <i>ar</i>                                   | MHG   | <i>ziuc</i> , <i>wercziuc</i>   |       |                        |
| Br.  | <i>benveg</i>                               | NHG   | <i>werkezeug</i>                |       |                        |

Many of the words listed have a wider range than NE *tool* in its usual application and may cover any 'instrument, implement'.



It. *adop(e)rare*, cpd. of *op(e)rare* 'work, do, make'.  
Rum. *întrebuința*, cpd. fr. sb. *trebuința* 'need' (of Slavic orig., 9.93), with sense influenced by NHG *gebrauchen* (so Tiktin 840), or by the similar Slavic cpds. as SCr. *upotrijebiti*, etc. (below, 6).  
Rum. *se folosi de*, fr. sb. *folos* 'gain, advantage', this fr. Byz. *φελος*, Grk. *δφελος* 'furtherance, advantage, help'. Tiktin 641 f.

3. Ir. *airbiur*, cpd. of *berim* 'carry', followed by *biuth* (dat. of *bith* 'world') glosses Lat. *frui*, *ut*, etc., e.g. imperat. *airbir biuth* = *utere* of Vulgate, 1. Tim. 5.23 (Wb. 29a25). Pedersen 2.464 f. Thurneysen, Gram. 162. K. Meyer, Contrib. 113.

Ir. *caithim* 'consume, spend, waste', also 'use' (K. Meyer, Contrib. 326, Laws, Gloss. s.v.), etym.? Walde-P. 1.112. Pedersen 2.479.

Ir. *torbe* 'use, profit' (11.73) is used in phrases rendering Lat. *utilis*, also *torbatu* 'utilitas', but the vb. *torbenim* seems quotable only for 'be of use', not 'make use of'. Cf. Windisch, Wtb. 840.

Nlr. *asidhīm*, W. *iwsio*, through sbs. *asidh*, *iws*, fr. NE sb. use.  
Br. *ober gant*, lit. 'do with' (*ober* 'do', 9.11; *gant* 'with').

4. Goth. *brūkjan*, OE *brūcan*, ME *brouke* (NE *brook* obs. or arch. in this sense; NED s.v.), LG *brūken* (> Dan. *bruge*, Sw. *bruka*), OHG (*ge*)*brūchan*, MHG (*ge*)*brūchen*, NHG (*brauchen* now

'need'; Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v.) *gebrauchen*, Du. *gebruiken* : Lat. *frui* 'enjoy', *frui*, *fructus* 'fruit', etc. Walde-P. 2.208. Falk-Torp 106. Feist 107.

ON *njóða*, *nylta* ('use' and 'enjoy'; Dan. *nyde* 'enjoy', *nytte* 'be of use, benefit' 'use'), Sw. *nyttja*, OE *neotan*, *nyttian*, ME *nyttien*, OHG *niuzan*, *nuzzan*, MHG *nuzzen*, NHG (*nutzen* mostly 'be of use') *benutzen* : Goth. *niutan* 'attain, enjoy', *ganiutan* 'catch', Lith. *nauda* 'use, profit'. In this group the sense of advantageous use is dominant, and the early forms also mean 'enjoy'. Walde-P. 2.325. Falk-Torp 774, 777. Feist 379.

NHG *anwenden* (> Dan. *anvende*, Sw. *använda*), cpd. of *wenden* 'turn', hence 'turn to, apply, use' for a particular purpose.

5. Lith. *virti*, fr. the root of *verstī*, Lat. *vertere*, etc. 'turn'. Cf. NHG *anwenden*.

Lith. *naudoti*, fr. *nauda* 'use, profit' : OE *neotan*, etc. (above, 4).

Lett. *lietuot*, fr. *lieta* 'thing' (9.90), also 'tool', etc. Mühl.-Endz. 2.505 f.

6. ChSl. (?), SCr. *upotrijebiti*, Russ. *upotrebiti*, cpds. with root seen in ChSl. *trébovati* 'need', sb. *potrěba* 'need', etc. (9.93).

Boh. *užiti*, Pol. *użyć*, cpds. of *žiti*, *żyć* 'live' (4.74), hence through 'live through, experience' (cf. NHG *erleben*) > 'use'.

7. Skt. *upayuj-*, *prayuj-*, cpds. of *yuj-* 'join, unite'.

trē 'tree, wood', *hūs* 'house, building' and *smiðr* 'craftsman' (9.42).

OE *trēowyrhta*, cpd. of *trēow* 'tree, wood' and *wyrhta* 'craftsman' (9.42).

ME, NE *carpenter*, fr. Fr. *charpentier* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *dailidė* (orig. for the finer work 'joiner', but also more general) : *dailius* 'beautiful' (16.81), *dailinti* 'adorn, beautify'.

Lett. *remesis* (Lith. *remesas* 'craftsman, carpenter' obs.) : ChSl. *remistvo* 'craft', etc. (9.41). Mühl.-Endz. 3.509 f.

6. SCr. *tesar*, Boh. *tesař*, Pol. *cieśla* : ChSl. *tesati* 'hew', etc. (9.45). Miklosich 355. Brückner 63.

ChSl. *tektonū* (Gospels), fr. Grk. *τέκτων* (above, 1).

ChSl. *drēvodělja* (Supr.), SCr. *drvodjelja*, cpds. of ChSl. *drēvo*, SCr. *drvo* 'tree, wood' and ChSl. *dělati* 'work', SCr. *djeljati* 'carve, fashion'.

Russ. *plotnik*, fr. *plotiti* 'join, put together' : *plest* 'plait' (9.75).

7. Skt. *takṣan-* = Grk. *τέκτων*, above, 1.

Skt. *rathakāra-*, lit. 'carriage-maker' (cpd. of *ratha-* 'carriage' and a form of *car-* 'make'), but in actual use 'carpenter'. Cf. F. Edgerton, Proceedings Am. Philosoph. Soc. 79.707.

## 9.44 BUILD

Grk. *οικοδομω*  
NG *κτίζω, χτίζω*  
Lat. *aedificāre*  
It. *edificare*  
Fr. *bâtir*  
Sp. *edificar*  
Rum. *clădi, zidi*  
Ir. *cunulgim*  
Nlr. *foirgimighim*  
W. *adeiladu*  
Br. *sevel*

Goth. *timrjan*  
ON *gǫrva, timbra*  
Dan. *bygge*  
Sw. *bygga*  
OE *timbrīan, byllian*  
ME *bylde*  
NE *build*  
Du. *bouwen*  
OHG *zimberen*  
MHG *zimbern, būwen*  
NHG *bauen*

Lith. *budavoti*  
Lett. *būvēt*  
ChSl. *zidati (graditi)*  
SCr. *graditi, zidati*  
Boh. *stavěti, budovati*  
Pol. *budować (wystawiać)*  
Russ. *stroit', sozdat'*  
Skt. *nir-mā-*  
Av., OPers. *kar-*

Words for 'build', primarily used for building houses, are in part connected with verbs for 'dwell' through the notion of making a dwelling place, or derivs. and cpds. of nouns for 'dwelling, house'. Words for 'make' when used with an object like 'house', 'wall', etc., are naturally equivalent to 'build', and are often (though generally not entered in the list) the common colloquial expressions for 'build' (cf. NG *εκαμε ένα σπίτι*, lit. 'made a house', etc.). In some cases they are the source of the standard words for 'build'. Others reflect more specific actions originally applicable to particular methods of construction, as 'mold, fashion' for work in clay, 'plait' for work-erwork construction (see also under

'plait', 9.75), 'join, put together, arrange' and 'set up, erect', both appropriate to make in wood or stone.

1. Grk. *οικοδομω* 'build' in general, deriv. of *οικοδομος* 'builder', or a like cpd. (cf. also *οικοδομία* 'act of building, a building') of *οίκος* 'house, dwelling', and the root of *δωμω* 'construct, build' (not a common prose word), *δωμος* 'house' : ON *timbr* 'wood for building' (cf. below, 4), Skt. *dama-*, Lat. *domus*, etc. 'house', IE \**dem-* 'build', perh. orig. 'join, fit together', as in Goth. *gatiiman*, OHG *zeman* 'be fitting, becoming'. Walde-P. 1.786 f.

NG *κτίζω* or *χτίζω* 'build', class. Grk. *κτίζω* mostly 'settle, found' a city, etc. (cf. *κτίσις* 'a founding', Hom. *εκκρίμενος*

## 9.43 CARPENTER

Grk. *τέκτων*  
NG *μαραγκός, ξυλουργός*  
Lat. *faber*  
It. *falegname*  
Fr. *charpentier*  
Sp. *carpintero*  
Rum. *dulgher, teslar*  
Ir. *sáir*  
Nlr. *saor*  
W. *saer*  
Br. *kalvez*

Goth. *timrja*  
ON *trēsniðr*  
Dan. *tømmer*  
Sw. *timmerman*  
OE *trēowyrhta*  
ME *carpenter*  
NE *carpenter*  
Du. *timmerman*  
OHG *zimbarman, zimbar-rari*  
MHG *zimberman*  
NHG *zimmermann*

Words for 'carpenter' are in part identical with those for 'artisan' (9.42) used, either with or without a defining adjective or phrase, in the specialized sense.

Others are derivatives of words for 'wood, timber', often as cpds. meaning literally 'woodworker'. Some are extensions from a more specific idea of 'carriage-maker', 'ship's carpenter'.

Words that are used only of those who do the finer work in wood, like NE *joiner*, *cabinetmaker*, NHG *tischler*, *schreiner*, etc., are not considered here.

1. Grk. *τέκτων*, in Hom. more than 'carpenter' (builds houses, ships, wagons, furniture, carves horn and ivory, etc., but most frequently the reference is to woodwork) : Skt. *takṣan-* 'carpenter' (often esp. 'wagon-builder'), *taṣan-* 'creator', fr. the root in Skt. *takṣ-*, Av. *taṣ-* 'cut, hew, fashion', etc. (9.45).

Walde-P. 1.717. Schrader, Reallex. 1.394. Blümner, Gewerbe und Künste 2.165.

NG *μαραγκός*, fr. It. *marangone* 'diver', esp. 'one who repairs ships under water', deriv. of Lat. *mergus* 'diver'. G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 4.49. REW 5528.

Grk. *ξυλουργός* 'woodworker' (cf. *ξύλον* 'wood', *έργον* 'work'), late and rare (Pollux 7.101), but the NG lit. word for 'carpenter'.

2. Lat. *faber* (see 9.42), spec. *faber*

*tignārius*, *faber lignārius* (also late *lignārius* alone), cf. *tignum* 'timber', *lignum* 'wood'.

It. *falegname*, cpd. of *fare* 'do, make' and *legname* 'woodwork, articles made of wood' (deriv. of Lat. *lignum* 'wood').

Fr. *charpentier* (> ME, NE *carpenter*), Sp. *carpintero*, fr. Lat. *carpentārius* 'carriage-maker', deriv. of *carpentum* 'carriage, coach', a Gallic word. REW 1709. Walde-H. 1.171.

Rum. *dulgher*, fr. Turk. *dülger* 'carpenter'. Lokotsch 553.

Rum. *teslar*, fr. Slavic, SCr. *tesar*, etc. (below, 6), with l fr. *tesla* 'adze', this also fr. Slavic. Tiktin 1581 f.

3. Ir. *sáir*, Nlr. *saor*, W. *saer* (cf. 9.42), or esp. Nlr. *saor adhmaid*, *saor crainn*, cf. adhmaid 'timber, wood', *crainn* 'tree, wood'; W. *saer coed*, cf. *coed* 'wood, timber'.

Br. *kalvez*, MBr. also *calvez* : OBr. *calmed* gl. *efficaz*, W. *celfydd* 'skilful', Ir. *calma* 'brave'. Ernault, Glossaire 556.

4. Goth. *timrja* 'carpenter, builder', Dan. *tømmer*, OHG *zimbarāri*, derivs. of Goth. \**timrs*, ON *timbr*, Dan. *tømmer*, Sw., Du. *timmer*, OHG *zimbar*, etc. 'wood for building, timber' (whence also cpds. Sw., Du. *timmerman*, OHG *zimbarman*, MHG *zimberman*, NHG *zimmermann*) : Grk. *δέμω* 'construct, build', etc. (9.44). Falk-Torp 1317.

ON *trēsniðr*, also *hüssniðr*, cpds. of

'well-built' : Skt. *kṣi-* 'dwell, inhabit', Av. *ksi-* 'dwell', Lat. *situs* 'situated', *situs*, *-ūs* 'situation', etc. Walde-P. 1.504. Boisacq 525 f.

2. Lat. *aedificāre* (> It. *edificare*, Sp. *edificar*), deriv. of a cpd. (cf. *aedificium* 'building') of *aedēs* 'building, house' (pl. of *aedēs* 'temple', 22.13) and the root of *facere* 'do, make'.

Fr. *bâtir*, OFr. *bastir*, fr. a Gmc. \**bastjan* : OHG *bestan* 'bind', deriv. of OHG *bast*, OE *bæst* 'bast, inner bark of trees used for plaiting and building', hence orig. meaning 'work with bast, plait', then 'build houses by plaiting, build'. REW 981. Wartburg 1.278.

Rum. *clădi* 'lay in order, arrange' and hence 'build', fr. Slavic, ChSl. *klasti*, *kladati*, etc. 'lay, put' (12.12). Tiktin 371.

Rum. *zidi*, fr. Slavic, SCr. *zidati*, etc. (below, 6). Tiktin 1820.

3. Ir. *cunulgim* 'build, erect', fr. \**con-od-ding-* (cf. *digen* 'firm') : Lat. *ingere* 'mold, fashion', etc. (9.72). Pedersen 2.505 f.

Nlr. *foirgimighim*, cpd. of *for-* (: Grk. *τρέπω*) and *gni-* in *do-gnīm* 'do, make'.

W. *adeiladu*, deriv. of *adail*, *adeilad* 'building', prob. cpd. of *ail* 'wattling, plaited work' (whence *eilio* 'wattle, plait, construct'). Morris Jones, 390.

Br. *sevel* 'set up, raise' and hence 'build' : W. *sefyll* 'stand', Ir. *samaigim* 'place', fr. an *m*-formation of IE \**stā-* 'stand'. Walde-P. 2.606. Pedersen 1.79.

4. Goth. *timrjan*, ON *timbra*, OE *timbr(i)an*, OHG *zimbern*, *zimbarōn*, MHG *zimbern* (also 'hew' as NHG *zimmer*), derivs. of Goth. \**timrs*, ON *timbr*, OE *timber*, OHG *zimbar*, MHG *zimber* 'wood for building, timber' :

7. Skt. *nir-mā-* 'form, create, fashion, build', cpd. of *mā-* 'measure, mete out, fashion, make'. (9.72).

But 'build' also expressed by Skt. *kr-*

'make', and so regularly by the corresponding Av. and OPers. forms. Cf. OPers. *imam tačaram* (*imām hadiś*) *akunauš* 'built this palace'.

## 9.45 HEW

Grk. *πελεκῶν*  
NG *πελεκῶν*  
Lat. *dolāre*  
It. *tagliare*  
Fr. *tailler (doler)*  
Sp. *tajar, dolar, hachear*  
Rum. *dăia (dura)*  
Ir. *snoithim*  
Nlr. *naddu*  
W. *trouc'ha, bena*

Goth. (*mailan*)  
ON *hogga, telgja*  
Dan. *hugge*  
Sw. *hugga*  
OE *hēawan*  
ME *hewe*  
NE *hew*  
Du. *houwen*  
OHG *houwan*  
MHG *houwen, zimbern*  
NHG *zimmern, behauen*

'Hew', as distinguished from the more generic 'cut' (9.22), is understood here as applying to cutting with an ax or adze, either the cutting down of trees or especially the skilled trimming of wood in carpentry or of stone. Many of the words listed here are those that are still or have been used for 'cut' in general, and so have been discussed in 9.22. But there are some derivatives of words for 'ax', and one inherited group in which the specific sense of 'hew' is clearly the primary one.

1. IE \**tekʰ-*. Walde-P. 1.717.  
Skt. *takṣ-*, Av. *taṣ-*; Lith. *tašyti*, Lett. *tāst*; ChSl. *tesati*, etc., general Slavic. The same root is still more widespread in words for 'ax', 'adze' (9.25), or 'artisan, carpenter' (9.42, 9.43).

2. Grk. *πελεκῶν*, deriv. of *πέλεκυς* 'ax' (9.25).

3. Lat. *dolāre* (> OIt. *dolar*, Fr. *doler*, Sp. *dolar*, Rum. *dura*; REW 2718) : Skt. *dal-* 'split, burst', Grk. *δαίδαλος* 'artfully wrought', with extension, Ir. *dluigim* 'split' (9.27), ON *telgja* 'cut' (9.22), also Ir. *delb* 'form, image', *dolbaim* 'form, mold', Lat. *dōlium* 'vase, jar', IE \**del-*. Walde-P. 1.810. Ernout-M. 280. Walde-H. 1.364 f.

Sp. *hachear*, deriv. of *hacha* 'ax' (9.25).

4. Br. *benā*, esp. 'hew stone' : Ir. *benim* 'strike' (9.21).

5. MHG *zimbern*, NHG *zimmern*, see under 'build' (9.44).

For the other words listed see 9.22.

## 9.46 BORE

Grk. *τρέπανον, τέρεπον*  
NG *τρέπαν*  
Lat. *terebra*  
It. *forare*  
Fr. *percer*  
Sp. *taladrar, barrenar*  
Rum. *găuri*  
Ir. *tollaim*  
Nlr. *tollaim*  
W. *tyllu*  
Br. *loulla*

Goth. ....  
ON *bora*  
Dan. *bore*  
Sw. *borra*  
OE *borian*  
ME *bore*  
NE *bore*  
Du. *boren*  
OHG *borōn*  
MHG *born*  
NHG *bohren*

Lith. *gręžti (skverbti)*  
Lett. *urbt*  
ChSl. ....  
SCr. *būšiti, vrtjeti*  
Boh. *vrtati*  
Pol. *swidrować, wiercić*  
Russ. *buravit', sverlit'*  
Skt. *vidh-, gnath-*  
Av. ....

Grk. *τρέπανον, τέρεπον*  
NG *τρέπαν*  
Lat. *terebra*  
It. *trapano, succhiello*  
Fr. *tarière*  
Sp. *taladro, barrenar*  
Rum. *sfredel, burghiu*  
Ir. *tarathar*  
Nlr. *tarathar*  
W. *tarad, ebill, trwyddew*  
Br. *tarar*

Goth. ....  
ON *nafarr*  
Dan. *bor*  
Sw. *borr, navare*  
OE *na(b)igfār, bor*  
ME *navegar, nauer*  
NE *auger*  
Du. *boor, avegaar*  
OHG *nabagēr, bora*  
MHG *nabeger*  
NHG *bohrrer*

Words for 'auger', that is, the more generic words for a boring instrument (special terms for a small borer, like NE *gimlet*, are ignored) are partly from the verbs for 'bore' (or roots of similar source, 'turn, whirl'), partly connected with words for 'sharp' or some sharp instrument. A few are from various other sources, and there are several loanwords.

1. Derivs. of \**ter-*, etc. in words for 'bore' (9.46).

Grk. *τρέπανον* (cf. *τρέπῶν* 'bore'), whence MLat. *trepanum*, OIt. *trepano* (cf. Fr. *trépan* as surgical instrument), It. *trapano*, NG *τρέπαν*; Grk. *τέρεπον* (Hom.); Lat. *terebra*; Ir. *tarathar*, W. *taradr*, Br. *tarar, talar*, Latinized Gall. *taratrum*, whence OFr. *tarere*, Fr. *tarière* (with suffix change), Sp. *taladro*. Ernout-M. 1033. REW 8570, 8599.

2. It. *succhiello* (less commonly *succhio* in this sense) : *succhiare* 'suck', from the notion of sucking out the chips. REW 8417.

Sp. *barrena*, fr. Lat. *veruīna* 'spit, javelin' and later 'auger', deriv. of *veru* 'spit, javelin' : Ir. *bir* 'spit', Goth. *gairu* 'stake, thorn', etc. Walde-P. 1.689. REW 9261.

Rum. *sfredel*, fr. Slavic (below, 6).  
Rum. *burghiu*, fr. Turk. *burgu* 'auger' (cf. SCr. *burgija*, below, 6). Lokotsch 363.

3. Ir. *tarathar*, etc., above, 1.  
W. *ebill* (MBr. *ebil* 'peg, nail') : Lat. *aculeus* 'sting, spur, spine', *acer* 'sharp', OE *awel* 'awl', etc. Walde-P. 1.29. Walde-H. 1.11. -Stokes 5.

W. *trwyddew* : *trwyddedu* 'penetrate, pass' (now 'license'), deriv. of *trwy* 'through'.

4. ON *nafarr*, Sw. *navare*, OE *na(b)igfār*, ME *navegar*, *nauer*, NE *auger* (a *nauget* > *an auger*), Du. *avegaar*, OHG *nabagēr*, *nabugēr*, MHG *nabeger*, also (with metathesis through influence of OHG *nagal*, NHG *nagel* 'nail') OHG *nagabēr*, MHG *nageber*, fr. a Gmc. cpd. (\**naba-gaiza-*, *nabō-gaiza-*) of the elements seen in ON *naf*, OE *nafu*, OHG *naba* 'nave of a wheel' and ON *geirr*, OE *gār*, OHG *gēr* 'spear, pointed instrument', with orig. meaning 'sharp tool for boring through the nave of a wheel'.

5. Lith. *grąžtas* (cf. OFr. *granstis* id.) : *gręžti* 'turn, bore' (9.46).

Lett. *swarsts</*

*piela* 'saw, file' (obs.), *pielyčia* 'file', *peilyti* 'to file', loanword fr. the Gmc., word for 'file', OHG *fhala*, *fila*, MHG *vile*, NHG *feile*. Brückner 414. Buga Kalba ir Senovė 68, 187. (Trautmann 210 assumes orig. connection with Lith. *peilis* 'knife', but this is another loanword.)

SCR. *testera*, fr. Turk. *testere* 'saw'. Miklosich, Türk. El. 1.176. Skt. *krakaca*, of imitative orig., cf. *kraks* 'roar, crash', etc., *kpkara* 'a kind of partridge', etc. Walde-P. 1.413. Skt. *karapatra*, lit. 'hand-blade', cpd. of *kara* 'hand' and *patra* 'wing, feather, blade' (4.392).

## 9.49 HAMMER (sb.)

|      |                 |       |                    |       |                                   |
|------|-----------------|-------|--------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>σφύρα</i>    | Goth. | ....               | Lith. | <i>plaktukas</i> ( <i>kujis</i> ) |
| NG   | <i>σφύρι</i>    | ON    | <i>hamarr</i>      | Lett. | <i>amars, veseris</i>             |
| Lat. | <i>malleus</i>  | Dan.  | <i>hammer</i>      | ChSl. | <i>mlatā</i>                      |
| It.  | <i>martello</i> | Sw.   | <i>hammar(e)</i>   | SCR.  | <i>čekič</i>                      |
| Fr.  | <i>marteau</i>  | OE    | <i>hamor, bȳtl</i> | Boh.  | <i>kladivo</i>                    |
| Sp.  | <i>martillo</i> | ME    | <i>hamor</i>       | Pol.  | <i>mlot</i>                       |
| Rum. | <i>ciocan</i>   | NE    | <i>hammer</i>      | Russ. | <i>molot</i>                      |
| Ir.  | <i>ordd</i>     | Du.   | <i>hammer</i>      | Skt.  | <i>mudgara-, ghan-</i>            |
| Nir. | <i>casūr</i>    | OHG   | <i>hamar</i>       | Av.   | <i>(čakuš-)</i>                   |
| W.   | <i>morhwyl</i>  | MHG   | <i>hammer</i>      |       |                                   |
| Br.  | <i>morzol</i>   | NHG   | <i>hammer</i>      |       |                                   |

Words for 'hammer' (sb.) are mostly from roots meaning 'strike, beat, crush', but some are based on the material (as the Gmc. group reflects the primitive hammer of stone) or shape (as probably the Grk. *σφύρα*).

1. Grk. *σφύρα*, NG *σφύρι*, prob. fr. Grk. *σφύρον* 'ankle' through similarity of appearance. Walde-P. 2.668 f. Boisacq 931.

2. Lat. *malleus* (> Romance words meaning 'mall, mallet', etc.), with which is connected *martulus* (by dissim. fr. \**malto-*), late *martellus* (> It. *martello*, Fr. *marteau*, Sp. *martillo*), prob.: ChSl. *mlatā*, etc. (below, 6), and fr. the root of Lat. *molere* (cf. Umbr. *maletu* 'moltum'), ChSl. *mlēti* 'crush, grind', but much disputed in details. Walde-P. 2.287. Ernout-M. 582, 592. Walde-H. 2.16, 37.

Rum. *ciocan*, fr. Turk. *čakan* 'battle-ax', prob. through Slavic, cf. Bulg. *čekan* 'hammer', Russ. *čekan* 'punch, stamp' earlier 'battle-ax'. Tiktin 355. Lokotsch 384. Berneker 134 f.

3. Ir. *ordd* (Nir. *ord*, W. *gordd* 'sledge-

hammer', Br. *horz* 'mallet'), etym.? Pedersen 1.114. Stokes 52. Macbain 269.

Nir. *casūr*, prob. loanword fr. some unattested deriv. of NE *cass* or Fr. *casser* 'break'.

W. *morhwyl*, Br. *morzol*, fr. Lat. *martulus*, *martellus* (above, 2). Pedersen 1.239. Loth, Mots lat. 188.

4. ON *hamarr*, OE *hamor*, etc., general Gmc., orig. 'stone tool' (this meaning preserved in ON): Skt. *agman*, Lith. *akmuo*, ChSl. *kamy* 'stone' (1.44). Walde-P. 1.29 f. Falk-Torp 377 f.

OE *bȳtl(e)*: MLG *botel* 'hammer', MHG *bazel* 'flail', fr. the root of OE *bēatan*, OHG *bōz(e)an* 'strike, beat', etc. (9.21). Walde-P. 2.127.

5. Lith. *plaktukas*: *plakti* 'beat, whip', Lat. *plangere* 'beat (the breast)', wail', Grk. *πλῆσσω* 'strike', etc. Walde-P. 2.92.

Lith. *kugis*, *kujis* ('heavy hammer'), OPruss. *cugis*: late ChSl. *kujij* 'hammer, mallet', fr. root of Lith. *kauti* 'strike, beat, fight', ChSl. *kovati* 'hammer, forge',

etc. (9.61). Walde-P. 1.330. Berneker 676.

Lett. *amars, āmurs*, fr. MLG *hamer*: ON *hamarr*, etc. (above, 4). Mühl.-Endz. 1.238 f.

Lett. *veseris*, fr. Esth. *wasar* 'hammer'. Mühl.-Endz. 4.544.

6. ChSl. *mlatā*, Pol. *mlot(ek)*, Russ. *molot* (cf. SCR. *mlat* 'threshing flail', Boh. *mlat* 'mallet'), fr. the root of ChSl. *mlēti* 'crush, grind'. Berneker 2.73.

SCR. *čekič*, through Turk. *čekič* fr. NPers. *čakuš* (below, 7). Berneker 135. Boh. *kladivo* (also late ChSl.), prob.:

## 9.50 NAIL

|      |                     |       |                             |       |                    |
|------|---------------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | <i>ῥῖος</i>         | Goth. | ( <i>ga-nagljan</i> , vb.)  | Lith. | <i>vinis</i>       |
| NG   | <i>καρφί, πρύκα</i> | ON    | <i>nagli, saumr</i> (coll.) | Lett. | <i>nagla</i>       |
| Lat. | <i>clāvus</i>       | Dan.  | <i>søm</i>                  | ChSl. | <i>gvozdi</i>      |
| It.  | <i>chiodo</i>       | Sw.   | <i>spik</i>                 | SCR.  | <i>čavao</i>       |
| Fr.  | <i>clou</i>         | OE    | <i>nagel</i>                | Boh.  | <i>hřeb</i>        |
| Sp.  | <i>clavo</i>        | ME    | <i>nayl</i>                 | Pol.  | <i>g(w)óźdź</i>    |
| Rum. | <i>cuiu</i>         | NE    | <i>nail</i>                 | Russ. | <i>gvozď</i>       |
| Ir.  | <i>clā, tairnge</i> | Du.   | <i>spijker</i>              | Skt.  | ( <i>čaiñku-</i> ) |
| Nir. | <i>tairnge</i>      | OHG   | <i>nagel</i>                | Av.   | ....               |
| W.   | <i>hoel</i>         | MHG   | <i>nagel</i>                |       |                    |
| Br.  | <i>tach</i>         | NHG   | <i>nagel</i>                |       |                    |

The ancestor of the metal 'nail' was a wooden peg, and several of the words listed were also used for the latter in the early periods, while still others have cognates pointing to this as the earlier use. The identity with the 'nail' of fingers and toes is characteristic of Germanic.

1. Grk. *ῥῖος* (in Hom. 'nail-head, stud' as an ornament), Dor. *ῥῖος*, Aeol. *ῥῖος* (cf. γῆλον, Hesych.), prob.:

Lat. *vallum* 'stake, palisade', this perh. with Goth. *walus* 'staff', ON *vǫlr* 'round staff', etc., fr. IE \**uel-* in Lat. *volvere*, Goth. *-uvalvan* 'roll', etc. Walde-P. 1.301. Ernout-M. 1072.

Byz. *καρφίον*, NG *καρφί*, dim. of Grk. *κάρφος* 'dry stalk': *κάρφω* 'dry up'.

NG *πρύκα* ('shoemaker's peg', 'tack', but also common for 'nail'), earlier

*μπρύκα*, fr. It. *brocca* 'forked stick'. G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 4.64.

2. Lat. *clāvus* (whence, partly through VLat. \**claus*, It. *chiodo*, Fr. *clou*, Sp. *clavo*): Ir. *clō* 'nail', Lat. *clāvis*, Grk. *κλεις*, ChSl. *ključī* 'key', orig. 'peg for fastening' (7.24). Walde-P. 1.492. Ernout-M. 194. Walde-H. 1.229 f. REW 1984.

Rum. *cuiu*, fr. Lat. *cuneus* 'wedge'. REW 2396.

3. Ir. *clō*: Lat. *clāvus* (above, 2).

Mr., Nir. *tairnge*: Gall. *tarinea*, *taringa* 'iron spike', fr. the same root as Ir. *tarathar* 'auger' (9.47). Marstrand, Festschr. til Alf Torp 242 f.

W. *hoel*, perh. fr. \**soḡhlā-*, deriv. of IE \**seḡh-* 'hold' in Grk. *εἶχω*, etc. Walde-P. 2.482. Stokes 297.

The supporting or carrying element in the construction of wooden buildings, originally the squared timber of a tree, is often denoted by the word for 'tree', or some kind of tree (Ir. *sail* 'willow') or 'timber'. Or it may be named for its function as the 'supporter, carrier', or 'binder'.

1. Grk. *δοκός*, NG *δοκάρι*, orig. 'supporter, holder': *-δοκος*, in *ιο-δοκος* 'holding arrows', *οινο-δοκος* 'holding wine', etc., *δοχή* 'receptacle', *δέχομαι*, *δέχομαι* 'receive, hold'. Walde-P. 1.783.

NG *πατέρο* (or *πάτερο*), deriv. of *πάτος* 'bottom, floor'. G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 2.86.

NG also *γερνιά* fr. Slavic (SCR. *greda*, etc., below, 6), and *πρύκα* fr. Ital. *trave*.

2. Lat. *trabs* (> It. *trave*, OFr. *tréf*, Sp. *trabe* obs.), prob.: Osc. *trībūm* 'house, building', Umbr. *trebeit* 'abides, is stationed', Ir. *treb* 'dwelling', *atreba* 'dwells', Lith. *troba* 'building', OE *þorp*, OHG *dorf* 'village', etc., but the semantic relation of Lat. *trabs* to the other words is far from clear. Walde-P. assumes that the primary meaning was 'beam', whence 'beam-construction, building'. But the meaning 'beam' is confined to the Latin word and more likely secondary. Possibly to be explained either as part for the whole applied to the main structural element of a building, or as though the notion

'dwell' (as in Irish), 'be stationed' (as Umbr. *trebeit*) applied to the most substantial part of the structure. Walde-P. 1.757. Ernout-M. 1050.

Fr. *poutre*, earlier meaning (in OFr. and into 16th. cent.) 'young mare', fr. VLat. *pultier* (cf. Niedermann, Mne-mos. 1936.270 f.), deriv. of Lat. *pullus* 'young of animals, foal' (3.45). The semantic change prob. reflects the practice of ornamenting the ends of beams with carved horses' heads, etc., as similarly

OIt. *poltro* 'bed' and *poltrona* 'armchair'. REW 6825. Sp. *erber*, Wört. u. Sach. 2.190 f. Otherwise, comparing the secondary uses of animal names, like Fr. *chèvre*, *bélier*, etc. (cf. also NE *sawhorse*, *clotheshorse*, etc.). Bloch 2.176.

Sp. *viga*, fr. Lat. *biga* 'pair, team of horses' (cf. *bijugus* 'yoked two together') through 'wooden yoke'. REW 1095.

Rum. *btrna*, *grinda*, both fr. Slavic, cf. ChSl. *brāvūno*, etc., SCR. *greda*, etc. (below, 6).

3. Ir. *trost* (Nir. *trost* 'staff'), W. *traust*, Br. *treust*, fr. Lat. *trāstrum* 'cross-beam', deriv. of *trāns* 'across'. Pedersen 1.203.

Ir. *craun* 'tree, wood' (1.42), hence also 'beam'.

Ir. *sail* 'willow', Nir. also 'beam, club': Lat. *salix*, OE *sealh*, etc. 'willow'. Walde-P. 2.454.

4. Goth. *ans*, ON *äss*: MHG *ans-baum* 'bridge-beam', further connections dub. Walde-P. 1.133. Falk-Torp 9. Feist 52.

ON *bjalki* (rare), Dan. *bjælke*, Sw. *bjälke*; with different grade OE *balca*, ME *balke*, Du. *balk*, OHG *balca*, MHG *balke*, NHG *balken*: ON *bolr* 'tree-trunk', Grk. *φάλαγξ* 'log, block, line of battle', Lith. *balžiena* 'beam on a harrow', Russ. (dial.) *bolozno* 'thick board'; root connection dub. Walde-P. 2.181. Falk-Torp 76 f.

OE *bēam* 'tree, pillar, beam', ME *beem*, NE *beam*, OHG *baum* 'tree, pole, beam' (NHG *baum* 'tree'): Goth. *bagms* 'tree', etc. (1.42).

ON *trē*, OE *trēow* 'tree, wood' (1.42), hence also 'beam' (cf. NE *azletree*, *single-tree*, etc.).

5. Lith. *balkis*, Lett. *bal'k'is*, fr. MLG *balke*: NHG *balken*, etc. (above, 4).

Lith. *sija*: Lett. *siel*, etc. 'bind' (9.16).

Lith. *raštās*, prob.: *rešti* 'cut, notch',

as something 'cut off' or 'trimmed'. H. Petersson, IF 24.277.

6. ChSl. *brāvūno*, Boh. *břevno*, Pol. *bierwiono*, Russ. *brevno*, prob.: ON *brā*, OE *brycg*, OHG *bruoca*, Gall. *briva* 'bridge', root connection? Walde-P. 2.207 f. Berneker 92.

ChSl. \**greda* (Russ.-ChSl. *grjada*), SCR. *greda*: Boh. *hřada* 'pole', Lith. *grinda* 'floor-board', Lat. *grunda*, *sug-grunda* 'eaves', ON *grind* 'lattice-work, door', etc., root connection? Walde-P. 1.657. Walde-H. 1.623 f. Berneker 348 f.

Av. *čakuš-* (quotable only as a weapon, but cf. NPers. *čakuš* 'hammer'), etym.? Walde-P. 1.381.

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Av. *čakuš-* (quotable only as a weapon, but cf. NPers. *čakuš* 'hammer'), etym.? Walde-P. 1.381.

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Av. *čakuš-* (quotable only as a weapon, but cf. NPers. *čakuš* 'hammer'), etym.? Walde-P. 1.381.

Av. *čakuš-* (quotable only as a weapon, but cf. NPers. *čakuš* 'hammer'), etym.? Walde-P. 1.381.

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Av. *čakuš-* (quotable only as a weapon, but cf. NPers. *čakuš* 'hammer'), etym.? Walde-P. 1.381.

Av. *čakuš-* (quotable only as a weapon, but cf. NPers. *čakuš* 'hammer'), etym.? Walde-P. 1.381.

Av. *čakuš-* (quotable only as a weapon, but cf. NPers. *čakuš* 'hammer'), etym.? Walde-P. 1.381.

ME (late) *bryke, brike*, NE *brick*, fr. Fr. *brique* (above, 2).

Dan. *mursten*, fr. MLG *mürstēn*, cpd. of *mür* 'wall' and *stēn* 'stone'. Falk-Torp 741.

Du. *baksteen*, NHG *backstein*, cpds. of words for 'bake' and 'stone'.

5. Lith. *plyta*, fr. Pol. *plyta* 'slab' (below, 6). Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 119.

Lett. *kieg'elis*, prob. by assim. fr. *tieg'elis* (dial.), fr. MLG *tegel*: MHG, NHG *ziegel* (above, 4). Mühl-Endz. 2.390, 4.209.

6. Late ChSl. *plinūta, plita* (Pol., Ukr. *plyta* 'slab' > Lith. *plyta* 'brick'),

fr. Grk. *πλῆθος* (above, 1). Brückner 423.

Scr. *opeka*: *opeči* 'burn', *peči* 'bake'. Scr. *cipla*, Boh. *cihla*, Pol. *cegla*, fr. MHG, NHG *ziegel* (above, 4). Brückner 57.

Russ. *kirpič* (Scr. *čerpīč* 'unbaked brick'), fr. Turk. *kərpič* 'unbaked brick'. Berneker 501. Lokotsch 1184.

7. Skt. *iṣṭakā*, Av. *iṣṭya*, OPers. *iṣṭi-* (Dar. Sus. f. 29), NPers. *zišt*, prob. fr. *\*iṣṭh-s-to*: Skt. *iṣṭh*, Grk. *αἶσθ* 'kindle', etc. Walde-P. 1.6. Johansen, IF 19.136.

## 9.55 MORTAR

|      |                           |       |         |       |                        |
|------|---------------------------|-------|---------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | (ῥῆλος, κορία)            | Goth. | ....    | Lith. | kalkiū glaistas        |
| NG   | ῥῆλος                     | ON    | ....    | Lett. | mertēlis               |
| Lat. | calz arēnātus, mortarium  | Dan.  | mørter  | ChSl. | ....                   |
| It.  | calceina, malta           | Sw.   | mörbruk | Scr.  | malter                 |
| Fr.  | mortier                   | OE    | ....    | Boh.  | malta                  |
| Sp.  | argamasa, mezcra, mortero | ME    | mortier | Pol.  | zaprawa wapienna, etc. |
| Rum. | tencuealā                 | NE    | mortar  | Russ. | izvestkovyj rastvor    |
| Ir.  | ....                      | Du.   | mörtel  | Skt.  | (lepa-, sudhā-)        |
| Nir. | mōirēal                   | OHG   | ....    | Av.   | ....                   |
| W.   | cymrud                    | MHG   | mortier |       |                        |
| Br.  | priraz                    | NHG   | mörtel  |       |                        |

Mortar in the technical sense of a mixture of lime and sand was known to the Greeks and Romans, and spread thence, with brick construction, to northern Europe. The majority of the European words are of Latin origin. Several contain the words for 'lime' or 'sand' or both. But as mortar was a substitute for clay, previously used for the same purpose, some words for 'clay, mud' or the like came to be used also for 'mortar'. Some languages have no single word for 'mortar' but make use of expressions meaning lit. 'mason's sauce', 'lime-cement', etc.

1. Grk. *πηλός* 'clay' (9.73), used for clay serving as mortar and then prob. for true mortar, for which also *πηλός*

*ἡχυρομένος* 'clay mixed with chaff', IG 27.463.42.

Grk. *κορία* 'dust', also 'lime, plaster' (hence *κορία* 'to plaster', *κορίασις* 'plastering, stucco-work' in building inscriptions), also 'mortar'(?); *ἀμμοκορία* (rare) 'sand mixed with lime, cement' (cf. *ἀμμος* 'sand'): *κόνης* 'dust, ashes', Lat. *cinis* 'ashes', etc. Walde-P. 1.392.

NG *λάσπη* 'mud' (1.214), also 'mortar'.

2. Lat. *calz* (*h*)*arēnātus* 'lime mixed with sand, mortar', also (*h*)*arēnātum* alone as sb. 'mortar', cf. *calz* 'lime' and (*h*)*arēna* 'sand'.

Lat. *mortārium* 'a mortar' in which substances are pounded and crushed, hence also 'that which is crushed in a

mortar' and 'mortar for building' (> Fr. *mortier*, Sp. *mortero* in both senses), prob. fr. the root seen in Skt. *mṛ-* 'crush, destroy', ON *merja* 'bruise, crush', etc. Walde-P. 2.276.

It. *calcina*, deriv. of Lat. *calz* 'lime'.

It. *malta*, fr. Lat. *maltha* 'a kind of cement' (Pliny), borrowed fr. Grk. *μάθη* 'a mixture of wax and pitch': *μαλάκος* 'soft', Goth. *mulda*, OE *molde* 'dust, earth', Skt. *mṛd-* 'clay, loam' (9.73). Walde-P. 2.289. Walde-H. 2.17.

Sp. *argamasa* (Cat., Port. *argamassa*), cpd. of *masa* 'mass, dough, mortar', but first part dub. (relation to Lat. *argilla* 'clay' difficult).

Sp. *mezcla* 'mixture' (5.17), commonly used by the workmen for 'mortar'.

Rum. *tencuealā* 'plaster, mortar', deriv. of *tencui* 'cover with plaster or mortar', fr. NHG *tünchen* 'cover with lime, whitewash, plaster' through Pol. *tyncować*. Tiktin 1577.

3. Nir. *mōirēal*, with dissim. fr. NE *mortar* (below, 4).

W. *cymrud*, etym.? (cpd. of *cym-* 'together' and *rhud* 'sediment, rust, dung water'?).

Br. *priraz*, cpd. of *pri* 'clay' (9.73) and *raz* 'lime'.

4. MHG *mortier*, with dissim. Dan.

*mörtel*, Du. *mortel*, NHG *mörtel*, fr. Lat. *mortārium* (above, 2) in second sense only.

ME *morter*, NE *mortar* (both senses), fr. Fr. *mortier* (above, 2).

Sw. *murbruk*, cpd. of *mur* 'wall' and *-bruk*, this prob. the same word as *bruk* 'use'. Hellquist 102.

5. Lith. *kalkiū glaistas* (NSB, s.v. *kalkės*), lit. 'lime-cement'. Also Lith. *murininko košė*, lit. 'mason's pap', like Pol. *zaprawa mularska* (below, 6).

Lett. *mertelis*, fr. NHG *mörtel* (above, 4).

6. Boh. *malta*, Scr. *malta* (obs.), now *malter*, fr. It. *malta* (above, 2). Berneker 2.12 f.

Pol. *zaprawa mularska*, lit. 'mason's sauce', and *zaprawa wapienna* 'lime sauce'.

Russ. *izvestkovyj rastvor*, lit. 'lime solution'.

7. Whether true mortar was known in ancient India may be doubted, but the following words that are used for 'plaster' may be noted:

Skt. *lepa-* 'smearing, plaster': *lip-* 'smear, etc.'.

Skt. *sudhā-* 'nectar, milk' hence 'whitewash, plaster', cpd. of *su-* 'well, good' and *dhā-* 'suck, drink'.

## 9.60 SMITH

|      |                     |       |               |       |                     |
|------|---------------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | χαλκείος            | Goth. | aiasmīþa      | Lith. | kalkiū              |
| NG   | γῆφτος (σὶδηουργός) | ON    | (jǫrnn-)smiðr | Lett. | kalejs              |
| Lat. | faber (ferrārius)   | Dan.  | smed          | ChSl. | kovač               |
| It.  | fabbro              | Sw.   | smed          | Scr.  | kovač               |
| Fr.  | forgeron            | OE    | smiþ          | Boh.  | kovač               |
| Sp.  | herrero             | ME    | smith         | Pol.  | kovał               |
| Rum. | făurar, fierar      | NE    | smith         | Russ. | kuznec              |
| Ir.  | goba                | Du.   | smid          | Skt.  | kārmāra-, lohakāra- |
| Nir. | gabha               | OHG   | smid          | Av.   | ....                |
| W.   | gof                 | MHG   | smid          |       |                     |
| Br.  | gov                 | NHG   | schmied       |       |                     |

Words for 'smith, metalworker' are in part derived from the verbs for 'hammer, forge'. Some are the words for 'artisan' or 'worker' in specialized use, while others show generalization from worker in a particular metal, as copper or iron.

1. Grk. *χαλκείος*, orig. 'worker in copper', generalized, already in Hom., to 'worker in any metal, smith', deriv. of *χαλκός* 'copper, bronze' (9.66).

Grk. *σὶδηουργός* (rare) 'ironworker', NG lit. in part also 'smith', cpd., like *ἐξολουργός* 'woodworker', of *σῖδηρος* 'iron' (9.67).

NG pop. *γῆφτος* 'gypsy' (fr. Αἰγύπτιος 'Egyptian'; D. Georgacas, Glotta 27.159) and hence 'smith', since the gypsies were the common tinkers (as, conversely, NE *tinker* is the common name for a gypsy in Scotland, cf. NED s.v.).

2. Lat. *faber* (> It. *fabbro*, Rum. *făur, făurar*, see 9.42; also *faber ferrārius* or simply *ferrārius* (> It. *ferraio*, Sp. *herrero*, Rum. *fierar*), deriv. of *ferrum* 'iron' (9.67). REW 3120, 3257.

Fr. *forgeron*, deriv. of *forger* 'forge' (9.61).

3. Ir. *goba* (stem *gobann-*), Nir. *gabha*, W. *gof*, Br. *gov* (cf. Gall. *Gobannio*,

*Gobannilo*), etym.? Thurneysen, Gram. 209. Pedersen 2.112.

4. Goth. *aiasmīþa* 'smith' (cf. *aiza* 'bronze'), ON *smiðr* 'artisan', also 'metalworker' (also *jǫrnnsmiðr*, with *jǫrnn* 'iron'), Dan., Sw. *smed*, OE *smiþ*, ME, NE *smith* (also *goldsmith, coppersmith*, etc., and *blacksmith* 'worker in black metal', i.e. iron), Du. *smid*, OHG *smid*, *smeidar* (also *ēr-, gold-, isarn-smid*), MHG *smit*, NHG *schmied*: ON *smiða* 'make, forge', etc. Prob. specialization of generic 'artisan' (as in ON). See 9.42 and NED s.v. *smith*.

5. Lith. *kaleis*, Lett. *kalejs*: Lith. *kalti*, Lett. *kalt* 'hammer, forge' (9.61).

6. Late ChSl. *kovač*, *kovač*, Scr. *kovač*, Boh. *kovač*, Pol. *kował*, Russ. dial. *kovač*, *kovač*, with different formation Russ. *kuznec*: ChSl. *kovati* 'hammer, forge', etc. (9.61). Berneker 593, 655.

7. Skt. *kārmāra* 'smith' (as opposed to 'woodworker', cf. RV 9.112.2, 10.72.2), prob. as specialized fr. 'worker': *karma-* 'work, deed, etc.', *kr-* 'do, make'. Uhlenbeck 47.

Skt. *lohakāra-*, cpd. of *loha-* 'copper' (9.66) and *kāra-*: *kr-* 'do, make'.

## 9.61 FORGE (vb.)

|      |                   |       |                |       |               |
|------|-------------------|-------|----------------|-------|---------------|
| Grk. | χαλκείω           | Goth. | ....           | Lith. | kalti         |
| NG   | σφυρηλατώ         | ON    | smiða          | Lett. | kalt          |
| Lat. | fabricāre, cūdere | Dan.  | smede          | ChSl. | kovati        |
| It.  | fabricare         | Sw.   | smida          | Scr.  | kovač         |
| Fr.  | forger            | OE    | smiþian        | Boh.  | kouti, kovati |
| Sp.  | forjar, fraguar   | ME    | smithie, forge | Pol.  | kuć, kować    |
| Rum. | făuri             | NE    | forge          | Russ. | kovač         |
| Ir.  | ....              | Du.   | smieden        | Skt.  | (ghataya-)    |
| Nir. | oibrighim         | OHG   | smieden        | Av.   | ....          |
| W.   | orthwuylio        | MHG   | smiden         |       |               |
| Br.  | govetia           | NHG   | schmieden      |       |               |

The principal activity of a smith, that of shaping and fashioning articles from heated metals by hammering or beating, is usually denoted by verbs for 'strike,

beat', or by derivatives of words for 'hammer' or 'smith'.

1. Grk. *χαλκείω*, deriv. of *χαλκός* 'smith' (9.60).

Grk. (rare), NG *σφυρηλατώ* 'hammer, beat out, forge', deriv. of *σφυρήλατος* 'wrought with the hammer', cpd. of *σφύρα* 'hammer' and the vbl. adj. of *ἐλαίνω* 'drive, strike, forge'.

2. Lat. *fabricāre* (> It. *fabbricare* 'make, build, forge', Fr. *forger*, Sp. *fraguar*), general word for 'make of wood, stone, metal' but often spec. 'forge' (cf. *fabrica* 'trade, workshop', esp. 'smithy'), deriv. of *faber* 'artisan, smith' (9.42).

Lat. *cūdere* 'strike, hammer, forge', also *prociudere*, *excūdere* 'beat out, forge': ChSl. *kovati*, etc. (below, 6). Ernout-M. 238 f. Walde-H. 1.300 f.

Sp. *forjar*, deriv. of *forja* 'smithy', fr. Fr. *forge*, this fr. Lat. *fabrica* (above). REW 3121.

Rum. *făuri*, deriv. of *făur* 'smith' (9.42).

3. Nir. *oibrighim* 'work, work on' (9.13), also spec. 'work on metals, forge'.

W. *orthwuylio* 'hammer, beat, forge', deriv. of *orthwyl* 'hammer' (9.49).

Br. *govetia*, deriv. of *govet* 'smithy', fr. *gov* 'smith' (9.60).

4. ON *smiða* 'make, forge', Dan. *smede*, Sw. *smida* 'forge', OE *smiþian*

'make of wood or metal', ME *smithie*, Du. *smeden* 'forge', OHG *smidōn* 'make, forge', MHG *smiden*, NHG *schmieden* 'forge': Goth. *gasmīþōn* 'effect, cause', all prob. first used of woodwork (cf. also 9.42, 9.60) and fr. a root *\*smēl-* 'cut, hew' (?) seen in Grk. *σμήλη* 'knife for carving', *σμωνή* 'hoe' or 'mattock'. Walde-P. 2.686. Falk-Torp 1077 f. Feist 31 f.

ME, NE *forge*, fr. Fr. *forger* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *kalti*, *nukalti*, Lett. *kalt* 'hammer, forge': Lith. *kulti* 'thrash', Lett. *kult* 'beat, thrash', Grk. *κλάω* 'break', ChSl. *klati* 'prick, pierce, kill', etc. Walde-P. 1.437.

6. ChSl. Scr. *kovati*, Boh. *kouti*, *kovač*, Pol. *kuć*, *kować*, Russ. *kovač* 'hammer, forge': Lat. *cūdere* (above, 2), Lith. *kauti* 'strike, beat, fight', ON *hoggva* 'cut, hew', etc. (9.22). Walde-P. 1.330. Berneker 593.

7. Skt. *ghataya-* 'unite, fashion, make', sometimes used for making something of metal, caus. of *ghat-* 'strive, unite, take place'. Apparently no technical word for 'forge'.

## 9.62 ANVIL

|      |              |       |                 |       |             |
|------|--------------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------------|
| Grk. | ἀκμων        | Goth. | ....            | Lith. | priekalas   |
| NG   | ἀκμων, ἀμόνι | ON    | steði           | Lett. | lakta       |
| Lat. | incūs        | Dan.  | ambolt          | ChSl. | nakoval     |
| It.  | anvil        | Sw.   | stād            | Scr.  | nakovanj    |
| Fr.  | enclume      | OE    | anfill          | Boh.  | kovadlo     |
| Sp.  | yunque       | ME    | anvill (stithi) | Pol.  | kowadło     |
| Rum. | nicovală     | NE    | anvil           | Russ. | kovaval'nja |
| Ir.  | indēin       | Du.   | anvill          | Skt.  | ....        |
| Nir. | inneoin      | OHG   | anvill          | Av.   | ....        |
| W.   | ein(g)ion    | MHG   | anvill, anabōz  |       |             |
| Br.  | anneo        | NHG   | amboss          |       |             |

Most of the words for 'anvil' belong to roots for 'strike, beat', in part the same as for 'forge'. One small group is based on the notion of 'stationary, firmly fixed', and another word probably on

that of 'raised place'. The Greek word reflects a primitive anvil of stone.

1. Grk. *ἀκμων*, NG pop. *ἀμόνι* (fr. *ἀκμόνιον*): Skt. *aṣṭman-*, Lith. *akmuo*, ChSl. *kamy*, etc. 'stone'. (1.44).

2. Lat. *incūs*, *-ūdis* (VLat. *\*incūdine* > It. *incudine*, *ancudine*, Fr. *encume*, Sp. *yunque*): (*in*)*cūdere* 'strike, hammer, forge' (9.61). Ernout-M. 238. REW 4367.

Rum. *nicovală*, fr. Slav. ChSl. *nakoval* (below, 6).

3. Ir. *indēin*, indeoin, Nir. *inneoin*, W. *ein(g)ion*, Br. *anneo*, fr. a cpd., first part Ir. *ind-*, etc., second part dub. Thurneysen, IF 4.274 f. Pedersen 1.114.

4. ON *steði* (> ME *stithi*), Sw. *stād*, through the notion of 'something firmly fixed', fr. IE *\*sta-* 'stand'. Walde-P. 2.605. Falk-Torp 1155. Hellquist 1103.

The other Gmc. words are from cpds. of *ana-* 'on' with roots meaning 'strike'. They are thus similar to, and perh. modeled upon, Lat. *incūs* (above, 2).

## 9.63 CAST (Metals)

|      |                  |       |              |       |       |
|------|------------------|-------|--------------|-------|-------|
| Grk. | χαυνέω           | Goth. | ....         | Lith. | lieti |
| NG   | χύνω             | ON    | steypa       | Lett. | liet  |
| Lat. | fundere          | Dan.  | støbe        | ChSl. | ....  |
| It.  | fondere, gettare | Sw.   | gjuta, stöpa | Scr.  | ....  |
| Fr.  | fondre           | OE    | geotan       | Boh.  | liti  |
| Sp.  | fundir           | ME    | gete, caste  | Pol.  | lać   |
| Rum. | turna            | NE    | cast (found) | Russ. | lit'  |
| Ir.  | ....             | Du.   | gielen       | Skt.  | stic- |
| Nir. | teilgim          | OHG   | giezan       | Av.   | hič-  |
| W.   | burw             | MHG   | giezen       |       |       |
| Br.  | teuzi            | NHG   | gießen       |       |       |

Words for 'cast' in the technical sense of forming metal objects by pouring the molten metal into molds are mostly the same as, or related to, those for 'pour' (9.35). But some are from 'throw, cast' (into the mold).

1. Grk. *χαυνέω*, *χυνέω*, deriv. of *χύνω* 'smelting pot, mold for casting', fr. the root of *χύνω* 'pour' (9.35), whence also NG *χύνω* 'pour' and 'cast'.

2. Lat. *fundere* 'pour' (9.35), also 'cast', and specialized to 'cast, smelt, melt' in It. *fondere*, Fr. *fondre*, Sp. *fundir*. It. *gettare* 'throw, cast (metals)', fr.

OE *anfill*, ME *anvill*, NE *anvil*, OHG *anafalz*, MLG *anebelle*, *ambolt* (> Dan. *ambolt*), Du. *aanbeeld*: Lat. *pellere* 'strike, beat, drive', etc. Walde-P. 2.57, 184. Franck-v.W. 3. NED s.v. *anvil*.

OHG *anabōz*, MHG *anebōz*, NHG *amboss*: OHG *bōzan*, OE *bēatan* 'strike, beat', etc. (9.21). Walde-P. 2.127. Weigand-H. 1.49.

5. Lith. *priekalas*: *kalti* 'hammer, forge' (9.61).

Lett. *lakta*, prob. the same word as *lakta* 'perch' (: *lekt* 'fly') and 'raised place'. No etym. in Mühl-Endz. 2.417.

6. ChSl. *nakoval*, *nakovālnō*, Scr. *nakovanj*, Boh. (na)*kovadlo*, (na)*kovadlino*, Pol. (na)*kowadło*, Russ. *nakoval'nja*: ChSl. *kovati* 'hammer, forge', etc. (9.61). Berneker 593.

VLat. *\*iectāre*, Lat. *iectāre* 'throw, hurl'. REW 4568.

Rum. *turna* 'pour in' (9.35) and 'cast'. 3. Nir. *teilgim* 'throw, cast' (10.25), and by semantic borrowing fr. NE *cast* also 'cast metals' (into the mold).

W. *burw* 'throw' and by semantic borrowing fr. NE *cast* also 'cast metals': Ir. *di-bairgim</*



prob. 'bronze' in Rigveda (Zimmer, Altind. Leben 51 f. Macdonell-Keith 1.31 f.), later 'iron', Av. *ayah-* 'bronze' (as shown by epithets 'yellow, golden'; cf. Geiger, Ostiran. Kultur 148), later 'iron' as NPers. *āhan*.

2. Grk. *χαλκός*, prob. a loanword and possibly fr. the same source as Lith. *geležis* 'iron', etc. (9.67). Walde-P. 1.629. Boisacq 1049.

NG pop. *μασίρι*, like SCr. *bakar*, fr. Turk. *bakır* 'copper'. Lokotsch 193. Berneker 40.

3. Lat. *aes Cyprium* 'aes from Cyprus', like *aes Corinthium*, *aes Campanum* (cf. *vāsa Campāna* 'vessels of Campanian bronze', source of It. *campāna* 'bell'). Hence late Lat. *cuprum* 'copper', whence Fr. *cuivre* (> Br. *kouevr*), Sp. *cobre*, Rum. *cupru*, and the Gmc. words, OE *copor* (rare), OHG *kupfar*, etc., also W. *copr* (fr. ME) and Lett. *kapars* (fr. LG).

4. It. *bronzo*, whence NG *μπρουντζος*, Fr. *bronze*, and similar forms in nearly all the present European languages, orig. disputed, best derived, not fr. Pers. *biring* 'copper' (as REW 1113, etc.), but fr. *aes Brundisium*. The best bronze mirrors were made at Brundisium (*specula Brundisina*, Pliny 33.130) and Byz. *βροντήσιον* 'bronze' occurs in the works of the alchemists (e.g. Berthelot, Alchimistes grecs 376.25). Berthelot, Rev. arch. 1888.295 ff. Wartburg 1.373 says 'Aes Brundisium wäre sachlich gerecht-

fertigt, aber lautlich unmöglich". But the phonetic difficulty seems less than that in the deriv. fr. Pers. *biring*, esp. in the *o*-vowel admittedly unexplained.

5. Ir. *umae* (also *crēdumae*, cpd. of *crēd* 'tin', Windisch, Wtb. s.v., K. Meyer, Contrib. 509, 511), Nlr. *umha*, OW *emid*, W. *efydd* : Ir. *om*, W. of 'raw', hence orig. 'raw ore'. Pedersen 1.166.

6. OE *bras* (both this and *ār* render Lat. *aes*. Cf. Aelfric, Gram. *aes*, *bras* *oððe ar*), ME *bras* (> Nlr. *prās*, W. *pres*), NE brass with change of application, etym.?

OHG *aruz*(zi), *erize*, MHG *arze*, *erze*, NHG *erz* 'raw metal, ore', now often 'bronze', etym. dub. Schrader, Reallex. 1.262. Walde-P. 2.360.

7. Lith. *varis*, Lett. *varš*, OPruss *wargien* 'copper', also Lith. *žalvaris* 'bronze' (cpd. of *žalias* 'green'), perh. loanword from a language of the Finnish group. Schrader, Reallex. 1.262. Mühl-Endz. 4.484.

8. ChSl. *mědi*, etc., general Slavic (SCr. also *bakar*, see above, 2), etym. dub. Berneker 46. Walde-P. 2.222.

Pol. *spiz* 'bronze', fr. MHG *spise* 'food' and also 'metal ready for casting' as in NHG *glockenspeise* 'bell-metal'. Brückner 509. Weigand-H. 2.908.

9. Skt. *loha-*, *lohāyasa-*, *lohīṭāyasa-* 'copper' (cf. Macdonell-Keith 1.31 f.) : *loha-* 'red' beside *rohita-*, *rudhira-* 'red', etc. Walde-P. 2.358 f.

Skt. *ayas-*, Av. *ayah-*, above, 1.

## 9.67 IRON

|      |               |       |  |       |                        |
|------|---------------|-------|--|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | σίδηρος       | Goth. | <i>eisarn</i>                            | Lith. | <i>geležis</i>         |
| NG   | σίδηρος       | ON    | <i>isarn</i> , <i>járn</i>               | Lett. | <i>dzelzs</i>          |
| Lat. | <i>ferrum</i> | Dan.  | <i>jærn</i>                              | ChSl. | <i>želzo</i>           |
| It.  | <i>ferro</i>  | Sw.   | <i>járn</i>                              | SCr.  | <i>željezo, gvožde</i> |
| Fr.  | <i>fer</i>    | OE    | <i>isern</i> , <i>isen</i> , <i>iren</i> | Boh.  | <i>železo</i>          |
| Sp.  | <i>hierro</i> | ME    | <i>iren</i>                              | Pol.  | <i>żelazo</i>          |
| Rum. | <i>fier</i>   | NE    | <i>iron</i>                              | Russ. | <i>železo</i>          |
| Ir.  | <i>iarn</i>   | Du.   | <i>ijzer</i>                             | Skt.  | <i>ayas-</i>           |
| Nlr. | <i>iarann</i> | OHG   | <i>isarn</i> , <i>isan</i>               | Av.   | <i>ayah-</i>           |
| W.   | <i>haearn</i> | MHG   | <i>isern</i> , <i>isen</i>               |       |                        |
| Br.  | <i>houarn</i> | NHG   | <i>eisen</i>                             |       |                        |

The use of iron is comparatively late in history, long after the period of IE unity. Most of the words are of obscure origin. The only agreement between the different branches of IE is that between Celtic and Gmc., which reflects prehistoric borrowing.

1. The Celtic and Gmc. group. Walde-P. 1.4. Schrader, Reallex. 1.235 f. Feist 131. Pokorny, KZ 46.292 ff., 49.126. Walde-H. 1.19 f.

Ir. *iarn*, Nlr. *iarann*, W. *haearn*, Br. *houarn*, fr. a Celt. \**isarnon* (cf. Gall. *Isarnus*, etc.), whence the Gmc. group, Goth. *eisarn*, ON *isarn* (the more common ON *járn* by later borrowing fr. Ir. *iarn*), OE *isern*, *isen*, OE, ME *iren*, NE *iron*, OHG *isarn*, *isan*, NHG *eisen*, etc.

The Celt. \**isarnon* perh. itself of Illyrian origin (there is a similar Illyr. river name, and the Hallstatt iron finds are earlier than the Celtic) and : Skt. *iṣira-* 'strong'.

SCr. also *gvožde*, deriv. of old *gvozid* 'nail' (9.51), hence orig. 'nail material'. Berneker 366.

5. Skt. *ayas-*, Av. *ayah-* : Lat. *aes*, etc. See 9.66.

Skt. *gyāma-* 'black' is used with *ayas-* or alone for 'iron'. Macdonell-Keith 1.31 f.

2. Grk. *σίδηρος*, NG pop. *σίδερο* neut., prob. a loanword, but source unknown. Schrader, Reallex. 1.239.

3. Lat. *ferrum* (> Romance words), orig. dub., loanword fr. Semitic (?). Schrader, Reallex. 1.240. Ernout-M. 352. Walde-H. 1.486.

4. Lith. *geležis*, Lett. *dzelzs*, OPruss. *gelso*, ChSl. *želzo*, general Balto-Slavic word, perh. with Grk. *χαλκός* 'copper, bronze' as loanwords fr. some common source. Walde-P. 1.629. Schrader, Reallex. 1.236.

SCr. also *gvožde*, deriv. of old *gvozid* 'nail' (9.51), hence orig. 'nail material'. Berneker 366.

5. Skt. *ayas-*, Av. *ayah-* : Lat. *aes*, etc. See 9.66.

Skt. *gyāma-* 'black' is used with *ayas-* or alone for 'iron'. Macdonell-Keith 1.31 f.

## 9.68 LEAD

|      |                |       |             |       |               |
|------|----------------|-------|-------------|-------|---------------|
| Grk. | μόλυβδος       | Goth. | ...         | Lith. | <i>ivinas</i> |
| NG   | μόλυβδος       | ON    | <i>blī</i>  | Lett. | <i>svins</i>  |
| Lat. | <i>plumbum</i> | Dan.  | <i>bly</i>  | ChSl. | <i>olovo</i>  |
| It.  | <i>piombo</i>  | Sw.   | <i>bly</i>  | SCr.  | <i>olovo</i>  |
| Fr.  | <i>plomb</i>   | OE    | <i>lēad</i> | Boh.  | <i>olovo</i>  |
| Sp.  | <i>plomo</i>   | ME    | <i>lede</i> | Pol.  | <i>olów</i>   |
| Rum. | <i>plumb</i>   | NE    | <i>lead</i> | Russ. | <i>svinec</i> |
| Ir.  | <i>luaidhe</i> | Du.   | <i>lood</i> | Skt.  | <i>sisa-</i>  |
| Nlr. | <i>luaidhe</i> | OHG   | <i>blío</i> | Av.   | <i>srva-</i>  |
| W.   | <i>plum</i>    | MHG   | <i>blī</i>  |       |               |
| Br.  | <i>ploum</i>   | NHG   | <i>blei</i> |       |               |

Lead dates from the bronze age in the eastern Mediterranean region and possibly in Britain, but in most of Europe it is contemporaneous with iron. Among the words for 'lead' there is a group common to Celtic and Gmc., resting on borrowings, and probably the Greek and Latin words are from a common, unknown source. There is some confusion between 'lead' and 'tin'. Schrader, Reallex. 1.149 ff.

1. Grk. *μόλυβδος* (with variants *μόλυβος*, *βόλυμος*, *βόλυβος*), NG *μόλυβι* (also *βόλυμι*), doubtless a loanword, but source unknown. Boisacq 644.

2. Lat. *plumbum* (> Romance words, also W. *plum*, Br. *ploum*), prob. a loanword fr. the same source as the Grk. word. Ernout-M. 781.

3. Ir. *luaidhe*, Nlr. *luaidhe*; OE *lēad*, ME *lede*, NE *lead*, Du. *lood* (MHG *lōt*, NHG *lot* 'lead' or 'solder' or 'plummet'; so also Dan., Sw. *lod*, fr. MLG). The Gmc. words are prob. borrowed from Celtic, and the latter perh. deriv. of IE

\**pleu-* in words for 'flow, float', etc., as applied to the quickly melting lead. Walde-P. 2.442. Franck-v. W. 396 f.

4. ON *blī*, Dan., Sw. *bly*, OHG *blío* (gen. *blīwes*), MHG *blī*, NHG *blei*, pointing to a Gmc. \**blīwa-*, perh. : Lith. *blīyas* 'violet colored', etc. Walde-P. 2.210. Falk-Torp 86.

5. Lith. *švinas*, Lett. *svins*, Russ. *svinec*, etym. dub. Persson, Beiträge 745. Buga, Kalba ir Senove 262.

OPruss. *alwis* 'lead', Lith. *alvas* 'tin', Lett. *alvs*, *alva* 'tin', ChSl., SCr., Boh. *olovo*, Pol. *olów* all 'lead', but Russ. *olovo* 'tin', orig. a color word (with characteristic *-wo*-suffix) with application to either 'lead' or 'tin' and subsequent varying distribution in this respect. But root connection dub. (OHG *elo* 'yellow', etc.). Walde-P. 1.159, 2.442.

6. Skt. *śīsa-* neut. (AV+, cf. Macdonell-Keith 2.452), etym.?

Av. *srva-* neut. (Barth. 1649), NPers. *surb*, etym.?

## 9.69 TIN; TIN-PLATE

|      |                                  |       |                            |       |  |
|------|----------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|--|
| Grk. | κασσίτερος                       | Goth. | ...                        | Lith. | <i>cinas</i> , <i>alvas</i> ; <i>skardis</i>             |
| NG   | κασσίτερος                       | ON    | <i>tin</i>                 | Lett. | <i>alvs</i> , <i>alva</i> ; <i>skārdis</i>               |
| Lat. | <i>plumbum album</i>             | Dan.  | <i>ten</i> , <i>blik</i>   | ChSl. | <i>kositerā</i>  |
| It.  | <i>stagno</i> ; <i>latta</i>     | Sw.   | <i>ten</i> , <i>bleck</i>  | SCr.  | <i>kalaj</i> , <i>kositer</i> ( <i>cin</i> ); <i>tin</i> |
| Fr.  | <i>étain</i> ; <i>fer-blanc</i>  | OE    | <i>tin</i>                 | Boh.  | <i>cin</i> ; <i>plech</i>                                |
| Sp.  | <i>estaño</i> ; <i>lata</i>      | ME    | <i>tin</i>                 | Pol.  | <i>cynga</i> ; <i>blacka</i>                             |
| Rum. | <i>cositor</i> ; <i>tinichea</i> | NE    | <i>tin</i>                 | Russ. | <i>olovo</i> ; <i>žest'</i>                              |
| Ir.  | <i>stān</i> , <i>crūd</i>        | Du.   | <i>tin</i> ; <i>blik</i>   | Skt.  | <i>trapu-</i>  |
| Nlr. | <i>stān</i>                      | OHG   | <i>zin</i>                 | Av.   | ...  |
| W.   | <i>ystaen</i> , <i>ty</i>        | MHG   | <i>zin</i>                 |       |  |
| Br.  | <i>stean</i>                     | NHG   | <i>zinn</i> ; <i>blech</i> |       |  |

NE *tin* covers both the raw metal and the more familiar tin-plate, for which in many languages different words are used. The latter (from which usually the words for 'tinner' are from notions like 'thin strip, plate', 'shining', 'white iron', 'hard'. But most of the old words for 'tin' as the metal are of obscure origin. Schrader, Reallex. 2.696 ff.

1. Grk. *κασσίτερος* (> ChSl. *kasiterā*, *kositerā*, SCr. *kositor*, Rum. *cositor*), orig.? Boisacq 420.

NG *καλάϊ*, SCr. *kalaj*, etc., general Balkan word, fr. Turk. *kalay*, this from *Quallah* name of a city in Malacca, which produces tin in large quantities. Schrader, loc. cit. Lokotsch 1021.

NG *τενεκές* 'tin-plate' or 'tin vessel',

Rum. *tinichea*, Bulg. *tenekija*, fr. Turk. *tenek* id. Lokotsch 2065.

2. Lat. *plumbum album*, lit. 'white lead'.

Lat. *stagnum* (*stannum*) 'an alloy of silver and lead', late 'tin', whence It. *stagno*, Fr. *étain*, Sp. *estaño*, also Ir. *stān*, W. *ystaen* (but now mostly *ty* fr. NE), Br. *stean*, orig.? Ernout-M. 971.

It. *latta*, Sp. *lata* 'tin-plate', the latter also 'lath' as Fr. *latte*, loanword fr. Gmc., OHG *latta* 'lath', etc. REW 4933.

Fr. *fer-blanc* 'tin-plate', lit. 'white iron'.

Rum. *cositor*, through Slavic fr. Grk. (above, 1).

3. Ir. *stān*, etc., above, 2.

Ir. *crūd* (cf. Windisch, Wtb. s.v., K. Meyer, Contrib. 509), orig.?

4. ON, OE *tin*, OHG *zin*, etc., general Gmc., orig.?

OHG *bleh*, MHG, NHG *blech* 'thin plate of metal', now esp. 'tin' (> Boh. Keith, 1.326), orig.?

## 9.71 POTTER

|      |                                 |       |                                     |       |                                    |
|------|---------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|-------|------------------------------------|
| Grk. | κεραμεις                        | Goth. | <i>kasja</i>                        | Lith. | <i>puodžius</i>                    |
| NG   | ἀγγειοκόστας                    | ON    | ( <i>leirsmiðr</i> )                | Lett. | <i>puodnieks</i>                   |
| Lat. | <i>figulus</i>                  | Dan.  | <i>pottemager</i>                   | ChSl. | <i>grinitšari</i>                  |
| It.  | <i>vasaio</i>                   | Sw.   | <i>kruckmakare</i>                  | SCr.  | <i>lončar</i>                      |
| Fr.  | <i>potier</i>                   | OE    | <i>croc-</i> , <i>lāmuyrhta</i>     | Boh.  | <i>hrnčič</i>                      |
| Sp.  | <i>alfarero</i> , <i>ollero</i> | ME    | <i>pottere</i>                      | Pol.  | <i>garncaz</i> , <i>zdun</i>       |
| Rum. | <i>olar</i>                     | NE    | <i>potter</i>                       | Russ. | <i>goršečnik</i> , <i>gončar</i>   |
| Ir.  | <i>cerd</i> , <i>doilbithid</i> | Du.   | <i>pottenbakker</i>                 | Skt.  | <i>kumbhakāra</i> , <i>kulada-</i> |
| Nlr. | <i>criadoir</i>                 | OHG   | <i>havanāri</i> , <i>leimwurhto</i> | Av.   | ...                                |
| W.   | <i>crochennydd</i>              | MHG   | <i>havenare</i>                     |       |                                    |
| Br.  | <i>poder</i>                    | NHG   | <i>töpfer</i>                       |       |                                    |

The majority of the words for 'potter' are derivs. or cpds. of words for 'earthenware vessel, pot' (5.26) or 'vase, vessel'. Others are connected with those for 'mold' (9.72) or for 'clay' (9.73).

Words for 'pottery' (collective, or for the art or place of manufacture) are related to those for 'potter' or 'clay', and a separate list is superfluous.

1. Grk. *κεραμεις*, fr. *κέραμος* 'clay, pottery' (9.73).

NG *ἀγγειοκόστας*, cpd. of *ἀγγεῖον* 'vessel' and *κόστας* : *πλάσσω* 'form, mold' (9.72).

NG *τσουκαλάς*, fr. *τσουκάλη* 'pot'.

2. Lat. *figulus* (cf. *ficulīa* 'earthenware, pottery') : *figgere* 'mold, form' (9.72).

It. *vasaio* (the term used in archeol-

ogy), deriv. of *vaso* 'vase, pot' (also *vasellō*, whence *vasellame* 'pottery'), Lat. *vāsum*.

It. *stovigliaio* 'pot-maker' and 'pot-seller', deriv. of *stoviglie* 'pottery', this fr. VLat. \**testuile*, deriv. of Lat. *testu* beside *testa* 'earthen pot, tile, etc.'.

REW 8688.

Fr. *potier*, deriv. of *pot* 'pot', whence also *poterie* 'pottery' > Br. *poderi*, *poderez*, NE *pottery*.

Sp. *alfarero* (cf. *alfareria* 'pottery'), fr. *alf(ah)ar* 'pottery', this fr. Arab. *fahhār* 'potter'. Lokotsch 570.

Sp. *ollero*, Rum. *olar* (cf. Rum. *ollāne* 'pottery, potter's shop'), fr. Lat. *ollārius*, adj. 'pertaining to pots', later 'potter', deriv. of *olla* 'pot'.

3. Ir. *cerd* 'artisan' (9.42) also spec. 'potter' (cf. Ml. 18a12, 18b4).

Ir. *doilbithid* (Wb. 4c29), deriv. of *doilbaim* 'mold' (9.72). Pedersen 2.17.

Nlr. *criadoir*, fr. *criad(h)a* 'pottery', deriv. of *crē* 'clay' (9.73).

W. *crochennydd*, deriv. of *crochan* 'pot'. Br. *poder*, deriv. of *pod* 'pot', fr. Fr. *pot*.

4. Goth. *kasja*, deriv. of *kas* 'vessel, jar' : ON *ker*, OHG *kar* id., of dub. orig. Falk-Torp 496. Feist 308.

Late ON *leirsmiðr*, OE *lāmuyrhta*, OHG *leimwurhto*, cpds. of words for 'pot' (9.73) and 'artisan' (9.42).

Dan. *pottemager*, Sw. *kruckmakare*, cpds. of Dan. *potte* (: OE *potl*, below), Sw. *kruck* (: OE *crocca*, below) and 'maker'.

OE *crocwyrhta*, cpd. of *crocca* 'pot, crock' and *wyrhta* 'artisan' (9.42).

ME *pottere*, NE *potter*, derivs. of ME, NE *pot*, OE *potl* 'pot'.

Du. *pottenbakker*, cpd. of *pot* (: OE *potl*, above) and *bakken* 'bake'.

OHG *havanāri*, MHG *havenare*, NHG dial. *hafner*, derivs. of OHG *hafan*, MHG *haven* 'pot'.

NHG *töpfer* (whence *töpferei* 'pottery'), deriv. of MHG, NHG *topf* 'pot'.

5. Lith. *puodžius*, Lett. *puodnieks*, derivs. of Lith. *puodas*, Lett. *puods* 'pot'.

6. ChSl. *grinitšari*, Boh. *hrnčič*, Pol. *garncaz*, Russ. *gončar*, *goršečnik*, derivs. of ChSl. *grānitčī*, etc. 'pot'.

SCr. *lončar*, deriv. of *lonac* 'pot'. Pol. *zdun* (cf. late ChSl. *zidū* 'potter's clay') : ChSl. *zidati* 'build', orig. 'mold, fashion' (cf. 9.44). Brückner 650.

7. Skt. *kumbhakāra*, cpd. of *kumbha-* 'pot' and a deriv. of *kr-* 'do, make'.

Skt. *kulāla-* (whence *kūlālaka-* 'pottery'), orig.? Uhlenbeck 59.

8. Cf. Toch. A *kuntis-tsek*, B *lwaksā-tsaik* 'potter' (= Skt. *kumbhakāra*), cpds. of (presumably words for 'pot', with) *tsek*, *tsaik-* 'form, fashion' (9.72).

## 9.72 MOLD (Clay, etc.)

|      |   |       |                           |
|------|---|-------|---------------------------|
| Grk. | πλάσσω  | Goth. | <i>digan</i>              |
| NG   | πλάθω   | ON    | <i>mynd</i>               |
| Lat. | <i>figgere</i>                                | Dan.  | <i>forme</i>              |
| It.  | <i>modellare, plasmare,</i><br><i>formare</i> | Sw.   | <i>forma</i>              |
| Fr.  | <i>modeler, former</i>                        | OE    | <i>hivian</i>             |
| Sp.  | <i>formar, modelar</i>                        | ME    | <i>fourme</i>             |
| Rum. | <i>forma, modela</i>                          | NE    | <i>mo(u)</i>              |
| Ir.  | <i>dolbaim, cummáin</i>                       | Du.   | <i>vorme</i>              |
| INr. | <i>foirmighim, cumáin</i>                     | OHG   | <i>scaf</i> ( <i>sc</i> ) |
| W.   | <i>ffurfi, llunio</i>                         | MHG   | <i>forme</i>              |
|      |   | NHG   | <i>forme</i>              |

The manufacture of glass goes back to remote antiquity in Egypt, and also became a flourishing industry in Phoenicia. In Greece and Italy glass was known only from imported objects (glass beads, etc., in the Mycenaean period) until a comparatively late period. From the Greco-Roman world it spread to northern Europe, where its predecessor in objects of ornament was amber. In its early uses colored glass was more common than the transparent. Schrader, Reallex. and Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Glas. Mary L. Trowbridge, Philological Studies in Ancient Glass, Univ. of Illinois Studies in Language and Literature 13. Nos. 3-4.

Most of the IE words for 'glass', if not obscure, are connected with words for some color or for 'bright, shining'. But, as words for 'glass' as material came to be used also for a 'glass drinking vessel', so conversely the Balto-Slavic words for 'glass' are from a Gmc. word for 'drinking vessel'.

1. Grk. ὕαλος, ἕλος, NG ὑαλί, prob. a loanword, but of unknown source. The word occurs first in Hdt. 3.24, but here refers to some kind of transparent stone and is quotable only later for 'glass'. An earlier expression for true glass, namely 'poured stone' is reflected in ἀρτήματα λίθινα χυτά, Hdt. 2.69.

2. Lat. vitrum (> It. vetro, Fr. verre; VLat. \*vitrium > Sp. vidrio), prob., as appropriate to the familiar blue-green Roman glass, the same word as vitrum 'woad' (a plant furnishing a blue dye), this again related in some fashion to OHG weilt, OE wād 'woad'. Walde-P. 1.236. Ernout-M. 1074 f.

Rum. sticlă, fr. Slavic, ChSl. stiklo, etc. (below, 6).

3. Ir. glain(e), Nlr. gloine : W. glain 'gem, bead', Ir., W., Br. glan 'bright, pure', Ir. gel 'white', fr. IE \*gel- or \*ghel- in numerous color names (for 'gray', 'blue', 'green', 'yellow'). Walde-P. 1.622 f., 624 ff.

W. gwydr, Br. gwer, fr. Lat. vitrum (above, 2). Pedersen 1.233. Loth, Mots lat. 176.

4. ON gler, OE glæs, OHG glas, etc., general Gmc. (Dan., Sw. glas fr. MLG), orig. used of 'amber' (as OE glær and in part OHG glas) : Ir. glass 'green, gray, blue', W. glas 'blue', Br. glas 'green', ON glæsa 'make shine, adorn', ME, MLG glaren 'gleam', all prob. fr. an s-extension of IE \*ghel- in color names (cf. above, 3). Walde-P. 1.626. Falk-Torp 325.

5. Lith. stiklas, Lett. stikls, OPruss. sticlo, fr. Slavic (below, 6). Lett. glāze fr. MLG glas (above, 4). Mühl-Endz. 1.624.

6. ChSl. stiklo (quotable only late), etc., general Slavic, fr. Goth. stikls 'drinking cup' (spretan), which became known to the Slavs as a glass drinking cup (prob. their first acquaintance with glass, at least as a useful product, hence used also for the material), but which orig. applied to the old Gmc. 'drinking horn', and so : ON stikill 'pointed end of a drinking horn', OE sticel, OHG stichil 'point, prick', etc. Brückner 549. Stender-Petersen 398 f.

7. Skt. kāca : khac- 'shine through' (?). Uhlenbeck 51. Av. yama-, yāma- (Barth. 1264, 1286; NPers. jām), etym.?

## 9.75 PLAIT (vb.)

|      |             |       |                   |       |             |
|------|-------------|-------|-------------------|-------|-------------|
| Grk. | πλέω        | Goth. | uswindan          | Lith. | pinti       |
| NG   | πλέω        | ON    | fleita            | Lett. | pit, rēg'it |
| Lat. | plectere    | Dan.  | flette            | ChSl. | plesti      |
| It.  | intrecciare | Sw.   | fläta             | SCR.  | ples i      |
| Fr.  | tresser     | OE    | bregdan, fleohtan | Boh.  | plesti      |
| Sp.  | trenzar     | ME    | breide            | Pol.  | pleść       |
| Rum. | impleti     | NE    | plait, braid      | Russ. | plet'       |
| Ir.  | figim       | Du.   | vlechten          | Skt.  | u-          |
| Nlr. | dualaim     | OHG   | flehtan           | Av.   | ....        |
| W.   | plethu      | MHG   | vlechten          |       |             |
| Br.  | plañsona    | NHG   | flechten          |       |             |

The construction of dwellings, fences, walls, etc., and the manufacture of various articles like mats, baskets, etc., by plaiting together twigs, reeds, etc., antedates the more technical crafts. Moreover, plaiting is the ancestor of the more specialized and refined weaving (cf. 6.33) and is basic to at least some of the earliest pottery (as made by smearing clay on a wickerwork frame). Apart from the existence of an IE root for 'plait' (\*plek-, below, 1), the early importance of wickerwork construction is reflected in the history of certain words for 'build', 'house' (?) and for various objects which have long since ceased to be associated with such construction. Cf. Fr. bâtir 'build' (9.44), Lat. crātis 'harrow' (8.28), Goth. haurds 'door' (7.22), Skt. kaṭa- (\*kṛta-) 'straw mat' : Skt. kṛt- 'twist thread, spin'. Walde-P. 1.421.

Other expressions for the product may be based on the current verbs for 'plait', as Grk. πλέω, NHG geflecht, flechtwerk, It. lavoro intrecciato, or on some special material or product, as NE wickerwork (wicker 'pliant twig', fr. Scand., cf. ODan. viger 'willow'), basket-work, lattice-work (lattice deriv. of word for 'lath'), Fr. claie (fr. Celtic, cf. Ir. clíad 'hurdle'), clayonnage, etc. Cf. also OE watul, NE wattle, wattling (of dub. orig.; NED s.v. wattle). But only a few of these are truly generic.

Apart from the inherited groups, in which 'plait' is based on 'fold', words for

merely one of the numerous activities of the household. Hence it did not develop much of a technical terminology. Words for the workman and generic terms for the product are mostly artificial rather than popular.

The one cognate group that comes nearest to representing a generic term for the product, though the words are used mostly for various more specific products, is the following:

Grk. κάπτα(λ)λος 'a kind of basket', κίρτη 'fish-basket', κυρία 'wickerwork shield' (all rare words), Lat. crātis (esp. pl. crātēs) 'wickerwork, hurdle, harrow', OE hyrdel, OHG hurd 'hurdle', Goth. haurds, ON hurð 'door' (7.22), Skt. kaṭa- (\*kṛta-) 'straw mat' : Skt. kṛt- 'twist thread, spin'. Walde-P. 1.421.

Other expressions for the product may be based on the current verbs for 'plait', as Grk. πλέω, NHG geflecht, flechtwerk, It. lavoro intrecciato, or on some special material or product, as NE wickerwork (wicker 'pliant twig', fr. Scand., cf. ODan. viger 'willow'), basket-work, lattice-work (lattice deriv. of word for 'lath'), Fr. claie (fr. Celtic, cf. Ir. clíad 'hurdle'), clayonnage, etc. Cf. also OE watul, NE wattle, wattling (of dub. orig.; NED s.v. wattle). But only a few of these are truly generic.

Apart from the inherited groups, in which 'plait' is based on 'fold', words for

'plait' are from other roots meaning 'fold, twist, wind' or the like, or derivatives of nouns for 'trees, braid'. A few are identical with the words for 'weave' (6.33), and in most languages the words for 'weave' are freely used with an object like 'basket, mat' or 'reeds, twigs', so that they thus cover 'plait'.

1. IE \*plek- in words for 'plait' and 'fold', an extension of \*pel- in other words for 'fold'. Cf. Lat. plicāre, Goth. falpan, etc. 'fold' (9.15). Walde-P. 2.97. Ernout-M. 777 ff.

Grk. πλέω; with t-extension Lat. plectere (> W. plethu; Loth, Mots lat. 196) and ON fleita, OE fleohtan, OHG flehtan, etc., once general Gmc.; here also (or fr. \*plet-, a parallel extension of \*pel-?) ChSl. plesti, pletq, etc., general Slavic (whence Rum. impleti).

2. It. intrecciare, Fr. tresser, Sp. trenzar, derivs. of It. treccia, Fr. tresse, Sp. trenza 'tress, braid', fr. VLat. \*trichea, orig. dub. REW 8893. Gamillscheg 863. Rum. impleti, fr. Slavic (above, 1).

3. Ir. figim, same as for 'weave' (6.33). Nlr. dualaim 'plait, fold, braid', deriv. of Ir. dual 'fold, fringe, plait, lock of hair', (\*dōklo) : Goth. tagl 'hair', OE tegl 'tail', Skt. daṣā- 'fringe, border', etc. Walde-P. 1.785. Stokes 152.

Br. plañsona, deriv. of plañson 'braid (of hair)', fr. Fr. plançon (deriv. of Lat. planta) 'young plant, shoot'; the meaning

'braid' fr. that of 'plant, shoot' through similarity of appearance. Henry 224.

4. Goth. us-windan (Mk. 15. 17, etc. for πλέω), cpd. like bi-windan 'wrap' : OE windan 'wind', etc. (10.14).

OE bregdan 'make a quick movement, draw a sword', hence from the motions in the process (cf. the throwing of the shuttle in weaving) also 'plait, braid', ME breide, NE braid (now mostly with reference to hair, but cf. broadly rugs) : ON bregða 'move quickly, draw a sword, etc.', OS bregdan 'plait', OHG brettan 'jerk, weave', these further : ON brjá 'sparkle, shine', braga 'flame, burn', etc. (for such relations cf. the uses of NE flash). Walde-P. 2.169. Falk-Torp 56.

NE plait, plat (in southern U.S. one plats hair), deriv. of plait 'a fold, crease', fr. OFr. pleit, Lat. plicium : plicāre 'fold', plectere (above, 1). NED s.v.

5. Lith. pinti, Lett. pit : Goth., OE spinnan 'spin', ChSl. pēti 'stretch', fr. IE \*(s)pen- 'stretch, draw' and hence from the stretching involved in twisting together the fibers, etc., 'spin, plait'. Walde-P. 2.660 f.

Lett. rēg'it : rēg'is 'wickerwork', Lith. regsti 'knit, plait', OE rajju-, Lat. restis 'cord, rope', OE resc, rusc 'rush' Walde-P. 2.374.

6. ChSl. plesti, pletq, etc., see above, 1.

7. Skt. u- (payate, uta-), same as for 'weave' (6.33).

'Basket' is chosen here as a conspicuous product of the process of plaiting and one that has remained familiar in all periods. But there are so many kinds of baskets with their special names that it is difficult to select the most important, especially from the earlier periods, when there was no generic term like NE basket.

Despite the factual relation between 'basket' and 'plait', none of the words for 'basket' are derived from the regular words for 'plait' as listed in 9.75. But, like some of these latter, they may reflect an action like 'twist, wind' or a material like 'twig' or 'reed'. French panier shows generalization from 'bread container'. Many of the words are of wholly obscure origin.

1. Grk. κόφινος (> late Lat. cophinus > OFr. coffin > ME coffyn 'basket', NE coffin in spec. sense), NG κοφίνι, orig. dub., perh. loanword fr. a pre-Greek source. Walde-P. 2.540. Boisacq 504.

Grk. κάλαθος (> Lat. calathus), NG καλάθη, orig. dub., but perh. : κλάω 'spin' (cf. Lith. pinti 'plait' : Goth. spina- 'spin', 9.75). Walde-P. 1.464.

Grk. κάνα, deriv. of κάνα 'reed', whence also Lat. canna. Hence also (with chronological relations between Grk. and Lat. forms uncertain) Grk. κάναστρον (> Sp. canasta), κάναστρον (prob. fr. Lat.), Lat. canistrum (> It. canestra). Ernout-M. 143. Walde-H. 1.154. REW 1594.

Grk. κίστη (> Lat. cista > It. Sp. cesta, W. cest) : Ir. cress 'basket' (K. Meyer, Contrib. 353), cisse 'twisted'. Walde-P. 1.452. Walde-H. 1.223. Vendryes, MSL 19.61.

Grk. σπυρίς, -ίδος (> Lat. sporta, dim. sportula, It. sporta, etc.) : σπείρα 'anything twisted, coil, cord', σπάρον 'rope', etc. Walde-P. 2.667.

Grk. ἀρρίκος (Ion. ἀρρίκος), orig. dub. Walde-P. 2.374.

Grk. σαργάνη (in NT, 2 Cor. 11.33 clearly a 'rope-basket'; cf. the Goth. rendering snōrjō; so prob. in the papyri, where the word is frequent beside κόφινος), Att. παργάνη (Hesych., EM), etym.? Walde-P. 1.751. Boisacq 853. NG πανέρι fr. It. paniere (below, 2).

2. Lat. corbis (> It. corba; late dim. corbicula > Fr. corbeille), orig. dub., possibly with notion of plaiting from bending : Russ. korobi 'bend', ON herpask 'contract', etc.; or may be a loanword fr. some Mediterranean source. Lat. corbis is the source of the Gmc. words, Dan. kurv, Sw. korg, Du. korf, OHG corb, NHG korb, and these again of the Balto-Slavic words, Lith. gurbas, Lett. kurvis, ChSl. krabiž, Russ. korob. Walde-P. 2.588. Walde-H. 1.272. Ernout-M. 220. Berneker 568.

Lat. qualum (\*quasom, cf. quasillus 'small basket') : ChSl. koš 'basket', etc. (below, 6), also ChSl. (late) košara 'hurdle, sheep inclosure', SCR. košara 'stall of wickerwork', with no known root connection. Walde-P. 1.507. Ernout-M. 832. Berneker 586 f.

Lat. fiscus (orig. 'basket' for olives, etc., then 'money-basket' hence 'public treasury'), perh. : Grk. πῖθος 'wine-vessel', Lat. fidiā 'earthen jar', as orig. a woven basket covered with clay. Ernout-M. 364. Walde-H. 1.492 f., 506.

It., Sp. cesta, see Grk. κίστη, above, 1. It. canestra, Sp. canasta, see Grk. κάνα, above, 1.

It. paniere, Fr. panier (> Br. paner), Rum. paner, fr. Lat. pānarium 'bread-basket', deriv. of pānis 'bread'.

Rum. coș, fr. Slavic, ChSl. koš, etc.

3. Ir. ciab, Nlr. ciabih, perh. orig. 'basket-shield' : ON hlif 'shield', hlifa 'protect'. Pedersen 1.116.

Nlr. basc(a)eid, W. basged, fr. NE basket (below, 4).

W. cawell, Br. kavell, fr. a late Lat. callellum : cavea 'cage, hive, inclosure of lattice-work', this fr. carus 'hollow' (?). Loth, Mots lat. 146. Walde-H. 1.188 (vs. Walde-P. 1.337).

Br. paner, fr. Fr. panier (above, 2). 4. Goth. tainjō, OE tænel, OHG zeina 'basket', ON teina 'fish-basket', derivs. of Goth. tains, OE tǣn, OHG zein, ON teinn 'branch, reed, twig'. Falk-Torp 1252. Feist 473.

Goth. snōrjō (for sarpjām, see above, 1) : OE snēr 'string of a musical instrument', ON snæri 'twisted rope', OHG snuor 'cord' (9.19). Walde-P. 2.700. Falk-Torp 1098. Feist 441.

ON laupr 'basket, bucket', OE leāp 'basket, a certain measure' : OHG louft 'bark, bast', Goth. laufs, OE leāf, OHG loub 'leaf'. Falk-Torp 678. Walde-P. 2.418.

OE windel, ME windle : OE windan 'wind', etc. (10.14).

OE wilige, prob. deriv. of welig 'willow', at any rate from the same root, that of wil(w)ian 'roll, twist together, join', Goth. -wulujan, Lat. volvere 'roll', etc., IE \*wel-. Walde-P. 1.298 ff.

OE mand (NE dial. maund), Du. mand, orig.? Franck-v. W. 411.

ME, NE basket, fr. a Celtic word appearing in Martial and Juvenal as bascauda, this prob. : Lat. fascia 'bundle'. Walde-H. 1.97. Doubtful in NED s.v., but cf. Weekley s.v.

OHG corb, etc., above, 2 under Lat. corbis.

MHG krebe : OHG krippa, OE cribb 'crib, manger', MLG kerve 'fish-basket, net', ON kjarf 'bundle'; OHG cratto, krezzo, MHG krezze : OE cræt 'wagon-basket', OHG kranz 'wreath', OE cradol 'cradle'; both groups perh. from extensions of an IE \*ger- 'twist, wind' (?) assumed as the basis of numerous words. Walde-P. 1.593 ff.

5. Lith. gurbas, Lett. kurvis, above, 2 under Lat. corbis.

Lett. gruoos : griez, gružil 'turn, twist' (Walde-P. 1.594). Mühl-Endz. 1.672.

6. ChSl. koš, SCR. koš, Boh. koš(ik), Pol. kosz (Russ. koš 'fish-basket', košel 'small basket, bag, wallet') : Lat. quā-lum (above, 2).

ChSl. krabiž, Russ. korob, above, 2, under Lat. corbis.

SCR. kotarica : Bulg. kotara 'hurdle', Russ. koty (pl.) 'fishweir', root connections dub. Walde-P. 1.338. Berneker 588 f.

Russ. korzina, perh. fr. Sw. dial. kars(e) 'basket, creel' : ON kass id., Grk. γάρπος 'wicker shield, screen, etc.', these perh. from the root of MHG kerren, OE cierran 'turn'. Berneker 578. Walde-P. 1.609.

Russ. kuzov : Pol. koziub, kaizub, Slov. kozoi 'a sort of basket', etc., prob. a non-IE loanword. Berneker 596.

7. Skt. pīṭa(ka)-, pēṭa(ka)-, orig.? Uhlenbeck 175.

Lett. (iz)teluot 'represent' hence spec. 'represent by carving in wood, stone, etc.', deriv. of tēls 'form, statue' (9.83).

6. ChSl. vajati (late, but deriv. vajati 'sculpture', Supr.), SCR. vajati, Russ. vajal, etym.?

Boh. vytesati, Pol. wyciosać, lit. 'hew out', cpds. of Boh. tesati, Pol. ciosać 'hew' (9.45).

7. Sculpture was highly developed in

the pre-Aryan civilization disclosed by the discoveries at Mohenjodaro and elsewhere in northwest India. But in Aryan India there is no evidence of sculpture before the Buddhist statues of about 300 B.C. There is likewise no reference to sculpture in the Avesta. Hence the lack of quotable words in this group, except the Skt. (late) and Opers. words quoted under 'statue' (9.83).

## 9.82 SCULPTOR

|      |                     |       |                  |       |                     |
|------|---------------------|-------|------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | ἀγαλατοποιός        | Goth. | ....             | Lith. | skulptorius         |
| NG   | ἀγαλμα, ἀνδρῶς      | ON    | ....             | Lett. | tēlnieks            |
| Lat. | sculptor (sculptor) | Dan.  | billedhugger     | ChSl. | ....                |
| It.  | scultore            | Sw.   | bildhuggare      | SCR.  | kīpar, vajar        |
| Fr.  | sculpteur           | OE    | (grafere)        | Boh.  | sochař, řezbář      |
| Sp.  | escultor            | ME    | (graver), keruer | Pol.  | rzeźbiarz           |
| Rum. | sculptor            | NE    | sculptor         | Russ. | vajatel', skul'ptor |
| Ir.  | ....                | Du.   | beeldhouwer      | Skt.  | ....                |
| Nlr. | snoigheadōir        | OHG   | (grabari)        | Av.   | ....                |
| W.   | cerfunydd           | MHG   | (grabere)        |       |                     |
| Br.  | kizeller, bener     | NHG   | bildhauer        |       |                     |

Words for 'sculptor' are derived from those for 'carve' (9.81) or 'statue' (9.83).

1. Grk. ἀγαλατοποιός, also ἀνδριαντοποιός, cpds. of words for 'statue' (9.83) and -ποιός : ποίω 'do, make'.

Lat. Grk., NG γλύπτω : γλῆφω 'carve'.

2. Lat. sculptor, later sculptor (> Romance words) : scalpere, sculpere 'carve'.

3. Nlr. snoigheadōir : snoighim 'cut, carve'.

W. cerfunydd, deriv. of cerflun 'piece of sculpture, statue' (9.83).

Br. kizeller, bener, derivs. of kizella, bēna 'carve'.

4. Dan. billedhugger, Sw. bildhuggare, Du. beeldhouwer, NHG bildhauer, cpds. of Dan. billed, etc. 'picture, image' and

Dan. hugger, etc., agent nouns of hugge, NHG hauen, etc. 'cut, hew' (9.22).

OE grafere, grafere, ME graver, OHG grabari, MHG grabere, prop. 'engraver' : ON grafa, OE grafan, etc. 'dig, engrave'.

ME kerver 'carver, sculptor' : ME kerve, carve, OE cōrfan 'cut, carve'.

NE sculptor, fr. Lat. sculptor.

5. Lith. skulptorius, fr. Lat. sculptor. Lett. tēlnieks, deriv. of tēluot 'carve'.

6. SCR. kīpar, deriv. of kīp 'statue'.

SCR. vajar, Russ. vajatel', derivs. of SCR. vajati, Russ. vajal 'carve'.

Boh. sochař, deriv. of socha 'statue' (9.83).

Boh. řezbář, Pol. rzeźbiarz : Boh. řezati, Pol. rznąć 'cut, carve' (9.22).

Russ. skul'ptor, fr. Lat. sculptor.

## 9.81 CARVE

|      |                    |       |                       |       |          |
|------|--------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|----------|
| Grk. | γλῆφω              | Goth. | ....                  | Lith. | iškalti  |
| NG   | γλῆφω              | ON    | skera, grafa          | Lett. | tēluot   |
| Lat. | scalpere (sculper) | Dan.  | ....                  | ChSl. | vajati   |
| It.  | sculpir            | Sw.   | uthugge               | SCR.  | vajati   |
| Fr.  | sculpter, tailler  | ME    | kerve, grave          | Boh.  | vytesati |
| Sp.  | esculpir           | NE    | carve, sculp          | Pol.  | wyciosać |
| Rum. | sculpta            | Du.   | uthouwen              | Russ. | vajal    |
| Ir.  | snaidim            | OHG   | graban                | Skt.  | ....     |
| Nlr. | snoighim           | MHG   | ergraben              | Av.   | ....     |
| W.   | cerfio             | NHG   | aushauen, ausmei-seln |       |          |
| Br.  | kizella, bēna      |       |                       |       |          |

Words for 'carve', as applied to the sculptor's work in stone (and usually also to the carving of wood) are mostly such as are also used with wider scope for 'cut' or 'hew' or are cognate with words which in other languages are non-technical words for 'cut, scrape, scratch, split', etc. A few are derivs. of words for 'chisel' or for 'statue', hence 'carve' through 'use the chisel' or 'make a statue'. Some of the forms listed for the older Gmc. languages are not certainly quotable in the technical sense.

1. Grk. γλῆφω 'cut out, carve' in wood, stone, metals (cf. γλύπτω 'sculptor', γλῆφας 'knife, chisel', γλῆφά 'a carving') : Lat. glābere 'peel', ON kljāfa, OE clēofan 'split', etc., IE \*gleubh-. Walde-H. 1.661. Ernout-M. 426 f. Walde-H. 1.610.

2. Lat. scalpere 'scratch, scrape', and also the proper classical form for 'carve' in technical sense, and only in late times replaced in this sense by sculper, fr. the cpds., thus resulting in a late differentiation in use from scalpere (whence confusion in the MSS and introduction of sculper, sculptor, sculptura, in our texts in place of scalpere, sculpor, sculptura, while scalprum 'knife, chisel', dim. scalpellum, remain), prob. fr. an extension of the root seen in Grk. σκάλλω 'scrape, hoe', Lith. skelti 'split', ON skilja 'separate, divide', etc. Walde-P. 2.595. Ernout-M. 900 f.

NE sculp, fr. Lat. sculper, but now felt as a whimsical back-formation to sculpture, sculptor. NED s.v.

NHG ausmeisseln, lit. 'chisel out', deriv. of meissel 'chisel'.

5. Lith. iškalti 'beat out, chisel out, carve', cpd. of kalti 'hammer, forge' (9.61).

## 9.83 STATUE

|      |                   |       |        |
|------|-------------------|-------|--------|
| Grk. | ἄγαλμα, ἀνδρῶς    | Goth. | (man)  |
| NG   | ἄγαλμα, ἀνδρῶς    | ON    | mann   |
| Lat. | statua (signum)   | Dan.  | statue |
| It.  | statua            | Sw.   | staty  |
| Fr.  | statue            | OE    | man    |
| Sp.  | estatua           | ME    | licen  |
| Rum. | statue            | NE    | statue |
| Ir.  | (delb)            | Du.   | stanc  |
| Nlr. | dealb, iomáigh    | OHG   | mann   |
| W.   | delw, cerllun     | MHG   | sül    |
| Br.  | deluenn, skeudenn | NHG   | statue |

Du. *standbeeld*, cpd. of *stand* : *staan* 'stand' and *beeld* 'image, picture'.

OHG *sul*, MHG *sul*, *süel* 'post, pillar' hence also 'statue', NHG *bildsäule* 'statue' (cf. *bild* 'image, picture', 9.87) : ON *sul*, *sūla*, OE *sġl*, Goth. *sauls* 'pillar, column'. Falk-Torp 1233. Walde-P. 2.503.

5. Lith. *statula* (now preferred to *stovyla*, fr. Wh. Russ., formerly in common use), fr. weak grade of IE \**stā*- 'stand', as in *statymas* 'building', etc. Cf. OE *staþol* 'foundation, support'. Buga, Kalba ir Senovė 172 f.

Lett. *tēls* 'form, image, statue', prob. fr. ORuss. *tělo* 'image, idol, statue' (below, 6). Mühl.-Endz. 4.171.

6. ChSl. *tělo* 'body, form' (9.11), hence later 'image, statue' as also ORuss. *tělo*, etc.

SCr. *kīp* 'form, image, statue', fr. Hung. *kép* 'appearance, form, picture, image'. Berneker 504.

Boh. *socha* 'handle, pole, pillar' hence

also 'statue' : ChSl. (late) *socha* 'club, cudgel', Russ. *socha* 'wooden plow', etc. (8.55). Walde-P. 1.335.

Pol. *posąg* 'statue', orig. 'wooden pillar', fr. *sąg* 'cord of wood', this as orig. a measure (cf. *sążeń*, ChSl. *sęžiti* 'fathom', i.e. 'the distance to which the arms can be stretched') : ChSl. *segnati* 'stretch out (the arm)', Pol. *siegnąć* 'reach, stretch'. Brückner 483.

Russ. *izvajanie* 'piece of sculpture, statue' : (iz)vajal 'carve' (9.81).

7. Skt. *pratimā* 'image, picture, statue' : *prati-mā* 'imitate, copy', cpd. of *prati* 'over against' and *mā* 'measure' (12.54) 'mete out, fashion, build', etc.

Skt. *dāivata* 'statue of a god, idol' (so freq. in Manu, etc.), deriv. of *deva*- 'god'.

OPers. *patikara*- used of the figures sculptured in relief (NPers. *paikar* 'face, form, portrait', cpd. of *pati*- 'over against' and *kar*- 'make', hence lit. 'something made in likeness').

9.84 CHISEL (sb.)

|      |                    |       |                |       |        |
|------|--------------------|-------|----------------|-------|--------|
| Grk. | σμίλη              | Goth. | metill         | Lith. | kaltas |
| NG   | σμίλη, σμῆλα       | ON    | metill         | Lett. | kalts  |
| Lat. | scalprum           | Dan.  | mejsel, beitel | ChSl. | dlato  |
| It.  | scarpello, cesello | Sw.   | mejsel         | Boh.  | dláto  |
| Fr.  | ciseau             | OE    | grafseaz       | Pol.  | dláto  |
| Sp.  | escoplo            | ME    | chisell        | Russ. | dloto  |
| Rum. | dallá              | NE    | chisel         | Skt.  | ....   |
| Ir.  | ....               | Du.   | beitel         | Av.   | ....   |
| Nlr. | siséal             | OHG   | meizil         |       |        |
| W.   | cyn, gaing         | MHG   | maizel         |       |        |
| Br.  | kizell             | NHG   | meissel        |       |        |

Words for 'chisel' (sculptor's or car-penter's) are from verbs for 'cut, hew, carve', 'split', or 'hollow out'. The Welsh words denoted originally 'wedge', whence 'chisel' from the similar shape.

1. Grk. σμίλη, NG also σμῆλα : OE *smiþ* 'smith', etc. and prob. Goth. *maitan* 'cut, hew', OHG *meizil* 'chisel', etc. Walde-P. 2.686.

2. Lat. *scalprum* (> Fr. *échoppe*, Sp.

*escoplo*; dim. *scalpellum* > It. *scarpello*), fr. *scalpere* 'carve' (9.81). Ernout-M. 901. REW 7642, 7645.

It. *cesello*, OFr. *cisel* (> Br. *kizell*), *chisel* (> ME *chisell*, NE *chisel* > Nlr. *siséal*), Fr. *ciseau*, fr. late Lat. \**caesell-*, *cissellum*, deriv. through \**cisum* (cf. *cisōrium* 'cutting tool') of *caedere* 'cut'. REW 1474. Wartburg 2.40. NED s.v. *chisel* sb.1.

3. Skt. *smiṭh*, NG also σμῆλα : OE *smiþ* 'smith', etc. and prob. Goth. *maitan* 'cut, hew', OHG *meizil* 'chisel', etc. Walde-P. 2.686.

2. Lat. *scalprum* (> Fr. *échoppe*, Sp.

Rum. *daltă*, fr. Slavic (below, 6).

3. W. *cyn*, also and orig. 'wedge', fr. Lat. *cuneus* 'wedge'. Loth, Mots lat. 157. Morris Jones 91.

W. *gaing*, also and orig. 'wedge' = Ir. *geind*, OBr. *gen* 'wedge' : ON *gandr* 'magic staff', root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.680. Stokes 110. Falk-Torp 299.

4. ON *meitill*, OHG *meizil*, MHG *maizel*, NHG *meissel* (> Dan., Sw. *mejsel*), fr. the root of Goth. *maitan*, OHG *maizan*, etc. 'cut' (9.22). Walde-P. 2.222. Weigand-H. 2.162.

OE *grafseaz*, fr. *grafjan* 'carve' (9.81) and *seaz*, *sez* 'knife' (9.23).

9.85 PAINT (vb., As Artist)

|      |                    |       |                 |       |                |
|------|--------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | ζωγραφία           | Goth. | ....            | Lith. | tapyti, piešti |
| NG   | ζωγραφία           | ON    | fā, skrifja     | Lett. | gleimnot       |
| Lat. | pingere, depingere | Dan.  | male            | ChSl. | ....           |
| It.  | dipingere          | Sw.   | måla            | SCr.  | sikati         |
| Fr.  | peindre            | OE    | mēlan, āllefran | Boh.  | malovati       |
| Sp.  | pintar             | ME    | peynle          | Pol.  | malować        |
| Rum. | picta              | NE    | paint           | Russ. | pisat'         |
| Ir.  | ....               | Du.   | schilderen      | Skt.  | likh-          |
| Nlr. | pintealaim         | OHG   | mālōn, mālēn    | Av.   | ....           |
| W.   | paentio            | MHG   | malen           |       |                |
| Br.  | liva, penta        | NHG   | malen           |       |                |

The verbs for 'paint' as an artist are in most cases (unlike those for 'paint' a house, etc., 9.89) not based on a notion of color, but are rather from notions like 'scratch, draw, adorn', 'mark, represent', and were used at first for any form of graphic delineation, then especially for 'paint' since the use of color was usual.

1. Grk. *γράφω* (: OE *ceorfan* 'cut, carve', 9.22) 'scratch, mark', hence usual 'write', but also 'draw, depict' (cf. *γραφείς* sometimes for 'painter'), hence *ζῶα ζωγράφω* 'depict live creatures', *ζωγράφος* 'painter', and fr. the latter, the usual verbs *ζωγραφέω*, NG *ζωγραφίζω*.

2. Lat. *pingere* 'adorn, embroider' and esp. 'paint' (> Fr. *peindre*, It. *pingere*,

ME *chisell*, NE *chisel*, above, 2).

Du. *beitel* (MLG > Dan. *bejtél*), fr. the root of *bijten*, Goth. *beitan*, etc. 'bite', orig. 'split', Lat. *findere*, Skt. *bhid-* 'split' (9.27). Franck-v. W. 44.

5. Lith. *kaltas*, Lett. *kalts*, fr. vbs. Lith. *kalti*, Lett. *kalt* 'hammer, forge' (9.61), also to 'chisel' (NSB s.v.).

6. ChSl. (late) *dlato*, Boh. *dláto*, Pol. *dláto*, Russ. *doloto*, fr. \**dolb-to-*, beside SCr. *dljeto* with e-grade, fr. the root of Russ. *dolbat'*, *dolbit'* 'hollow out', OE *delfjan* 'dig', etc., IE \**delbh-*. Walde-P. 1.866 f. Berneker 183, 208, 250 f.

9.86 PAINTER (As Artist)

|      |                    |       |                 |       |                |
|------|--------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | ζωγράφος           | Goth. | ....            | Lith. | tapyti, piešti |
| NG   | ζωγράφος           | ON    | fā, skrifja     | Lett. | gleimnot       |
| Lat. | pingere, depingere | Dan.  | male            | ChSl. | ....           |
| It.  | dipingere          | Sw.   | måla            | SCr.  | sikati         |
| Fr.  | peindre            | OE    | mēlan, āllefran | Boh.  | malovati       |
| Sp.  | pintar             | ME    | peynle          | Pol.  | malować        |
| Rum. | picta              | NE    | paint           | Russ. | pisat'         |
| Ir.  | ....               | Du.   | schilderen      | Skt.  | likh-          |
| Nlr. | pintealaim         | OHG   | mālōn, mālēn    | Av.   | ....           |
| W.   | paentio            | MHG   | malen           |       |                |
| Br.  | liva, penta        | NHG   | malen           |       |                |

but mostly *dipingere*, fr. Lat. *dēpingere*; VLat. \**pinctāre* > Sp. *pintar*; Rum. *picta* back-formation to *pictor* 'painter', this a literary loanword fr. Lat.) : Skt. *piñj-* 'paint' (gram.), *piñga-*, *piñjara-* 'reddish brown, tawny', ChSl. *pěgŭ* 'speckled, dappled', fr. IE \**peig-* beside \**peik-* in Grk. *ποικίλος* 'speckled, dappled, many-colored', Skt. *piç-* 'carve, fashion, adorn', ChSl. *pisati* 'write', OPers. *piš-* 'write', Lith. *piešti* 'sketch, draw' (cf. below, 5), Goth. *filu-faihs* 'manifold' (πολυποίκλος), OE *fāh*, *fāg*, OHG *fēh* 'colored', etc. whence again the verbs OE *fāgian* 'grow dark, vary', OHG *fēhen* 'color' and with these ON *fā* 'draw, paint'; here also Toch. *pih-*

'write, paint' (SSS 451). Walde-P. 2.9 ff. Ernout-M. 769.

3. Nlr. *pīntealaim*, with *pīnteāl* 'painting', *pīntear* 'painter', *pēint* 'paint', all (with various spellings) based on NE *paint*.

W. *paentio*, also *paentio*, fr. ME *peynle*, NE *paint* (below, 4).

Br. *penta*, fr. Fr. *peint*, 3sg. and pple. of *peindre* (above, 2).

Br. *liva* 'dye, paint' ('paint' in artistic sense secondary), deriv. of *liv* 'color, dye, paint' (9.88).

4. ON *fā*, see above, 2.

ON *skrifja* 'write, paint', fr. Lat. *scribere* 'write'. Walde-P. 2.586. Falk-Torp 1028.

OE *mēlan*, deriv. of an OE \**mōt* : EFr. *mōt* 'mark, spot', ON *mōt* 'mark, stamp'.

OE *ā-tieftran* (cf. *tieftran* 'painting'), fr. *tēafor* 'red color' (NE dial. *twer*, NED) : ON *taufi*, OHG *zoubur* 'magic'. Holt-hausen 343, 347.

ME *peynle*, NE *paint*, fr. Fr. *peint*, 3sg. and pple. of *peindre* (above, 2).

OHG *mālōn*, *mālēn* 'trace, draw, paint', MHG, MLG *mālen* (> Dan. *male*, Sw. *måla*), NHG *malen* : Goth. *mēljan* 'write', OE *mēlan* 'spot, soil', derivs. of Goth. *mēl*, OE *mæl*, OHG *māl* 'spot, mark, sign', these prob. fr. the root seen in Skt. *malina* 'dirty, dark', Grk. *mēlas*, Lett. *mēlns* 'black', etc. But the immediate development in German is fr. 'make a mark' to 'draw', hence also 'paint', and has no direct connection with a color notion. Walde-P. 2.293. Falk-Torp 691.

Du. *schilderen* (cf. NHG *schildern* 'portray, describe', formerly also 'paint'; *schilderei* formerly 'a painting'), deriv. of obs. *schilder* 'painter', orig. 'shield-maker, shield-painter', as MLG *schilder*, MHG *schilttere*, derivs. of the words for 'shield', OHG *scill*, etc. Falk-Torp 994. Franck-v. W. 587. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v. *schildern*.

5. Lith. *tapyti* (now best word, Senn; formerly in different sense) : Lith. *tepti*, Lett. *tept* 'smear', ChSl. *tepa*, *teti* 'strike, beat' (Trautmann 319).

Lith. *piešti*, lit. 'draw, sketch', but *piešti paveikslą* 'paint' (Lalis, cf. also Hermann, Lit.-deutsches Gesprächsb. 131), see under Lat. *pingere*, above 2.

Lett. *gleznnot* : Lith. *gleznoti* (dial. 'paint'), derivs. of Lett. *glezn*, Lith. *gležnus* 'weak, tender, delicate', with development through 'do delicate work, adorn'. Mühl.-Endz. 1.626.

6. SCr. *slikati*, deriv. of *slika* 'painting, picture' : *lik* 'form, appearance'. Berneker 719.

SCr. *malati* (dial.), Boh. *malovati*, Pol. *malować*, fr. MHG, NHG *malen* (above, 4). Berneker 2.11.

Russ. *pisat'* 'write, draw, paint' (hence *živopis* 'painting', *živopisec* 'painter', cpds. with *živaj* 'alive'; cf. Grk. *ζωγράφος*, above, 1) : ChSl. *pisati* 'write', etc. (above, 2).

7. Skt. *likh-*, earlier *rikh-* 'scratch, write, draw, engrave, paint' (cf. *lēkha-*, *rēkha-* 'mark, stroke, line, figure') : Grk. *ἐπίκω* 'bruise, tear', W. *rhuygo* 'tear', Lith. *riekti* 'slice, cut, etc.'. Walde-P. 2.344.

## 9.86 PAINTER (As Artist)

|      |                |       |            |       |                |
|------|----------------|-------|------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | ζωγράφος       | Goth. | ....       | Lith. | tapyti, piešti |
| NG   | ζωγράφος       | ON    | (skrifari) | Lett. | gleimnot       |
| Lat. | pictor         | Dan.  | maler      | ChSl. | ....           |
| It.  | pittore        | Sw.   | målare     | SCr.  | slikar         |
| Fr.  | peintre        | OE    | mēlere     | Boh.  | maliti         |
| Sp.  | pintor         | ME    | peynlour   | Pol.  | malarz         |
| Rum. | pictor         | NE    | painter    | Russ. | živopisec      |
| Ir.  | ....           | Du.   | schilder   | Skt.  | citrakāra-     |
| Nlr. | pīntear        | OHG   | mālari     | Av.   | ....           |
| W.   | paentiar       | MHG   | mālare     |       |                |
| Br.  | livour, penter | NHG   | maler      |       |                |

The words for 'painter' as an artist are obvious derivatives of the verbs for 'paint' (9.85), or conversely in the case of Du. *schilder*. For Russ. *živopisec*, see *živopis* 'painting' (9.87). The only exception among the words listed here is:

Skt. *citrakāra*, cpd. of *citra*- in the

## 9.87 PAINTING, PICTURE

|      |                                 |       |                            |       |                      |
|------|---------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | γραφία, ζωγράφημα, εἰκὼν, εἰκῶν | Goth. | ....                       | Lith. | paveikslas           |
| NG   | ζωγράφημα, εἰκῶν                | ON    | (skrifan, pentan)          | Lett. | gleimnots            |
| Lat. | pictura, tabula                 | Dan.  | maleri, billede            | ChSl. | ....                 |
| It.  | pittura, quadro                 | Sw.   | målning, tavla, bild       | SCr.  | slika                |
| Fr.  | peinture, tableau               | OE    | mēting, tifrung            | Boh.  | malba; obraz         |
| Sp.  | pintura, cuadro                 | ME    | peynting, peynture, pycure | Pol.  | malowidlo; obraz     |
| Rum. | pictura, tablou                 | NE    | painting, picture          | Russ. | živopis', kartina    |
| Ir.  | ....                            | Du.   | schilderij, beeld          | Skt.  | citra-, citrakarman- |
| Nlr. | pīntēil, pīctiūr                | OHG   | gimātdi, gimāli (biladi)   | Av.   | ....                 |
| W.   | lun, pictur                     | MHG   | gemāide, gemāle, bilde     |       |                      |
| Br.  | taolenn, livadur                | NHG   | gemāide, bild              |       |                      |

Nearly all the words for 'a painting', involving the use of color, and some of those for the more comprehensive 'picture' (e.g. NE *picture*, fr. Lat. *pictūra* 'painting' vs. *painting* fr. vb. *paint*), are derived from (or in the case of SCr. *slika*, are the source of) the verbs for 'paint', and so have been covered by the discussion in 9.85. Other words for 'picture', which cover and often are the more common expressions for 'a painting', are of various sources.

1. Grk. *γραφία* sometimes 'picture', *ζωγράφημα* rare; *ζωγραφία* 'art of painting', NG *ζωγραφία* 'picture'.

Grk. *πίναξ* 'board, tablet', rarely 'picture' (like Lat. *tabula*), hence late *πίνακo-θήκη* 'picture-gallery'.

Grk. *εἰκὼν* 'a likeness' (: *εἰκω* 'be like'), used of a picture or a statue, NG *εἰκὼνα* 'holy picture' (whence Russ. *ikon* id.).

2. Lat. *tabula picta* 'painted tablet', hence also *tabula* alone for 'painting, pic-

ture', whence in this sense also Sw. *tacla*, Br. *taolenn*, and, through dim. form, Fr. *tableau* (> Rum. *tablou*).

It. *quadro*, Fr. *cuadro*, fr. Lat. *quadrum* 'a square'.

3. W. *llun* 'form, shape, figure, picture', as 'picture' also cpds. *arlun*, *dar-lun*, etym.?

4. OHG *bilade*, *biladi*, MHG *bilde* (MLG > Dan. *billede*, Sw. *bild*), NHG *bild* (also *bildniss*), Du. *beeld*, a general word for 'likeness, image' (as mostly in OHG), whence 'picture', or in part 'statue' (9.83), prob. : OHG *billich*, NHG *billig* 'fitting, seemly', OE *bilewit* 'simple, honest', Ir. *bil* 'good', perh. Grk. *φίλος* 'dear'. Walde-P. 2.185. Falk-Torp 73 f. Weigand-H. 1.238. Kluge-G. 57.

5. Lith. *paveikslas*, general 'picture, image, example' : *įvykti* 'happen', perh. Grk. *εἰκὼν* 'picture', etc. (above, 1).

## 9.88 PAINT (sb.)

|      |                  |       |                |       |              |
|------|------------------|-------|----------------|-------|--------------|
| Grk. | χρῶμα            | Goth. | ....           | Lith. | dažai        |
| NG   | μυρία, χρῶμα     | ON    | steinn         | Lett. | krāsa        |
| Lat. | pigmentum, color | Dan.  | maling (farve) | ChSl. | ....         |
| It.  | colore           | Sw.   | färg           | SCr.  | boja         |
| Fr.  | couleur          | OE    | ....           | Boh.  | barva        |
| Sp.  | pintura, color   | ME    | peynture       | Pol.  | farba, barwa |
| Rum. | văpsea           | NE    | paint          | Russ. | kraska       |
| Ir.  | ....             | Du.   | verf           | Skt.  | varṇa-       |
| Nlr. | pēnt             | OHG   | farawa         | Av.   | ....         |
| W.   | paent (lliv)     | MHG   | varwe          |       |              |
| Br.  | liv              | NHG   | farbe          |       |              |

The majority of the words for 'paint' (sb.) are the same as those for 'color', discussed in 15.61, and cover any coloring matter, 'paint' or 'dye'. Most of the others are obvious derivs. of the verbs for 'paint' discussed in 9.85 or 9.89. Only the following need further comment:

1. NG pop. *μυριά* 'dye, paint', fr. Turk. *boya* id., whence also SCr. *boja* 'paint' and secondarily 'color' and Rum.

Walde-P. 1.233. For current use cf. *aliejiniais dažais pieštas paveikslas* (lit. 'picture drawn with oil paints' = *olgemälde*), Hermann, Lit.-deutsches Gesprächsb. 131).

6. ChSl. *obrazŭ* 'form, kind, image' (reg. word for *εἰκών*; Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 309), Boh., Pol. *obraz* (Pol. > Lith. *abrozas* 'holy picture, ikon'), orig. 'an outline', fr. \**ob-raziti* 'cut around' beside *u-raziti* 'strike', *rězati* 'cut' (9.22). Brückner 371 f.

Russ. *živopis*, cpd. of *živoj* 'alive' with the root of *pisat'* 'paint'. Cf. Grk. *ζωγράφω*, etc. (9.85).

Russ. *kartina*, deriv. of *karta* 'card, map', this fr. Lat. *charta* 'paper'. Berneker 491.

7. Skt. *citra*- 'bright, clear' (: OHG *heitar* id., Walde-P. 2.537), neut. sb. 'ornament' and 'picture', likewise *citra-karman*, cpd. with *karman*- 'work'.

9.89 PAINT (vb



φύομαι, aor. φῶν 'come into being', esp. 'grow' (φῶν 'bring forth, beget'), φύσις 'nature', φῶν 'plant', etc., and in a Lat. differentiated form (*fieri, fio*). Walde-P. 2.140 f. Ernout-M. 1001. Walde-H. 1.557 f.

Lat. perf. *fuī*, etc. (early Lat. also infin. *fore*, imperf. subj. *forem*, Osc. *fusd* 'esse'), It. Sp. *fuī*, Fr. *fus*, Rum. *fuī*, Rum. infin. *fi*, etc.; Ir. *biu*, NIr. *bim* (consuetud. pres.), infin. Ir. *biuith*, NIr. *beith*, W. bod, Br. *beza* (MBR. *bout*), Br. 3sg. *bez*, etc. (Pedersen 2.437 ff.); OE infin. *bēon*, ME *be(n)*, NE *be*, 1sg. OE *bēo(m)*, NE *be* (subj. and dial. indie.), OHG *bim*, MHG *bim*, Du. *ben*; Lith. *būti*, Lett. *būt*, pret. Lith. *būvau*, Lett. *biju*; ChSl. *byti*, SCR. *biti*, Boh. *byti*, Pol. *być*, Russ. *byť*, pret. ChSl. *bychu*, pple. pret. ChSl. *bylū*, Russ. *byl*, etc.; Skt. *bhū-*, Av. OPers. *bū-* (3sg. Skt. *bhavati*, Av. *bavati*, OPers. 3sg. pret. *abava*, etc.) 'become' and simply 'be'. (NPers. *būdan* 'be').

3. IE \**wes-*, primary notion 'remain, abide, dwell', as in Skt. *was-*, Av. *vah-* (7.11). Walde-P. 1.306 f. Feist 567.

Infin. Goth. *wisan*, ON *vera*, Dan. *ware*, Sw. *vara*, OE, OHG *wesan*, MHG *wesen*; pret. Goth., OHG, MHG *was* (NHG *war*), ON, Dan., Sw. *var*, OE *was*, ME, NE *was*, etc.

#### 4. IE \**stā-* 'stand'.

From Lat. *stāre*, pple. It. *stato*, Fr. *été*, Sp. *estado*, also Sp. *estar* with pres. forms, etc.; Ir. *-tāu-*, NIr. *tāim* fr. *atāim* (Pedersen 2.431. Thurneysen, Gram. 477 f.).

Cf. derivs. of the same root for the stronger 'exist', sometimes hardly more than 'be', as Lat. *ex-istere* (> Fr. *exister*, NE *exist*, etc.), NHG *bestehen* (also *entstehen* 'come into being, arise'), and for 'become' (9.92).

5. Forms of Lat. *sedere* 'sit' are mixed with those of *esse* in the inflection of Sp. *ser*. Hanssen, Sp. Gram. p. 76.

6. Lith. 3sg., pl. *yra*, Lett. *ir* (old *ira*) is prob. an old noun meaning 'existence', but etym. unknown (OE 2sg. *eart*, pl. *aron*, NE *art*, are, prob. fr. \**es-*, cf. NED). J. Schmidt KZ 25.595.

#### 9.92 BECOME

|      |                               |       |                  |       |                      |
|------|-------------------------------|-------|------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | γίγνομαι, γίνομαι             | Goth. | wairþan          | Lith. | tapti                |
| NG   | γίνομαι                       | ON    | werða            | Lett. | tapt                 |
| Lat. | fieri                         | Dan.  | blive            | ChSl. | byti                 |
| It.  | divenire, diventare           | Sw.   | bliva            | SCR.  | postati              |
|      | farsi                         | OE    | wearþan, becuman | Boh.  | státi se             |
| Fr.  | devenir                       | ME    | worthe, become   | Pol.  | (so)stát się         |
| Sp.  | devenir, hacerse              | NE    | become           | Russ. | stanowát'sja, stat', |
| Rum. | deveni, să face               | Du.   | worden           |       | (s)delat'sja, byť    |
| Ir.  | ...                           | OHG   | werden           | Skt.  | bhū-                 |
| Nir. | tigim, éirghim (both impers.) | MHG   | werden           | Av.   | bū-                  |
| W.   | dýdof                         | NHG   | werden           |       |                      |
| Br.  | dont (mont) da veza           |       |                  |       |                      |

As already stated in 9.91, one of the two IE roots for 'be' denoted primarily 'come into being, become', this sense prevailing or frequent in some of the IE languages.

Other sources of 'become' are 'be'

born, come, turn (cf. also NE *turn pale*, etc.), remain, stand', and reflexive forms of 'make, do'. Apart from the words included in the list, 'become' with predicate complement, as 'become warm' may also be expressed by 'grow' (NE

grow warm, but most commonly *get warm*), or by inchoative derivatives, e.g. Lat. *calēscere* 'become warm', Russ. *sogretai'sya* 'become warm'.

1. Grk. γίγνομαι, later γίνομαι also and orig. 'be born' : γένος 'race', Lat. *gignere* 'beget, bear', pass. 'be born', Skt. *jan-* 'beget, bear', etc. (4.71).

2. Lat. *fieri* : *fuī* 'was', Skt. *bhū-* 'be, become', etc. (9.91).

It. *divenire, diventare*, Fr., Sp. *devenir*, Rum. *deveni* (fr. Fr.), fr. Lat. *devenire* 'arrive'. REW 2612.

'Become' is also commonly expressed by the reflexive of 'make', It. *farsi*, Sp. *hacerse*, Rum. *să face*.

3. Ir. 'become' prob. expressed impersonally by phrases as in Nlr.

Nlr. *tigim* 'come' (10.48) used impersonally, e.g. *táinig formad aqam leo*, lit. 'envy came to me toward them' = 'I became envious of them'.

Nlr. *éirghim* 'rise, arise' (10.21), used impersonally in the same way, e.g. *d'éirigh buile dhō*, lit. 'rage arose to him' = 'he became furious'.

W. *dygof* 'come' (10.48), and more orig. (as cpd. of *bod* 'be') 'become'.

Br. *dont* (or *mont*) *da veza*, i.e. *dont* 'come' (10.48) or *mont* 'go' (10.47) with softening *da* or *da veza* (= *beza* 'being, be', 9.91).

4. Goth. *wairþan*, ON *verða* (Dan.

#### 9.93 NEED, NECESSITY

|      |                            |       |                                       |       |                       |
|------|----------------------------|-------|---------------------------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | χρεία, ἀνάγκη              | Goth. | þaurfts, nauþs                        | Lith. | reikalas              |
| NG   | χρεία, ἀνάγκη              | ON    | þorft, þurft, nauð(r)                 | Lett. | vajadzība             |
| Lat. | opus, necessitas           | Dan.  | behov, nød, nødvendighed              | ChSl. | potrzeba, nužda, ne-  |
| It.  | bisogno, necessità         |       | het                                   |       | vojla                 |
| Fr.  | besoin, nécessité          | Sw.   | behov, nød, nödvändighet              | SCR.  | potrzeba, nužda, ne-  |
| Sp.  | necesidad                  |       | diğht                                 |       | vojla                 |
| Rum. | trebuință                  | OE    | þearf, nād                            | Boh.  | potrzeba, nouze       |
| Ir.  | écen                       | ME    | neod, necessity                       | Pol.  | potrzeba, konieczność |
| Nlr. | gabhadh, riachtanag, éigin | NE    | need, necessity                       | Russ. | potrebnośť, nadob-    |
| W.   | angen, rhaid               | Du.   | behoefte, nood                        |       | nost' nužda, neob-    |
| Br.  | eozmm, rhaid               | OHG   | durft, nōt                            |       | chodimost'            |
|      |                            | MHG   | durft, nōt                            | Skt.  | kartavyā-             |
|      |                            | NHG   | bedürfnis, bedarf, not, notwendigkeit | Av.   | ...                   |

ON *þurfa*, OE \**þurfan*, OHG *durfan* (NHG *dürfen*, now mostly 'may'; as 'need' replaced by *bedürfen*), esp. pret.-pres. Goth., ON *þarf*, OE *þearf*, *þarf*, OHG-NHG *darf*; outside root connections dub. (: Skt. *trp-* 'be satisfied, pleased', Grk. *trpō* 'delight', Lith. *tarpti* 'thrive' ??), but prob. : ChSl. *trěbovati* 'need', sb. *potrzeba*, etc. (below, 6), with variant final. Walde-P. 1.737. Falk-Torp 1248 f. Feist 491 f.

Goth. *nauþs* (ἀνάγκη), ON *nauð(r)*, Dan. *nød*, Sw. *nöd*, OE *nēad*, ME *nede*, NE *need*, Du. *nood*, OHG, MHG *nōt*, NHG *not*; meaning also 'violence, compulsion, distress' in early periods and so still e.g. NHG *not* vs. the deriv. *notwendigkeit*; hence Dan. *nødvendig*, *nød-vendighet*, Sw. *nödvändig*, *nödvändighet* : OPers. *nautin* (acc. sg.) 'necessity, distress', Boh. *nyti* 'linguish', *naviti* 'tire' (trans.), etc. prob. also ChSl. *nužda*, *nužda*, etc. (below, 6). Walde-P. 2.316. Falk-Torp 782 f. Weigand-H. 2.312. Feist 372.

Dan., Sw. *behov*, fr. MLG *behōf* = Du. *behoef*, OE *behōf*, NHG *behuf*, 'use, advantage'. Du. *behoefte* fr. *behoef*, with same development of 'need' fr. 'what is of use'. So OE *behōfan* 'have need of', later 'be proper' (NE *behoove*). All ultimately : Goth. *hafjan* 'raise', Lat. *capere* 'take', etc. Cf. NHG *brauchen* 'make use of' and now also 'need'. Falk-Torp 58, 455. Hellquist 61. NED s.v. *behoof*.

5. Lith. *reikalas*, fr. *reikia* 'is necessary, must', OLith. *reika* 'necessity', root connection? Meringer, IF 18.220.

Lett. *vajadzība*, fr. vb. *vajadzēt*, this fr. *vajaga* 'need, necessity' in *vajaga* (ir) 'is necessary', fr. Liv. *vajāg* 'need, needful, necessary'. Mühl.-Endz. 4.445.

vorde, Sw. *varda* arch.), OE *weorþan*, ME *worthe*, OHG *werdan*, MHG, NHG *werden*, Du. *worden* : Lat. *vertere*, Skt. *vr̥t-*, etc. 'turn' (10.12). Cf. NE *turn* (= *become*) *pale*, etc. Walde-P. 1.274 f. Falk-Torp 1393.

Dan. *blive*, Sw. *bliva*, fr. MLG *bliven* = Goth. *bileiban*, OHG *biliban*, NHG *bleiben* 'remain' (12.16). Falk-Torp 83. Hellquist 79.

OE *becuman* 'arrive, come', also (late) 'become', ME, NE *become*, cpd. of *cuman* 'come'.

5. Lith. *tapti*, Lett. *tapt*, perh. : OE *þafian* 'consent, permit', Grk. *trōpos* 'place'. Walde-P. 1.743. Mühl.-Endz. 4.132.

Other expressions for 'become', Lith. *darytis* (reflex. of *daryti* 'do, make'; cf. It. *farsi*, etc.), *pastoti* (like Slavic, cf. below), *pavirsti* (cpd. of *virsti* 'turn'); Lett. *iznākt* (lit. 'come out', cpd. of *nākt* 'come', 10.48).

6. ChSl. *byti* 'be' (9.91), also 'become'. So sometimes in modern Slavic, esp. SCR. *biti*, Russ. *byť*.

SCR. *postati*, Boh. *státi* se, Pol. (so) *stát się*, Russ. *stat'*, *stanovat'sja* : ChSl. *stati*, etc. 'stand'.

Russ. (s) *delat'sja*, refl. of (s) *delat'* 'do, make'.

7. Skt. *bhū-*, Av., OPers. *bū-* 'be' (9.91), but esp. 'become'.

|      |  |       |                     |       |                           |
|------|--|-------|---------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| Grk. | χρή, δεῖ, ἀφείλει, ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ           | Goth. | skal                | Lith. | reikia, tur, phrase       |
| NG   | χρή, ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ                         | ON    | skal, verðr, ā      |       | with fut. of 'be'         |
| Lat. | opus est, oportet, debet, necesse est    | Dan.  | bør, skal, maa      | Lett. | vajaga (ir), phrase       |
| It.  | dovrebbe, deve, bisogna                  | Sw.   | bör, måste          | ChSl. | dlāžnū jestū, podoba      |
| Fr.  | devrait, doit, il faut                   | OE    | shal, oughte, mote  |       | bažetū                    |
| Sp.  | deberia, debe, hay que, tiene que, ha de | ME    | ought, should, must | SCR.  | treba, mora               |
| Rum. | trebuie                                  | NE    | has to              | Boh.  | musí, má                  |
| Ir.  | ba cheart, ba chóir, is éigin            | Du.   | (behoort) moet      | Pol.  | powniennosć, trzeba, musi |
| Nir. | ...                                      | OHG   | sol, muoz           | Russ. | dolžen, nado, nadobno     |
| W.   | ...                                      | MHG   | solle, darf, muss   | Skt.  | (arh-)                    |
| Br.  | ...                                      | NHG   | ...                 | Av.   | ...                       |

The expressions for 'ought, must' are cited in the third singular. Some of them are only so used, that is, impersonally, as Grk. *δεῖ*, Lat. *oportet*, Lith. *reikia*. Others may also be used personally ('I ought, must', etc.).

'Ought' (implying obligation, whether or not fulfilled) and the more urgent 'must' (implying compulsion, whether from within oneself or from outward circumstances) are taken together, since the distinction is often ignored (the same word covering both) or brought out by different forms of the same verb. What was originally 'ought' may become virtually 'must' in the present indicative, the weaker 'ought' being expressed by a modal form, e.g. Fr. *doit* (fr. Lat. *dēbet*) 'is to, must' vs. *condit*.

*devoir* 'ought' (similarly in It., Sp.). Cf. also NE *ought, should*, NHG *solle* originally pret. subj. forms; Russ. *dolžen by*, *nadobno by* (by the old conditional) weaker than the plain *dolžen* or *nadobno*.

Most of the words that meant primarily 'ought' are from verbs for 'owe' (11.63).

Of the other words listed, many are connected with those for 'need, necessity' (9.93). In several cases 'may' has become 'must', probably starting in neg-

ative phrases ('may not' = 'must not'). Another source is 'is fitting, proper', strengthened to 'ought' or even 'must'.

Widespread is the use of verbs for 'have' as 'must' ('has it to do' > 'has to do it'). So in late Grk., late Lat. and the Romance languages, Br., NHG, Lith., Slavic. Such forms are only partially entered in the list, namely, under Sp., Lith., Boh. and NE, where they are most important.

The notion of obligation or necessity with reference to a particular action is also expressed by verbal derivatives like the Grk. *-trōs* and the Lat. and Skt. gerundives. Only the last are included in the list, as the usual method of expression, there being no special Skt. verb in common use for 'ought, must'.

A widespread substitute for 'ought, must' is seen in phrases like NE *it is to be noted*, more commonly with act. infin. (so formerly in English), as Fr. *c'est à remarquer*, Sp. *es de notar*, NHG *es ist zu bemerken*. In Lith. and Lett. the future 'it will be' is so used.

1. Grk. *χρή* (reg. Hom. term; *δεῖ* only once), see under *χρεία* 'need' (9.93).

Grk. *δεῖ* impers. (usual prose term), fr. *δέω* 'lack, miss, need', Aeol. *δέω* :

Skt. *doṣa-* 'lack, fault, guilt, harm'. Walde-P. 1.782. Boissacq 180.

Grk. *ἀφείλει*, fr. *ἀφείλω* 'owe' (11.63), used also personally as 'ought', esp. in imperf. and aor.

Grk. *ἀνάγκη ἐστὶ* (NG *ἐλαί*), phrase with *ἀνάγκη* 'necessity' (9.93).

Grk. *πρέπει* 'is fitting' (9.943), in NG (and sometimes Byz.), also 'ought, must' (the usual pop. expression).

Grk. *ἔχει* 'has' in late Grk. = 'must' (incipiently in NT, common Byz., also used as future).

2. Lat. *opus est, necesse est*, phrases with *opus* 'work, need' and *necesse* 'necessary' (9.93).

Lat. *oportet*, impers. 'is proper, ought', perh. fr. *\*op-ortet* : *vortere, vertere* 'turn'. Walde-P. 1.122. Ernout-M. 704 f.

Lat. *dēbet*, fr. *dēbere* 'owe' (11.63), used also personally as 'ought'. Hence It. *deve*, Fr. *doit*, Sp. *debe*, now stronger vs. It. *dovrebbe*, Fr. *devrait*, Sp. *deberia* (or imperf. indie. *debia*).

Lat. *habet* 'has', late 'must', e.g. *ipsam vallem nos traversare habebamus* 'we had to cross this valley' (Peregrin. 2.1). Hence It. *ha*, Fr. *a*, Sp. *ha* *de* (also *hay que* impers.), Rum. *are*, and similarly Sp. *tiene que* fr. *tener* 'have' (11.11).

It. *bisogna* : *bisogno* 'need' (9.93).

Fr. *il faut*, impers., fr. Lat. *fallit*, fr. *fallere* 'deceive, escape notice', esp. in phrases like *mē fallit* 'is unknown to me' (mostly with neg.), hence 'fails me'. Development 'fails' > 'is lacking' > 'is needed, is necessary'. REW 3167. Gamillscheg 402. Wartburg 3.389.

Rum. *trebuie*, fr. Slavic, cf. ChSl. *trěbuetā* 'needs' (below, 6).

3. Ir. *is écen*, Nlr. *is éigin* 'is necessary', phrases with nouns for 'need, necessity' (9.93).

Nlr. *ba cheart, ba chóir*, phrases with *ba* 'was' and *cheart* or *chóir* 'right, just, proper' (16.73), hence orig. 'was right,

proper', then = 'ought' as past, now also as present.

W. *dylai*, Br. *dle*, fr. W. *dylan* 'ought' orig. 'owe' (cf. *dyled* 'debt'), Br. *deout* 'owe, ought'.

W. *rhaid* (i), Br. *red eo*, phrases with nouns for 'need, necessity' (9.93).

Br. *renk, rank*, fr. *renkout*, *rankout* 'be obliged', this prob. : Ir. *riccim* 'reach, attain' (cf. pret. *ranac*, etc., Pedersen 2.556), *riccim* less 'need'. Henry 232.

Br. also phrases *a dlean, a renkan* (: preceding) and with forms of *beza* 'be', as *eo* (da) 'is to', or *kaoul* 'have'. Vallée s.v. *devoir*.

4. Goth., ON *skal*, OE *seal*, ME *s(c)hal*, NE *shall*, Du. *zal*, OHG *scal*, MHG *sol*, NHG *soll* (but NE *shall*, Du. *zal*, NHG *soll* mostly in other uses; as 'must' bibl., e.g. *thou shalt not steal*, or uncommon) pret.-pres. of Goth. *skulan*, OE, OHG *seulan* 'owe' (11.63). Hence for 'ought' NE *should*, NHG *solle*, orig. pret. subj. NED s.v. *shall*.

ON *verðr*, special use of *verða* 'become, happen' (9.92).

Dan. *bør*, Sw. *bör* : ON *byrja*, 'behave, be suitable', OE *gebyrian*, OHG *giburien* (NHG *gebühren*) 'be suitable, happen' (9.993). Cf. OE *gebyraþ* in Gospels Jn. 9.4 (*dei, oportet*); the Lindisf. version has *gedefnaþ* : Goth. *gadaban* 'be fitting, happen', 9.993, and Du. *behoort* 'belongs, is proper' sometimes 'ought'. Falk-Torp 118. Hellquist 125.

ON *ā*, OE *āh*, ME *owe*, fr. ON *eiga*, OE *agan* 'own' (11.12), sometimes 'ought', but in this sense replaced by pret. ME *ought*, NE *ought*. NED s.v. *owe* and *ought*.

Dan. *maa* 'may' and 'must' (Sw. *må* 'may', as 'must' replaced by *måste*, below) = ON *mā*, Goth. *mag*, OE *mag*, etc. 'can' (9.95). Falk-Torp 687 f. Hellquist 670.

OE *mōt*, ME *mote* 'may' and 'must', as

Words for 'need' and 'necessity' are taken together, since there is much overlapping and no sharp demarcation. The same word, or words of the same cognate group, may cover both. Or the dominant sense may shift, as OE *nēad* mostly 'necessity' (also 'violence, compulsion') vs. *þearf* 'need', but NE *need* vs. *necessity*. However, whenever there are several words in the same language, they are listed in the order which corresponds most nearly to 'need' and 'necessity', that is, in the order of increasing urgency.

Some of the words for 'necessity' are often used in the sense of 'distress', as Grk. *ἀνάγκη*, OHG *nōt*, this sense being dominant in NHG *not* vs. the unambiguous deriv. *notwendigkeit*.

'Need' implies the 'lack' or 'want' of something, and words which have primarily this sense may sometimes express 'need', as NE *want* in *attend to his wants*, etc. (NED s.v. *want*, sb<sup>5</sup>). Cf. Grk. *δέω*, primarily 'be lacking, be without', but also 'need' and esp. impers. *δέῖ* 'it is necessary, must'.

Many of the words listed are without any certain root connection which might determine the ultimate underlying sense. But in one large group (the one including NE *need*) 'violence' or 'distress' seems to be the primary notion. Other sources are 'work, unyieldingness, care, what is of use, what comes, purpose, what is against one's will, what one cannot get round'.

1. Grk. *χρεία* (beside impers. vb. *χρή* needs, must'), with *χρῶς* 'debt', *χρῆμα* 'thing', pl. 'property', etc., extensive Grk. group, primary sense prob. 'lack, need' and so best : *χρεῖω*, *χρέπω* 'inferior', Skt. *hrasva-* 'short, small', Ir. *gair* 'short', etc. Walde-P. 1.604. Boissacq 1069 f. Otherwise Brugmann, IF 37.239 f.

Grk. *ἀνάγκη* : Ir. *écen*, Nlr. *éigin*, W.

*angen* 'necessity, need' (Br. *anken* 'distress'), root connection? Walde-P. 1.60. Benveniste, Origines 155.

2. Lat. *opus* 'work' (9.12), hence *opus est* 'there is work' = 'there is need'. Hence It. *uopo* and other dial. Romance forms, but not the usual word for 'need'. Ernout-M. 708. REW 6079.

Lat. *necessitas* (> It., Fr., Sp. forms), fr. *necesse* 'necessary' (in phrases with *esse* or *habere*), neg. cpd. : *cēdere* (\**cēd-*, *habere*), neg. cpd. : <

5. Lith. *pareiga*, formed like *eiga* 'course', fr. *pareiti* 'come back', 'come to', hence 'what comes to, becomes one'. Leskien, Bildung d. Nom. 523.

Lett. *pienākums*, fr. *pie-nākt* 'come to, reach, concern'. Mühl-Endz. 3.275.

6. ChSl., only verbal phrase for 'ought'.

SCR. *dužnost*, deriv. of adj. *dužan* 'in

debt' = ChSl. *dlūžnā* id., fr. *dlūgā* 'debt'.

Boh. *povinnost'*, Pol. *povinnosć*, fr. adj. *povinný*, *povinný* 'obliged, due' derivs. of ChSl. *vina*, etc. 'fault, guilt' (16.76).

Russ. *dolg* 'debt' (11.64), also 'duty'. 7. Skt. *dharmā* 'custom, law' (21.11) may cover 'duty'; or *krtya* 'what is to be done, proper'.

## 9.943 FITTING, SUITABLE

|      |                                     |       |                               |       |                    |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | ἐπιτήδεος, εὐθετος, πρέμω           | Goth. | gadōb (neut.), fagrs          | Lith. | prĩtinkas          |
| NG   | κατάλληλος                          | ON    | fallinn, hentr, hofr          | Lett. | derigs             |
| Lat. | conveniēns, aptus, idoneus, habilis | Dan.  | passende                      | ChSl. | upravlēnā, podobnā |
| It.  | conveniente, conveni-               | Sw.   | passande, lāmplig             | SCR.  | priličan, shodan   |
| Fr.  | convenable, propre                  | OE    | gedāfen, gerisene, ge-        | Boh.  | vhodnŭj            |
| Sp.  | conveniente, propio                 | ME    | able, propre, sutely          | Pol.  | stosowny           |
| Rum. | convenabil                          | NE    | able, propre, sutely          | Russ. | priličnyj          |
| Ir.  | comadas, oiremain, oiremnach        | Du.   | gerast, voegzaam              | Skt.  | yogya-             |
| NIr. | oireamhnach, ion-                   | OHG   | biquāmi, gĩlumpfih, gĩfuoglih | Av.   | ....               |
| W.   | addas, cyfaddas                     | MHG   | bequeme, gefuege              |       |                    |
| Br.  | dereat                              | NHG   | passend, angemessen           |       |                    |

The notion 'fitting, suitable' is expressed by a great variety of terms, with semantic sources too diverse to summarize.

1. Grk. *ἐπιτήδεος*, fr. adv. *ἐπιτήδεις*, Dor. *ἐπιτάδεις* 'purposely, fittingly', this of dub. etym. The old view that it is based on a phrase *ἐπι* \**rāde* is attractive semantically, but a nom.-acc. pl. neut. in -ā (= Vedic -ā) is otherwise unknown. However, there could be an adv. *rāde* 'in this way' (of instrumental orig.), parallel to Lac. *ταυρά*, Delph., Cret. *ἀτε*, etc. For a quite different, but unconvincing, suggestion, cf. Brugmann, Demonstrativpronomina 141 f.

Grk. *εὐθετος* 'well placed', sometimes 'convenient, suitable'. Grk. *πρέμω*, pres. ppl., or more commonly 3sg. impers. *πρέπει* 'is fitting', fr. *πρέπω* 'be conspicuous', prob. : Ir. *richt*,

Lat. *habilis* 'easy to handle', hence

W. *rhith* 'form, appearance', etc. Walde-P. 2.89. Boisacq 810.

Grk. *κατάλληλος* 'corresponding, appropriate', NG 'suitable, fitting', fr. *κατά* 'according to' and *ἀλλήλους*, *ἀλλήλα* 'one another'.

2. Lat. *conveniēns*, fr. *convenire* 'come together', 3sg. impers. *convenit* 'is suitable', whence also the Romance forms, It. *convenevole*, etc. (see list).

Lat. *idoneus*, based on some nominal form like *id*, etc., but precise analysis dub. Ernout-M. 471. Walde-H. 1.671 f.

Lat. *aptus*, orig. 'fastened', but mostly fig. 'suitable', pass. ppl. of the rare *apere* 'bind' beside *apisci* 'reach, obtain' : Skt. *āp* 'reach, obtain', etc. Ernout-M. 60 f. Walde-H. 1.57 f.

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*kako ne udobi* = πῶς δύσκολόν ἐστι), neg. phrase with *udobi* 'easy' (9.96).

SCR. *težak*, Boh. *těžký* (or *obtěžný*) 'heavy' (15.81) and 'difficult' (Pol. *cieży*, Russ. *тяжелый* in phrases with 'work, task, problem', etc., but not in phrases 'it is difficult to').

Pol. *trudny*, Russ. *трудный*, derivs. of forms = ChSL. *trudŭ* 'toil, pains': Lat. *trudere* 'thrust, press', OE *þreat* 'throng, oppression, distress', etc. (cf. NE *threaten* 18.44). Walde-P. 1.755. Brückner 577. 7. Skt. *duṣ-kara-*, etc., opp. of *su-kara-*, etc. 'easy' (9.96).

9.98 TRY<sup>1</sup>

(= Make Trial of, Test)

|      |                           |       |                                  |       |                    |
|------|---------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | δοκιμάω, πειράω           | Goth. | kisusan, kausjan,                | Lith. | bandyti, mėginti   |
| NG   | δοκιμάω                   | ON    | fraisjan                         | Lett. | mėg'ināt, mėdzināt |
| Lat. | experiri, temptare        | Dan.  | regna, freista                   | ChSL. | iskusiti           |
| It.  | probare, tentare          | Sw.   | prova                            | Boh.  | pokušati, probati  |
| Fr.  | essayer, éprouver, tenter | OE    | fandian, costian                 | Pol.  | próbować           |
| Sp.  | probar                    | ME    | fonde, prove, assay, essay, trie | Russ. | probavat'          |
| Rum. | incerca                   | NE    | try                              | Skt.  | parikṣ-            |
| Ir.  | promaim                   | Du.   | proberen, beproeven              | Av.   | ....               |
| Nir. | fromhaim, triailim        | OHG   | corōn, costōn                    |       |                    |
| W.   | profi                     | MHG   | prueven, versuchen               |       |                    |
| Br.  | essa                      | NHG   | proberen, prüfen, versuchen      |       |                    |

'Try' is understood here as 'make trial of, test', though many of the words, like NE *try*, came to be used with the infinitive in the sense of 'attempt, endeavor' (9.99). For the sake of brevity these two notions may be referred to as 'try<sup>1</sup>' and 'try<sup>2</sup>'. The semantic sources are various, as 'get through' (through 'experience' to 'try'), 'approve', 'weigh', 'try to find out, seek, ask', 'separate, sift', 'look around, inspect'.

Several of the words cover also 'approve', partly secondary (as make a test with favorable result), but the earlier sense in the case of Lat. *probare* with its derivs., which, in addition, show the sense 'prove' = 'establish as true'.

Many of the words came to be used for 'tempt', especially in biblical language and in the bad sense; in some this became the dominant use and without necessarily bad sense. In fact, the majority of the words for 'tempt' are the

same as, or cognate with, some of those listed here. There are, of course, others of quite different origin, based on notions like 'lead into, invite, attract, allure, entice'.

Several of the words are also used more specifically with reference to food, that is, as 'taste' (15.31).

1. Grk. *δοκιμάω*, fr. *δόκιμος* 'approved': *δοκίω* 'seem, seem good', Lat. *deceit* 'is proper', and, with different semantic development, Grk. *δοῦσκω* 'teach', Lat. *discere* 'learn', *docere* 'teach', all prob. fr. notion of 'receive' (hence 'acceptable') as in Grk. *δοκίμαι* 'receive'. Walde-P. 1.782 ff. Boisacq 172, 194.

Grk. *πειράω* ('try' in both senses Hom.+), *πειράω* (mostly 'try'), later also 'tempt' and sometimes 'try<sup>2</sup>': *πειρά* 'trial, attempt', Lat. *experiri* 'try, experience', *periculum* 'trial, experiment, danger', prob. the same root \**per-* as in

Grk. *πέραν* 'beyond, across', *πειρώ* 'pierce', Lat. *per* 'through', etc. Walde-P. 2.88 ff. Boisacq 756 f. Ernout-M. 756 f.

2. Lat. *experiri*: Grk. *πειράω*, etc. (above, 1).

Lat. *temptare* (later spelling *tentare*) 'feel of', mostly 'try', also 'attack, incite' (> It. *tentare*, Fr. *tenter*, Sp. *tentar* in various senses including 'try' and 'tempt'), prob.: Lith. *tempti* 'stretch' (cf. Lat. *tempus* 'time'), fr. an extension of IE \**ten-* in Grk. *τείνω*, Lat. *tendere*, Skt. *tan-* 'stretch', Lat. *tenēre* 'hold', etc. Walde-P. 1.721 f. Ernout-M. 1024.

Lat. *probare* 'approve, find good', 'try', and 'prove', first sense the earliest, Osc. *prifaltu* 'approved', deriv. of *probus* 'good, upright', fr. \**pro-bhwo-* (cf. *superbus*): Skt. *pra-bhu-*, 'excelling, eminent, mighty', orig. 'being in front'. Hence It. *provere*, OFr. *prover* (Fr. *prouver* 'prove'; as 'try' replaced by *éprouver*, but this also 'prove' and esp. 'experience'), Sp. *probar*, and similar forms (partly through Fr., also partly through sb. MLat. *proba*, a back-formation to *probare*) in Celtic, Gmc., and Slavic. Walde-P. 2.37. Ernout-M. 812 f. REW 6764.

It. *assaggiare* (now esp. 'taste'), OFr. *a(s)sayer*, Fr. *essayer*, derivs. of It. *saggio*, OFr. *assai*, *essai* 'trial', fr. late Lat. *ezagium* 'weighing, balance' (: *ex-igere* 'weigh, try' with recomposition). REW 2932. Gamillscheg 384 f. Wartburg 3.255 ff.

Rum. *cerca*, orig. 'seek' (= It. *cercare*, Fr. *chercher*, 11.31), now mostly 'try', for which esp. *incerca*.

3. Ir. *promaim*, Nir. *fromhaim*, W. *profi*, fr. Lat. *probare* (above, 2). Vendryes, De hib. voc. 169. Loth, Mots lat. 1991.

Nir. *trialim*, fr. sb. *triali*, this for NE

trial, but helped by native *triall*, *trial-laim* (9.99).

Br. *essa*, fr. sb. *esa(e)*, this fr. Fr. *essai*. Henry 116.

4. Goth. (*ga*)*kisusan* (reg. for *δοκιμάω*; also *us-*, but mostly for *ἀποδοκιμάω* 'disapprove, reject'), OE *costian*, OHG *corōn*, *costōn*, MHG, NHG *kosten* (now mostly 'taste'): OE *cōsan* 'choose', Goth. *kausjan* (with gen. for *γένομαι*, but with acc. for *δοκιμάω*), Grk. *γένομαι*, Lat. *gustare* 'taste, enjoy' (15.31), Skt. *juṣ-* 'enjoy', IE \**ǵeus-*, orig. sense 'try' > 'taste', 'choose' and 'enjoy', or conversely 'taste' > 'try', 'choose' and 'enjoy'? Walde-P. 1.568 f. Ernout-M. 439. Walde-H. 1.628 f. Feist 312 f.

Goth. *fraisjan* (reg. for *πειράω*), partly 'make trial of', but esp. 'tempt', ON *freista*, ODan. *frestle*, Sw. *fresla* ('try', but esp. 'tempt'): OE *frāsian* 'ask, tempt', OHG *freisōn* 'be in danger'; perh.: Grk. *πειράω*, etc. (above, 1), but various other possibilities. Walde-P. 1.29. Falk-Torp 275 f. Feist 162.

ON *reyna*, deriv. of *raun* 'trial': Grk. *ῥευνά* 'inquiry, search', *ῥέω* 'ask', etc. Walde-P. 2.356. Falk-Torp 936.

OE *fandian*, ME *fonde* (OHG *fantōn* rare): OE *findan* 'find', etc. (11.32). Walde-P. 2.27. NED s.v. *fand*, *fond*.

ME, NE *prove* (usual word for 'try' in Bible, and still in technical use with reference to guns, etc. (e.g. *proving grounds*); but also old and now mostly 'establish as true'), fr. OFr. *prover* (above, 2), whence also MLG *prōven* (> Dan. *prøve*, Sw. *pröva*), Du. *proeven* (now mostly 'taste'), *beproeuen*, MHG *prueven*, NHG *prüfen* (esp. 'examine'). Cf. also, fr. Lat. *probare* (in part through sb. MLat. *proba*, back-formation to *probare*), Du. *proberen*, NHG *proberen* (> Dan. *probere*, Sw. *probera*), NHG *proben*, *erproben*, NE *probe*, etc. NED

Boh. *snážit se* (Pol. *snazyć się* obs.), fr. *snaha* 'effort' = SCR. *snaga* 'strength', etc. Miklosich 312. Brückner 504.

9. Skt. *yat-* used in various senses, but esp. 'exert oneself, be eager for, strive

for' (followed by case-forms or infin.) = Av. *yat-* 'set in motion, be active, zealous': W. (arch.) *add-ia*, *add-iant* 'longing', Ir. *ē* 'zeal, jealousy', many other connections dub. Walde-P. 1.197.

## 9.992 WAY, MANNER

|      |                      |       |                    |       |                |
|------|----------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | τρόπος               | Goth. | haidus             | Lith. | būdas          |
| NG   | τρόπος               | ON    | -vis               | Lett. | veids, vīse(?) |
| Lat. | modus                | Dan.  | maade (vis, sat)   | ChSL. | obrazū         |
| It.  | modo, maniera        | Sw.   | sätt (vis)         | SCR.  | način          |
| Fr.  | façon, manière, mode | OE    | wise (ueg)         | Boh.  | zřísob         |
| Sp.  | modo, manera, forma  | ME    | wise, weie, manere | Pol.  | spósob         |
| Rum. | chip, fel            | NE    | way, manner (wise) | Russ. | obraz          |
| Ir.  | mod, conar           | Du.   | wijze              | Skt.  | prakāra-       |
| Nir. | modh                 | OHG   | uīsa               | Av.   | ....           |
| W.   | modd                 | MHG   | weise              |       |                |
| Br.  | doare                | NHG   | weise, art         |       |                |

Several of the words for 'way, manner' (of doing something) are also used for the 'kind, sort' (of things), and still others must have passed through this stage, especially those based upon 'form, appearance' or the like. The diverse notions which have been generalized to 'manner' include 'turn, direction', 'way' (= 'road'), 'measure', 'handling, conduct, performance', 'arrangement, order', and 'form, appearance'.

The use of such words has spread at the expense, but by no means to the exclusion, of the old adverbs of manner formed from adjectives or pronouns, in such well-known types as Grk. *καλῶς*, Lat. *bene*, Goth. *wailla*, NE *well*, ChSL. *dobrě*, all 'in a good manner, well', or Lat. *ita*, Skt. *tathā*, OE *þus*, etc. 'in this manner, thus'. Conversely, NE *wise* has become virtually an adverbial ending in *likewise*, *otherwise*, etc., and late Lat. phrases with *mente*, abl. of *mēns* 'mind, disposition', have given rise to the new adverbial ending, It., Sp. *-mente*, Fr. *-ment*.

1. Grk. *τρόπος*, orig. 'turn, direction': *τρέπω* 'turn' (10.12).

2. Lat. *modus* (> It., Sp. *modo*, Fr.

*mode*), earliest sense 'measure', fr. the root of Lat. *mederi* 'care for, heal', *meditari* 'think about', Grk. *μέδομαι* 'be mindful of', Goth. *mitan* 'measure', etc. Walde-P. 2.259 f. Ernout-M. 599, 622 ff. Walde-H. 2.56.

It. *maniera*, Fr. *manière*, Sp. *manera*, fr. form of Lat. *manuarius* 'belonging to the hand', deriv. of *manus* 'hand'. Semantic development through 'way of handling'. REW 5332. Gamillscheg 586.

Fr. *façon*, fr. Lat. *factiō* 'party, class' (also rarely 'conduct') fr. *facere* 'do, make'. REW 3133. Gamillscheg 401.

Sp. *forma* 'form' (12.51), also 'manner'.

Rum. *chip*, in earliest use 'statue, portrait', hence 'form, appearance' and finally 'kind' and 'manner', through Slavic (SCR. *kip*), fr. Hung. *kep* 'statue, portrait, form'. Tiktin 343 f. Berneker 504.

Rum. *fel* ('kind, sort', and 'manner'), fr. Hung. *fel* in phrases like *mindenféle* 'all kinds of'. Tiktin 614 f.

3. Ir. *mod*, Nir. *modh*, W. *modd*, fr. Lat. *modus* (above, 2). Vendryes, De hib. voc. 157. Loth, Mots lat. 188.

Ir. *conar* 'road' (10.71), also 'way, manner' (Laws, Gloss. 174).

Br. *doare*, also and orig. 'appearance': W. *dwyrain* 'east' (through 'sunrise'), perh. fr. a cpd. of the root in Ir. *rigim* 'stretch out', etc. Pedersen 1.526, 2.596 with 677. Henry 103 f. (with different root connection).

4. Goth. *haidus*: ON *heiðr* 'honor', OE *hād* 'rank, condition, kind', Skt. *ketu-* 'brightness, light, appearance, form'. Semantic development 'brightness' > 'appearance, kind' > (Goth.) 'manner'. Walde-P. 2.537. Feist 231.

ON *vis* (in phrase *öðru vis* 'otherwise'), Dan., Sw. *vis* (in phrases for 'likewise', 'in this wise', etc.), OE *wise*, ME, NE *wise* (NE archaic except in *likewise*, *otherwise*, etc.), Du. *wijze*, OHG *uīsa*, MHG *weise*, NHG *weise*, all orig. 'appearance': Grk. *εἶδος* 'appearance, form, kind', fr. root \**weid-* 'see'. Walde-P. 1.239. Weigand-H. 2.1231.

Dan. *maade*, orig. (and still bibl.) 'measure': Goth. *mitan*, etc. 'measure', semantic development as in Lat. *modus*. Falk-Torp 684.

Dan. *sæt*, Sw. *sätt* (Dan. in phrases, Sw. usual word): Dan. *sætte*, Sw. *sätte* 'set', with development through 'how a thing is set, arrangement'. Cf. NE *set* of a garment, etc. Falk-Torp 1231.

ME *weie*, *waye*, NE *way* (OE *weg* once in this sense), orig. 'road' (10.71). Extension from 'way' by which one goes to 'way' in which one does anything. NED s.v. *way*.

ME *manere*, NE *manner*, fr. Anglo-Fr. *manere* = Fr. *manière* (above, 2).

MHG *art* 'birth, descent, nature', NHG 'kind, sort' (of thing) and 'manner' (of doing something), prob. (but disputed) fr. Lat. *ars, artis* 'skill, art' in its secondary sense of 'character, conduct'. Falk-Torp 33. Weigand-H. 1.88. Kluge-G. 24.

5. Lith. *būdas*, also and earliest sense 'character', fr. the root of *būti* 'be'. Cf. Grk. *φύσις* 'nature, character' fr. the same IE root.

Lett. *veids* 'appearance, form' and 'kind, manner' (Dravneek) = Lith. *veidas* 'face': Grk. *εἶδος* 'appearance, kind', etc. Mühl-Endz. 4.522.

Lett. *vīse* (Ulman; not in Mühl-Endz.), fr. MHG or MLG *weise* (above, 4).

6. ChSL. *obrazū* 'form, kind, image' (Pol. *obraz* 'image, picture', etc. 9.87), freq. also for *τρόπος* in Supr. (in the Gospels the passages with *τρόπος* are rendered by advs. or conjns. of manner, e.g. Mt. 23.37), Russ. *obraz* also 'manner'.

SCR. *način*, cpd. of *čin* 'form, rank, act' = ChSL. *činā* 'arrangement, order'. Berneker 156.

Boh. *způsob*, Pol. *sposób*, cpds. of stem seen in dat. sg. of refl. pron., ChSL. *sebē*, Boh. *sobě*, Pol. *sobie*. Cf. ChSL. *sobistvo* 'substance', Boh. *osoba* 'person', Miklosich 331. Brückner 510.

7. Skt. *prakāra-* (also 'means, sort, kind') fr. *pra-kr-* 'perform, effect', cpd. of *kr-* 'do make'.

s.v. *prove*. Falk-Torp 850, 851. Weigand-H. 2.476, 485.

ME *assay*, *essay*, fr. Fr. *a(s)sayer*, *essayer* (above, 2). NED s.v. *assay* and *essay*.

ME *trie*, NE *try*, in earliest use 'separate' the good, 'sift', etc. (as still in *try out fat*, etc.), fr. OFr. *trier* 'separate', this prob. (despite Prov. *triar*) fr. VLat. *\*tritare* (It. *tritare* 'rub down, pulverize, cut into small pieces', formerly also 'thresh' grain), this fr. Lat. *terere*, pple. *tritrus* 'rub' (9.31) and also 'thresh' (8.34). NED s.v. *try*. REW 8922. Gamillscheg 863.

NE *test*, first used with reference to metals; now more generic but stronger than *try*, fr. sb. *test* 'cupel for treating metals' (cf. *test tube*), fr. Lat. *testum* = *testa* 'potsherd, earthen vessel'. NED s.v.

MHG *versuchen*, NHG *versuchen* (in various senses, but esp. 'try<sup>1</sup>' and 'tempt', now also 'try<sup>2</sup>', cpd. of *suchen*, *suchen* 'seek' (11.31). Weigand-H. 1166. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 603.

9.99 TRY<sup>2</sup>

(Try to = Attempt, Endeavor)

|      |                                      |       |                                      |       |                         |
|------|--------------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | πειράω, ἰσχύω                        | Goth. | sōkjan                               | Lith. | bandyti, mėginti        |
| NG   | προσπαθῶ, δοκιμάω, πασκιζῶ           | ON    | leila við                            | Lett. | rauditi                 |
| Lat. | cōnāri                               | Dan.  | forsøge                              | ChSL. | iskati                  |
| It.  | provare, tentare, procurare, cercare | Sw.   | forsöka                              | SCR.  | pokušati                |
| Fr.  | essayer, tâcher, tenter, chercher    | OE    | sēcan, onginnan                      | Boh.  | pokušati se, snažiti se |
| Sp.  | procurar                             | ME    | sekan, endower, fonde                | Pol.  | starac się              |
| Rum. | incerca, caută, umbla                | NE    | try (endeavor, attempt, seek, essay) | Russ. | starat'sja              |
| Ir.  | triallaim                            | Du.   | pogen, trachten                      | Skt.  | yat-                    |
| Nir. | tabhram iarracht ar                  | OHG   | suohhen                              | Av.   | ....                    |
| W.   | ceisio                               | MHG   | suochen                              |       |                         |
| Br.  | essa                                 | NHG   | versuchen                            |       |                         |

Many of the words for 'try<sup>2</sup>' = 'attempt, endeavor' are the same as those for 'try<sup>1</sup>' = 'make trial of, test', which came to be used with the infinitive, like NE *try* to.

Many are words for 'seek', which came to be used with the infinitive, like NE *seek* to (now mostly lit.). Other sources are 'take care of, attend to', 'reflect upon, consider', 'begin, undertake',

'yearn for', and 'make an effort'. But some words in which the strenuous effort is still felt are omitted, e.g. NG *πολεμῶ* orig. 'make war', now pop. 'struggle, try hard', NE *strive* orig. 'contend', NHG *bemühen*.

1. Words for 'try<sup>1</sup>' (9.98) used also for 'try<sup>2</sup>'.

Grk. *πειράω*, NG *δοκιμάω* (often 'try<sup>2</sup>' in pop. speech), It. *provare* (use for 'try<sup>2</sup>' not in most diets, but common according to informants), *tentare*, Fr. *essayer*, *tenter*, Rum. *incerca*, Br. *essa*, ME *fonde* (NED s.v. *fand*, 5), NE *try* (*try* to since 17th. cent.), NHG *versuchen* (with infin. since 16th. cent.; hence the similar use of Dan. *forsøge*, Sw. *försöka*), Lith. *bandyti*, *mėginti*, SCR. *pokušati*, Boh. *skušeti*, but esp. refl. *pokušati se* in this sense.

2. Words for 'seek' (11.31), used also (some of the preceding also belong here in orig.) with infin. for 'try<sup>2</sup>'.

Grk. *ἰσχύω* (with infin. Hdt.+; reg. word for this sense in NT, and rendered by words for 'seek' in the Vulgate, Goth., OE and ChSL versions); It. *cercare*, Fr. *chercher*, Rum. *cauta*, W. *ceisio*, Goth. *sōkjan*, ON *leila* (*við*), OE *sēcan*, ME *seke*, NE *seek*, OHG *suohhen*, MHG *suochen*, ChSL. *iskati* (SCR. *tražiti*, Boh. *hledati* so used in NT).

3. Grk. *προσπαθῶ* 'feel passionate love for' (: *πάθος* 'emotion, passion', 16.12), NG with *va* clause (= old infin. 'try to'). Similarly, fr. the same root, NG pop. *πασκιζῶ*, deriv. of *πάσχω* (*πάσχω*) 'suffer, experience'.

4. Lat. *cōnāri*, etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.398 f. Ernout-M. 213. Walde-H. 1.262.

It. *procurare*, Sp. *procurar*, fr. Lat. *procurāre* 'take care of, attend to' (whence also Fr. *procurer* > ME, NE *procure* with different semantic development), deriv. of *cūra* 'care' (16.14).

Fr. *tâcher*, deriv. of *tâche* 'task', or blend of *\*tastare* 'feel' (It. *tastare*, Fr. *lâter*) with Fr. *chercher* 'seek'. REW 8595. Gamillscheg 828.

Rum. *umbla* 'walk' (10.45) also used with *să* for 'try<sup>2</sup>'. Tiktin 1676. Şai-neanu s.v. *tâcher*.

5. Ir. *triallaim* (or *tugaim*) *iarracht ar*, lit. 'give effort to', phrase with *iarracht* 'attempt, effort': *iarraim* 'seek' (11.31).

6. OE *onginnan* 'begin' (14.25), sometimes with infin. 'attempt, try' and glossing Lat. *cōnāri*.

NE *endeavor*, fr. late ME *endevoir*, *endover*, *endever* 'exert oneself', fr. *en* and *devoir* 'duty', hence orig. 'take on as one's duty'. NED s.v.

Du. *pogen*, etym.? Franck-v. W. 514. Du. *trachten* = NHG *trachten* (with *nach* or *danach*), OHG *trahōn* 'consider, reflect upon' (cf. NHG *betrachten*), fr. Lat. *tractare* 'handle, manage, treat' and 'consider'. Franck-v. W. 705. Weigand-H. 2.1057.

7. Lett. *raudzīt* 'see, look at, pay attention to' and with infin. 'try': *raugs* 'pupil of the eye' and perh.: Russ. *руз'* 'face', *na-ruzy* 'outside'. Mühl-Endz. 3.4



'wait for', OPruss. *laukū* 'seek', Grk. *λέωσω*, Skt. *loc-* 'look', with development 'look' > 'aim at' > 'fit' > 'happen'? Walde-P. 2.411. Berneker 742 f. Brückner 313 f.

ChSl. *byti* 'be' sometimes 'happen' (e.g. Mk. 10.32), and so reg. SCR. *zbiti* se.

SCR. *dogoditi* se, Boh. *přihoditi* se: ChSl. *u-goditi* 'be pleasing', *godū* 'time', Russ. *godit'sja* 'be suitable', etc. Berneker 316 ff.

Boh. *stāti* se, Pol. *stać się*, refl. of vbs. for 'stand', hence 'take place, happen'.

Boh. *díti* se, Pol. *dziać się* refl. of vbs. for 'put, do' (ChSl. *děti*, etc. 12.12, 9.110).

Pol. *wydarzyć się*, refl. cpd. of *darzyć* 'present with, bestow', deriv. of *dar* 'gift' (ChSl. *darū*: Grk. *δῶπον* 'gift').

Pol. *trafić się*, refl. of *trafić* 'hit', fr. NHG *treffen*, and whole phrase like NHG *sich treffen*. Brückner 574.

7. Skt. *nīpat-*, cpd. of *nī-* 'down' and *pat-* 'fly, fall'.

Skt. *udpad-*, cpd. of *ud* 'up, out' and *pad-* 'fall, go'.

## CHAPTER 10

## MOTION; LOCOMOTION, TRANSPORTATION, NAVIGATION

|                             |                             |
|-----------------------------|-----------------------------|
| 10.11 MOVE (vb.)            | 10.54 OVERTAKE              |
| 10.12 TURN (vb.)            | 10.55 ARRIVE, REACH         |
| 10.13 TURN AROUND           | 10.56 APPROACH (vb.)        |
| 10.14 WIND, WRAP (vb.)      | 10.57 ENTER                 |
| 10.15 ROLL (vb.)            | 10.61 CARRY (BEAR)          |
| 10.21 RISE (vb.)            | 10.62 BRING                 |
| 10.22 RAISE, LIFT           | 10.63 SEND                  |
| 10.23 FALL (vb.)            | 10.64 LEAD (vb.)            |
| 10.24 DROP (sb., of Liquid) | 10.65 DRIVE (vb. trans.)    |
| 10.25 THROW (vb.)           | 10.66 RIDE (vb.)            |
| 10.26 SHAKE (vb. trans.)    | 10.67 PUSH, SHOVE (vb.)     |
| 10.31 BOIL (vb. intr.)      | 10.71 ROAD                  |
| 10.32 FLOW (vb.)            | 10.72 PATH                  |
| 10.33 SINK (vb.)            | 10.73 STREET                |
| 10.34 FLOAT (vb.)           | 10.74 BRIDGE                |
| 10.35 SWIM (vb.)            | 10.75 CARRIAGE, WAGON, CART |
| 10.36 SAIL (vb.)            | 10.76 WHEEL                 |
| 10.37 FLY (vb.)             | 10.77 AXLE                  |
| 10.38 BLOW (vb. intr.)      | 10.78 YOKE                  |
| 10.41 CREEP, CRAWL          | 10.81 SHIP                  |
| 10.42 SLIDE, SLIP (vb.)     | 10.82 SAILOR                |
| 10.43 JUMP, LEAP (vb.)      | 10.83 BOAT                  |
| 10.44 DANCE (vb.)           | 10.84 RAFT                  |
| 10.45 WALK (vb.)            | 10.85 OAR                   |
| 10.46 RUN (vb.)             | 10.852 ROW (vb.)            |
| 10.47 GO                    | 10.86 RUDDER                |
| 10.48 COME                  | 10.87 MAST                  |
| 10.49 GO AWAY, DEPART       | 10.88 SAIL (sb.)            |
| 10.51 FLEE                  | 10.89 ANCHOR                |
| 10.52 FOLLOW                | 10.90 HARBOR, PORT          |
| 10.53 PURSUE                |                             |

## 10.11 MOVE (vb.)

|  |  |                                       |
|--|--|---------------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>κινέω</i>                                  | Goth. ( <i>wagjan</i> , <i>wijōn</i> )           | Lith. <i>judinti</i> , <i>judėti</i>  |
| NG <i>κινῶ</i> , <i>κινῶ</i> , <i>σαλέω</i>        | ON <i>hreyfa</i> , <i>hræra</i>                  | Lett. <i>kustināt</i> , <i>kustēt</i> |
| Lat. <i>movēre</i>                                 | Dan. <i>bewæge</i> ( <i>rære</i> )               | ChSl. <i>dvignati</i>                 |
| It. <i>m(u)overe</i>                               | Sw. <i>röra</i>                                  | ChSl. <i>maknūti</i> , <i>gibati</i>  |
| Fr. <i>mouvoir</i> , <i>remuer</i> , <i>bouger</i> | OE <i>styrian</i> , <i>hræran</i>                | Boh. <i>hnouti</i> , <i>hýbati</i>    |
| Sp. <i>mover</i>                                   | ME <i>move</i> , <i>styre</i>                    | Pol. <i>ruszyć</i>                    |
| Rum. <i>mișca</i>                                  | NE <i>move</i> ( <i>stir</i> )                   | Russ. <i>dvīnut'</i>                  |
| Ir. <i>-luir</i> , <i>luadaim</i>                  | Du. <i>bewegen</i>                               | Skt. <i>car-</i> , <i>r-</i>          |
| NlR. <i>corruighim</i>                             | OHG <i>ruoren</i> , <i>weggen</i> , <i>wegan</i> | Av. ( <i>čar-</i> , <i>ar-</i> )      |
| W. <i>symud</i> , <i>ysgogi</i>                    | MHG <i>rüeren</i> , <i>bevegen</i>               |                                       |
| Br. <i>finval</i> , <i>flacha</i>                  | NHG <i>bevegen</i> ( <i>rühren</i> )             |                                       |

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The nouns for 'motion' are not listed, as they are derivatives of the verbs listed here. In these the transitive 'move' = 'put in motion' (the commonest transitive use of NE *move* = 'change the position of', as in *move a chair*, is secondary and of course not intended here, this notion being expressed quite differently in most other languages) and the intransitive 'move' = 'be in motion' are generally expressed by the same, or by differentiated forms of the same, verb. In the majority of cases the transitive use is the primary, with intransitive expressed by middle, passive, or reflexive forms. But the Skt. and Av. roots listed are intransitive, with the transitive expressed by causative forms. A few of the words listed are intransitive only.

Verbs for 'move' are often related to those for 'turn, bend', 'raise', 'carry', 'stir', 'mix', etc. The sense 'move' may result from extension of one of these senses as the more original, or in some cases 'move' may be the more original, and the other uses be due to specialization.

1. Grk. *κινέω*: *κίω* 'go', Lat. *ciēre*, *ciere* 'set in motion, excite, summon', IE \**kei-*, beside extension \**ky-eu* in Grk. *κείω* 'set in swift motion, drive, chase', *meid* 'rush, hasten', Skt. *cyu-* in mid. 'move, move away' intr., OPers. *ašiyava* 'set out, marched'. Walde-P. 1.361 ff. Ernout-M. 186. Walde-H. 1.213 f.

Hence NG lit. *κινῶ*, but pop. *κινῶ* by blend with *κουνῶ* 'rock' (a cradle), deriv. of *κούνι*, *κούνια* 'cradle' (fr. Lat. *cunae*). G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 3.35.

Grk. *σαλέω* 'shake, toss' (10.26), in NG 'stir', 'wag' (as of a dog's tail), also simply 'move' (intr.).

2. Lat. *movēre* (> It. *muovere*, Fr. *mouvoir*, Sp. *mover*; Anglo-Fr. *mover* > ME, NE *move*) = Skt. *mū-* 'push, press', Av. *ava-mivāmahī* 'we deprive', Grk.

*ἀμείνω* 'pass over, surpass' (also *ἀμύνω* 'ward off?'). Walde-P. 2.252. Ernout-M. 634 f. REW 5703.

Fr. *remuer*, cpd. of OFr. *muer* 'change' (fr. Lat. *mutāre*). REW 5785.

Fr. *bouger* (orig. and now only intr.), fr. VLat. \**bullicāre* (cf. It. *bulicare*), deriv. of *bullire* 'bubble' (10.31), whence 'be agitated, move'. REW 1388. Wartburg 1.617 f.

Rum. *mișca*, etym. ? Tiktin 995 ("sicherlich Erbwort, aber dunklen Ursprungs"). Not in REW or Pușcariu. Development fr. some deriv. of Lat. *miscēre* 'mix', through the notion of 'stir up, agitate' (as seen in It. *mestare* 'stir', fr. \**miscitāre*; cf. OE *hræran*, etc., below, 4) would be attractive if the phonetic difficulties could be overcome.

3. Ir. *-luir* (e.g. in *dana-m-luir* 'when I rouse myself'), vbl. n. *luud*, whence Ir. *luadaim*, *luathaim*, prob. fr. IE \**pleu-* in Grk. *πλέω* 'sail, float', OE *flēotan*, NE *float*, etc. Walde-P. 2.94 f. Pedersen 2.571 f.

NlR. *corruighim*, deriv. of MlR. *corrach* 'uneven, unsteady', this fr. *corr* 'uneven, odd, pointed', prob. fr. IE \**kwerp-* in ON *hverfa*, OE *hwēorfan* 'turn', etc. (10.12-13). Walde-P. 2.472, (without *corruighim*). Macbain 71.

W. *symud*, fr. MW *symudau* 'change' (cf. semantic development in Fr. *remuer*), fr. Lat. *sub-mutāre* 'change, interchange'. G. S. Lane, Language 8.298.

W. *ysgogi*: Br. *di-skogella* 'shake', ChSl. *skočiti* 'jump', OE *scacan* 'shake', etc., IE \*(s)kek-, (s)keg-. Walde-P. 2.556. Pedersen 1.125.

Br. *finval*, MBr. *ifual*: W. *chwifo* 'stir, wave, brandish', perh. ON *swimna*, OE *swimman*, etc. 'swim' (10.35).

Walde-P. 2.524. Henry 122. Stokes 323. Br. *flacha* (intr.), fr. OFr. *fleschier* (Fr. *fléchir*) 'bend, turn aside' (fr. Lat. *flexicāre*). Henry 123.

4. Goth. *ga-wigan*, OHG *wegan*, whence caus. Goth. *wagjan*, *-wagjan* (but Goth. forms mostly for *σαλέω* 'shake'; OE *wegan*, *wagian* also 'shake', NE *waw*, *wag*), OHG *weggen*, MHG, NHG *bewegen* (> Dan. *bewæge*): Skt. *vah-*, Av. *vaz-*, Lat. *vehere*, etc. 'carry, ride', etc., IE \**wegh-* (10.66). Walde-P. 1.250. Feist 212. The assumption of two distinct roots \**wegh-* (Meillet, BSL 35.2.116) is uncalled for.

Goth. *wijōn* (Mk. 15.29, the only extant Goth. passage where Grk. has *κινέω*, but here also 'shake, wag'): Skt. *vyath-* 'waver, stagger'. Walde-P. 1.318.

ON *hreyfa*, Norw. *rýva*, fr. an IE \**kreu-p-*, prob. related to Skt. *kruñč-* 'bend' (\**kreu-k-*), Lith. *kreipti* 'twist, turn' (\**krei-p-*), etc., parallel extensions of IE \*(s)ker- in words for 'twist, turn, bend'. Falk-Torp 879 (Walde-P. 2.568 ff. without *hreyfa*).

ON *hræra*, Sw. *röra*, Dan. *røre*, OE *hræran*, OHG *ruoren*, MHG *rüeren* (NHG *rühren* now more specialized; cf. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v.), through 'stir' fr. an orig. meaning 'mix': Skt. *grī-*, Grk. *κεράννμι* 'mix', etc. Walde-P. 1.419 f. Falk-Torp 937, 1536. Hellquist 875.

OE *styrian*, ME *styre* (NE *stir*): ON *styrr* 'tumult', NHG *stören* 'disturb', *zerstören* 'destroy', and with *m*-suffix ON *stormr*, OE, NE *storm*, etc., perh. related to forms without *s*-, Skt. *tvar-* 'hurry', Lat. *turbare* 'disturb, agitate', OHG *doeran* 'whirl rapidly', IE \**twer-*. Walde-P. 1.749. Falk-Torp 1194.

5. Lith. *judinti*, intr. *judėti*: Av. *yuz-*, OPers. *yud-* 'be in commotion', Skt. *yudh-* 'fight', Lat. *iubere* 'command', IE \**yueuh-*. Walde-P. 1.203 f. Ernout-M. 500. Walde-H. 1.725.

Lett. *kustināt*, *kustēt*, cf. Lith. *kusėti* 'rouse oneself': Russ. *kisat'* 'swarm', Grk. *κυκᾶω* 'mix'. Berneker 672. Mühl-Endz. 2.329.

6. ChSl. *dvignati* (reg. for *κινέω* and *σαλέω* in Gospels; cf. *dvīženje* = *κίνεσις*), Russ. *dvīnut'*, *dvīgat'* (the other Slavic cognates mostly 'raise, lift'), outside connections dub. Berneker 240 suggests *d-vignati*, with prefix *d-* (zero grade to Lat. *ad*) and \**vignati*: Skt. *vij-* 'start up, flee from, tremble', Av. *vij-* 'swing, throw', ON *vikja* 'recede, give way'. Doubtful by Walde-P. 1.235.

SCR. *gibati*, Boh. *hnouti*, *hýbati*, orig. 'bend' as the other Slavic cognates (9.14). Berneker 366, 373.

SCR. *maknūti*, *micati*: ChSl. *mūk-nati* *se* 'transire', Pol. *mknąć* (*się*) 'move away quickly', Lith. *mukti* 'escape, free oneself', Skt. *muñc-* 'let loose', IE \**meuk-*. Brückner 339. Trautmann 189 f.

Pol. *ruszyć*, *ruszać*: Boh. *rušiti* 'touch, spoil', Russ. *rušit'*, ChSl. *rušiti* 'destroy', Boh., Russ. *ruch* 'movement', IE \**reu-s-* beside \**reu-* in Skt. *ru-* 'break to pieces', Lat. *ruere* 'tear up, dig up'. Brückner 466 f. Walde-P. 2.356 f.

7. Skt. *car-* (and esp. in this sense *cal-*), also 'wander, go about, drive, etc.', Av. *čar-* 'move about, be occupied, come', Grk. *πέδωμαι* 'be in motion, be', Lat. *colere* 'cultivate, inhabit', IE \**k<sup>w</sup>el-*. Walde-P. 1.514 f. Uhlenbeck 88 f. Barth. 450.

Skt. *r-* (*rñoti*, *rñvati*), Av. *ar-* (*ar-*, *iyar-*, *ir-*) 'move', but also 'raise, reach', etc.: Grk. *ῥέννμι* 'rouse, move', Arm. *y-arnem* 'rise', Lat. *oriri* 'arise, have an origin in', with *s*-extension Goth. *-reisan*, etc. 'rise' (10.21). Walde-P. 1.136 f. Barth. 183.

| 10.12<br>TURN (vb.)                           | 10.13<br>TURN AROUND (vb.)<br>(Besides those in 10.12) | 10.14<br>WIND, WRAP (vb.)                          | 10.15<br>ROLL (vb.)               |
|---|--|--|-----------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>τρέπω</i> , <i>στρέφω</i>             |  | <i>ῥέωσω</i> , <i>τύλωσω</i>                       | <i>κυλίνδω</i> , <i>κυλίω</i>     |
| NG <i>τρέπω</i>                               |  | <i>τύλωσω</i>                                      | <i>κυλίω</i>                      |
| Lat. <i>vertere</i>                           | <i>torquere</i>  | <i>amicire</i>                                     | <i>volvare</i>                    |
| It. <i>vollare</i> , <i>volgere</i>           | <i>girare</i> , <i>torcere</i>                         | <i>ae-(in-)volgere</i> , <i>involappare</i>        | <i>rotolare</i>                   |
| Fr. <i>tourner</i>                            |  | (en) <i>rouler</i> , <i>envelopper</i>             | <i>rouler</i>                     |
| Sp. <i>volverse</i>                           |  | <i>devanar</i> , <i>envolver</i>                   | <i>rodar</i>                      |
| Rum. <i>învârti</i>                           |  | <i>încolăci</i> , <i>înfășura</i> , <i>deplina</i> | <i>rotosoli</i>                   |
| Ir. <i>adim</i>                               | <i>casaim</i>  |  |                                   |
| NlR. <i>impuighim</i>                         |  | <i>casaim</i> , <i>cornaim</i>                     | <i>rolaim</i>                     |
| W. <i>troi</i>                                |  | <i>dirwyn</i>                                      | <i>rhollu</i> , <i>treiglo</i>    |
| Br. <i>trei</i>                               |  | <i>rodella</i>                                     | <i>ruilha</i>                     |
| Goth. <i>wandjan</i>                          |  | <i>-windan</i>                                     | <i>-walujan</i> , <i>waltjan</i>  |
| ON <i>venda</i> , <i>hverfa</i> , <i>snúa</i> | <i>ríða</i>  | <i>vinda</i> , <i>vefja</i>                        | <i>vella</i>                      |
| Dan. <i>vende</i>                             | <i>dreje</i> , <i>sno</i>                              | <i>vinde</i> , <i>svæbe</i> , <i>vikle</i>         | <i>rulle</i>                      |
| Sw. <i>vända</i>                              | <i>vrida</i> , <i>sno</i>                              | <i>vinda</i> , <i>veckla</i>                       | <i>rulla</i>                      |
| OE <i>wendan</i>                              | <i>bráwan</i> , <i>wriþan</i> , <i>tyrnan</i>          | <i>winde</i> , <i>wrappe</i>                       | <i>wielwan</i> , <i>wiellan</i>   |
| ME <i>turne</i>                               | <i>writhe</i>  | <i>winde</i> , <i>wrappe</i>                       | <i>walwe</i> , <i>rolle</i>       |
| Du. <i>wenden</i> , <i>keeren</i>             | <i>tuist</i>   | <i>wind</i> , <i>wrap</i>                          | <i>roll</i>                       |
| OHG <i>wenten</i> , <i>kēran</i>              | <i>draaien</i>   | <i>winden</i> , <i>wikkelen</i>                    | <i>rollen</i>                     |
| MHG <i>wenden</i> , <i>kēran</i>              | <i>drājen</i> , <i>ridan</i>                           | <i>wintan</i>                                      | <i>welzen</i> , <i>wellen</i>     |
| NHG <i>wenden</i> , <i>kehren</i>             | <i>drajen</i> , <i>riden</i>                           | <i>winden</i>                                      | <i>welzen</i> , <i>rollen</i>     |
| Lith. <i>kreipti</i> , <i>versti</i>          | <i>drehen</i>  | <i>winden</i> , <i>wickeln</i>                     | <i>wälzen</i> , <i>rollen</i>     |
| Lett. <i>verst</i> , <i>grīst</i>             | <i>sukti</i> , <i>grēti</i>                            | <i>viti</i> , <i>vyniati</i>                       | <i>risti</i>                      |
| ChSl. <i>obratiti</i>                         | <i>krātiti</i>   | <i>titi</i> , <i>viti</i>                          | <i>velli</i> , <i>ritināt</i>     |
| SCR. <i>obratiti</i> , <i>okrenuti</i>        | <i>vrjjeti</i>   | (sū) <i>viti</i>                                   | <i>valiti</i>                     |
| Boh. <i>obratiti</i>                          | <i>točiti</i> , <i>krouiti</i> , <i>vrtěti</i>         | <i>viti</i> , (o) <i>molati</i>                    | <i>valjati</i> , <i>kotrijati</i> |
| Pol. <i>obracić</i>                           | <i>kręcić</i>  | <i>viti</i> , <i>osinouti</i>                      | <i>valēti</i>                     |
| Russ. <i>povertul'</i>                        | <i>vertet'</i> , <i>krutit'</i>                        | <i>wic</i> , <i>obvinac</i>                        | <i>locacé</i>                     |
| Skt. <i>vrt-</i> , <i>vrtj-</i> , <i>val-</i> |  | <i>viti</i> , <i>zavernul'</i>                     | <i>kati'</i> , <i>kalat'</i>      |
| Av. <i>urvis-</i>                             |  | <i>vi-</i>   | <i>vrt-</i>                       |

10.12-10.15. Only a partial differentiation is practicable between (10.12) 'turn' in the widest sense 'change the direction of', and (10.13) 'turn around, rotate, revolve, twist' (covering motion around an axis), and again between the latter and certain other more specialized notions involving circular motion, as (10.14) 'turn something about an object', 'wind' thread on a spool, 'wrap' a garment about a person, whence also with change of construction 'wrap' (NE *wind* only rarely so) an object with, as a bundle with twine, a person with a garment, and (10.15) 'roll' in which the central notion seems to be that of progressive movement (not merely around

an axis) of, or like that of, a circular or spherical object. These notions doubtless started from quite specific images, such as, for example, the winding of thongs about something, the rolling of a stone, etc. But actually derivatives of the same root may serve for several of these notions in different languages or in the same language. Even where there is a fairly clear difference in dominant value, the idiomatic choice for specific phrases varies from one language to another or even in the same language.

In many languages the same words are used for 'turn' in general and commonly for 'turn around' (often, in fact, the primary sense), even where there are

*soukati* 'wind, twist' (thread, wool, etc.), Russ. *skatal'* 'roll up', *skatit'* 'roll down' etc.; also \**seu-p-* in Lith. *supti* 'swing, rock'.

5. Grk. *τρέπω* (Lat. *trepit* 'vertit' only in Festus and prob. fictitious after Grk.): Skt. *trap-* 'be ashamed or perplexed' (cf. Grk. *ἐντρέπομαι* 'hesitate, feel awe', etc., late and NG 'be ashamed'). Walde-P. 1.756 f.

Grk. *στρέφω* (in late times ousting *τρέπω*, which does not occur in the NT or in NG): *στρεβλός* 'twisted, bent', *στρόφος* 'string' (fr. 'twisted?'), etc., outside root connection? Boisacq 919.

Grk. *τύλωσω*, NG *τύλωω*: *τύλος* 'knot, callus, bolt', *τύλη* 'callus, cushion', ON *þollr* '(young) tree, peg', OE *þol* 'peg', Skt. *tūla-* 'tuft, wisp, cotton', etc., IE \**teu-* 'swell'. Walde-P. 1.709 f. Boisacq 990.

Grk. *κυλίνδω*, *κυλίω*, Att. also *κυλάω*, NG *κυλίω*, *κυλῶ*: Grk. *κύλιωρος* 'cylinder', *κύλλος* 'twisted, lame', Skt. *kuṇḍala-* 'earring, ring', OHG *seeloh*, *seeloh* 'oblique, crooked', Lat. *seelus* 'crime, evil deed' (as 'crookedness'), etc. Walde-P. 2.598.

NG *γυρίζω*, fr. *γύρος* 'ring, circle', *γυρός* 'round, curved': Arm. *kor* 'crooked, bent', *kuṇ* 'back', etc., SCR. *gura* 'hump', *guriti se* 'contract, hump up (with cold)', etc. Walde-P. 1.556 f. Boisacq 159.

6. Lat. *torquere* (VLat. \**torcere* > It. *torcere*, Fr. *torde*, Sp. *torcer*; Rum. *loace* 'spin', cpd. *înloace* 'turn'): Grk. *ἀτρακτος*, Skt. *tarku-* 'spindle', OHG *drahsil* 'roller', etc. Walde-P. 1.735. REW 8798.

Lat. *amicire*, usual for 'wrap (oneself in a garment, throw a garment about (oneself))', cpd. of *am(b)-* 'about' and *iacere* 'throw'. Ernout-M. 43 f. Walde-H. 1.39.

It. *girare* (= Sp. *girar* intr. only), fr.

late Lat. *gyrāre*, deriv. of *gyrus* 'circle, circuit', fr. Grk. *γῦρος* (above, 5). Ernout-M. 440. REW 3937.

It. *rotolare*, fr. VLat. \**rotulāre*, deriv. of *rotulus*, dim. of *rota* 'wheel'. REW 7396.

Fr. *rouler*, *enrouler*, (Fr. *roeler*, deriv. of Fr. *rouelle* 'round, (round) slice', fr. Lat. *rotella*, dim. of *rota* 'wheel'. REW 7389.

Fr. *tourner*, fr. Lat. *turnāre* 'turn in a lathe, round off', deriv. of *tornus* 'lathe', fr. Grk. *τόρνος* id. (: Grk. *τέρας* 'rub', cf. Boisacq 976 f.). REW 8794.

Fr. *envelopper*, OFr. *envelopper* (> ME *envelope*, NE *envelop*): It. *involappare* 'wrap', *viluppo* 'bundle, tangle', *faloppa* 'husk', late Lat. gl. *faluppa* prob. 'husk'. REW 3173.3. Gamillscheg 368. Wartburg 3.395 ff.

Sp. *devanar*, Rum. *deplina* = It. *di-panare* 'unwind', fr. VLat. *dēpānāre*, deriv. of *pānus* 'thread wound on a bobbin'. REW 2569. Wartburg 3.44.

'pivot'), etc. Walde-P. 2.571. Berneker 615.

Lith. *gręžti* (but chiefly 'bore'), Lett. *griez*: ON *kringr*, MHG *krinc* 'ring', MHG *kranc* 'circle, region', etc., also OE *cranc* (in *crancstef* 'a weaver's tool'), NE *crank*, etc., IE \**gʷrēǵ(h)-* Walde-P. 1.594. Mühl-Endz. 1.662 f.

Lett. *tūl*: Lith. *tinti* 'swell' (as 'stretch'), Goth. *uf-þanjan* 'stretch' (intr.), OE *þenian*, Lat. *tendere*, Grk. *reíwa* 'stretch', etc. Walde-P. 1.724. Mühl-Endz. 4.205 f.

10. Late ChSl. *kręžiti* (kręžati 'plait'), Boh. *kroutiti*, Russ. *krutiti*, SCr. *okrenuti*, *okretati*, Pol. *kręcić*: Lat. *crāsīs* 'wicker-work, hurdle', Grk. *káραλος* 'basket', Skt. *kṛt-* (3sg. *kṛnāti*) 'twist thread to-

gether, spin'. Walde-P. 1.421. Berneker 612 f., 627.

SCr. *koṭrjati*, Russ. *katil'*, *katal'*, cf. Pol. dial. *kocić się* intr. refl., Boh. *koṭiti* 'overturn', refl. 'rush', *koṭřiti* 'tumble, roll head over heels', etc. (large group with similar meanings), etym. dub. Berneker 591 f.

SCr. *motati*, *omotati*, etc. (Boh. *motati*, Pol. *motać*, Russ. *motat'* in more restricted or secondary uses): ChSl. *metā mesti* 'throw' (10.25). Berneker 2.40 f. Brückner 345. Miklosich 203.

10. Boh. *točiti*, Pol. *toczyć* (ChSl. *točiti* 'drive'): ChSl. *tokŭ* 'flow, issue', *tešti*, Lith. *tekėti* 'run' (10.32). Brückner 573. Walde-P. 1.716.

11. Skt. and Av. words, above, 1, 2, 3.

## 10.21 RISE (vb.)

|      |                            |       |  |       |                        |
|------|----------------------------|-------|--|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | ἀνίσταμαι                  | Goth. | urrisian, usstandan                    | Lith. | kilti, keltis          |
| NG   | σηκώνομαι                  | ON    | risa, stiga upp                        | Lett. | celties                |
| Lat. | surgere                    | Dan.  | staa op, rejse sig                     | ChSl. | vīstaniti              |
| It.  | levorſi, alzarsi, sor-gere | Sw.   | stā upp, resa sig                      | SCr.  | ustati, dignuti se     |
| Fr.  | se lever, monter           | OE    | risan, up stigan                       | Boh.  | (pou)stac, vznikac się |
| Sp.  | levantarse, alzarse        | ME    | rise                                   | Pol.  | ustat', podnĭat'sja    |
| Rum. | se scula, se ridica        | NE    | rise                                   | Russ. | ustat', podnĭat'sja    |
| Ir.  | éirigim                    | Du.   | opstāan, opstĭgen                      | Skt.  | utthā-                 |
| Nir. | éirigim                    | OHG   | ar-, uf-standan                        | Av.   | usdā-, usar-           |
| W.   | codi (cyfodi, cynnu)       | MHG   | ar-, uf-standan                        |       |                        |
| Br.  | sevel                      | NHG   | aufstehen, sich er-heben, (auf)steigen |       |                        |

There is often a distinction between 'rise' = 'get up from a sitting or lying posture' and 'rise' = 'ascend, mount (from a lower to a higher position)'.

Several words not included in the list are common for 'rise' in certain connections, as for the rising of the sun Grk. (ἀνα)ῥέλλω, Lat. *oriri*.

1. Cpds. and phrases with IE \**stā-* 'stand' (12.15).

Grk. *ἀνίσταμαι*, mid. of *ἀνίστημι* 'make stand upright, erect'; Goth. *us-standan*, Dan. *staa op*, Sw. *stā upp*, Du. *op-staan*, OHG *ar-, uf-stantan*, MHG *uf-stān*, NHG *auf-stehen*; ChSl. *vū-staniti*, SCr.

*u-stati*, Boh. *por-stati*, Pol. *pou-stać*, Russ. *u-stat'*, Skt. *ut-thā* (= *ud-sthā*), Av. *us-stā-*, Barth. 1602.

2. NG *σηκώνομαι*, mid. of *σηκώνω* 'lift' (10.22).

3. Lat. *surgere* (> It. *sorgere*, etc., REW 8475), fr. *sub-r(e)gere*, cpd. of *regere* 'make straight, direct, rule'; Ir. *éirigim*, Nir. *éirigim*, fr. \**ess-rig-*, cpd. of *rigim* 'stretch out', all fr. IE \**reg-* in Goth. *rahts*, OHG *reht*, Skt. *rġu-*, Av. *arzu-* 'right, exact'. Walde-P. 2.363. Ernout-M. 856 f.

It. *levarsi*, Fr. *se lever*, Sp. *levantarse*, refl. of It. *levare*, etc. 'lift' (10.22).

string, thread' (a needle), Lith. *virvė* 'string', etc., IE \**wer-*. But the semantic relation is not clear. Walde-P. 1.264. Boisacq 15 f.

Grk. *ἐγείρω* 'wake' (4.63), 'rouse', hence also late (esp. NT) 'raise', mid. 'rise'.

NG *σηκώνω*, Byz. *σηκώνω* = class. Grk. *σηκώνω* 'weigh, balance', beside *σέκωμαι* 'weight in a balance'. Further connection with *σηκός* 'pen, fold, enclosure' ('weight' only late and fr. the vb.) through an unattested use of the latter for the scale pan of a balance? Walde-P. 1.747.

2. Lat. *tollere*: Skt. *tul-* 'lift, weigh', *tulā-* 'balance', Grk. *τάλαντον* 'balance', *τελαμών* 'strap for holding shield or sword, pedestal, pillar' (all fr. 'supporter'), *τάλασσα*, *τλήναι* 'support, bear' in figurative sense = 'endure', as also Goth. *þulan*, OE *þolian* (NE dial. *thole*), OHG *dolēn*, NHG *dulden*, etc., IE \**tel-*. Walde-P. 1.738 ff. Ernout-M. 1043 f.

Lat. *levāre*, deriv. of *levis* 'light' (15.82) and mostly 'lighten, relieve' but also 'raise, lift' in poetry and post-Aug. prose. Hence in this sense (or fr. *sub-levāre*) It. (sol)levare, Fr. (sou)lever, deriv. Sp. *levantar*. REW 5000.

It. *alzare*, Sp. *alzar* (Rum. cpd. *îndălza* 'erect, elevate'), fr. VLat. \**altĭāre*, deriv. of *altus* 'high'. REW 385.

Rum. *ridica*, fr. Lat. *ēradĭcāre* 'root out'? Tiktin 1322. Puşcariu 1424.

3. Ir. *conubaim* (OIr. 3pl. *co-la-ucbat*, etc.), fr. \**com-od-gaib-* beside Mir. *lōc-baim*, Nir. *lōgaim* (also 'take'), fr. \**to-od-gaib-*, cpds. of *gaibim* 'take' (11.13). Pedersen 2.530 f.

W. *codi*, Br. *sevel*, both also 'rise', see 10.21.

It. *alzarsi*, Sp. *alzarse*, refl. of It. *alzare*, Sp. *alzar* 'lift' (10.22).

Fr. *monter* (general 'go up, mount'), fr. VLat. \**montāre* deriv. of Lat. *mons, montis* 'mountain'. Gamillscheg 620.

Rum. *se scula* ('rise, get up', also 'wake'), refl. of *scula* 'rouse, awaken', fr. VLat. \**excubulāre*, fr. Lat. *cubāre* 'lie down, sleep'. Puşcariu 1559. Tiktin 1396.

Rum. *se ridica*, refl. of *ridica* 'raise' (10.22).

4. Ir. *éirigim*, Nir. *éirigim*, see above, 3.

W. *cyfodi* > *codi*, etym.? Morris Jones 382 (but cf. Loth. RC 37.45 f.).

W. *cy-chwynnu* 'start, rise', *cynnu* (cwmnu) 'rise': Ir. *scendim*, *scinnim* 'spring, start'. Pedersen 2.617. Morris Jones 86. Evans s.v. *cwmnu*.

Br. *sevel* (also 'erect, construct') = W. *sefyll* 'stand' (12.15).

5. Goth. *ur-reisan*, ON *rīsa*, OE *rīsan*, ME, NE *rise* (OHG *rīsan* mostly 'fall', MHG *rīsen* 'rise' or 'fall'): Grk. *ῥίψω* 'arouse, move', Arm. *ari* 'climb', IE \**eret-*, extension of \**er-* in Skt. *r-* (*ṛjoti*),

Av. *ar-* 'move', *us-ar* (inf. *ustṛaidyai*) 'rise', Grk. *ῥίψω* 'stir up, arouse' (mid. 'arise, rise' in various phrases), etc. Hence the caus. refl. Dan. *rejse sig*, Sw. *resa sig* (nonrefl. mostly 'erect, set up'), fr. ON *reisa* 'lift, raise', etc. (10.22). Walde-P. 1.140. Falk-Torp 888.

Goth. *us-standan*, etc., above, 1. ON *stiga upp*, OE *up stigan*, Du. *opstĭgen*, NHG *(auf)steigen* (the simplex in the older Gmc. dialects mostly a general word for 'go, come, ascend, descend', cf. Goth. *steigan* 'ávaðaiveu', *al-steigan* 'karaðaiveu', etc.): Grk. *στρίχω* 'stride, go', Ir. *tiagu* 'go', IE \**stigh-*. Walde-P. 2.614.

NHG *sich erheben*, refl. of (er)heben 'lift' (10.22).

6. Lith. *kilti*, and *keltis*, Lett. *celties* (refls. of Lith. *kelti*, Lett. *celt* 'lift', 10.22): Lat. *ex-cellere* 'be eminent, excel', *celsus* 'high', *collis* 'hill', etc. (1.22).

7. ChSl. *vīstaniti*, etc., above, 1.

SCr. *dignuti se*, Boh. *zvedati se*, Pol. *wzniesć się*, Russ. *podnĭat'sja*, all refls. of words for 'raise, lift' (10.22).

8. Skt. *utthā-*, Av. *usdā-*, above, 1. Av. *usar-*, above, 5.

## 10.22 RAISE, LIFT

|      |                     |       |                          |       |                        |
|------|---------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | αἶρω                | Goth. | hafjan                   | Lith. | kel-i                  |
| NG   | σηκώνω              | ON    | hefja, lypta, reisa      | Lett. | celt                   |
| Lat. | tollere, levāre     | Dan.  | løfte, have              | ChSl. | vīzēti, vūzdvignati,   |
| It.  | alzare, (sol)levare | Sw.   | lyfta, höja (håva)       |       | vīzēnati               |
| Fr.  | (sou)lever          | OE    | hebban, rġran            | SCr.  | dignuti                |
| Sp.  | alzar, levantar     | ME    | heve, reise, rere, lyfte | Boh.  | zdvĭhnouti, zvednouti  |
| Rum. | ridica              | NE    | raise, lift              | Pol.  | podnieść, (po)zdwig-   |
| Ir.  | conubaim            | Du.   | (op)heffen, (op)tille    |       | nac                    |
| Nir. | tulaim              | OHG   | heffen                   | Russ. | podnĭat'               |
| W.   | codi                | MHG   | heben                    | Skt.  | tul-, caus. of ut-thā- |
| Br.  | sevel               | NHG   | (auf)heben               | Av.   | us-grab-               |

Words for 'raise, lift' are but rarely causatives of those for 'rise', like NE *raise*, or related to them except as the latter are reflexives. They are mostly from notions like 'weigh', 'make light', 'make high', 'take up', 'move up', etc.

1. Grk. *αἶρω*, *ἀείρω*, prob. (otherwise Solmsen, Unters. 290 ff.) same word as *ἀείρω* 'bind together, join' (in *συ-αἶρω*, *συν-ῥοπος*, *παρίσπος*, etc.), mid. 'hang' (Hom. *ἄσπρο* 'hung', *ἄσ* 'sword', etc.), and this perh. fr. \**ā-ferō*: Lett. *vert* 'to

## 10.23 FALL (vb.)

|      |                 |       |                  |       |               |
|------|-----------------|-------|------------------|-------|---------------|
| Grk. | πίπτω           | Goth. | driusan          | Lith. | pulti, kristi |
| NG   | πέσσω           | ON    | falla            | Lett. | krist         |
| Lat. | cadere          | Dan.  | falde            | ChSl. | pasti, padati |
| It.  | cadere          | Sw.   | falla            | SCr.  | pasti, padati |
| Fr.  | tomber          | OE    | feallan, drēosan | Boh.  | padnouti      |
| Sp.  | caer            | ME    | falle, droppe    | Pol.  | paść, padać   |
| Rum. | cadea           | NE    | fall, drop       | Russ. | past', padat' |
| Ir.  | tuille          | Du.   | vallen           | Skt.  | pad-, pat-    |
| Nir. | tuitim          | OHG   | fallen           | Av.   | pat-          |
| W.   | cuympo, syrthio | MHG   | vallen           |       |               |
| Br.  | koeza           | NHG   | fallen           |       |               |

In words for 'fall' the central notion is that of free, rapid, downward motion, as that of an object falling by its own weight. But in many of them the 'downward' element, though become dominant, is of secondary origin, a specialization from some notion of rapid movement. This is especially obvious in the case of the root which serves for both 'fall' and 'fly' in Indo-Iranian and also, though with differentiated forms of it, in Greek (below, 1). Some are probably of imitative origin, based on expressive syllables analogous to NE *plump*, *thud*, etc.

1. IE \**pet-*. Walde-P. 2.19.

Grk. *πίπτω* 'fall', NG pop. *πέτρω* (*π* > *φ* regular; *ε* from aor. *ἔπεσα*, cf. Hatzidakis, *Mez*. 2.503), beside *πέτρωμαι* 'fly'; Skt., Av. *pat-* 'fall' and 'fly',

Opers. *ud-apatātā* 'made an uprising, rebellion'; Lat. *petere* 'go after, seek', etc. The sense 'fly' is the most widespread, notably in the derivs. for 'wing, feather', and was probably the primary use of the root. Cf. 10.36. But the notion of rapid motion unites all the uses.

2. Lat. *cadere* (> It. *cadere*, Sp. *caer*, Rum. *cădea*, OFr. *cheoir*): Skt. *gad-* 'fall off, out', Mir. *casar* 'hail, lightning', IE \**kad-*. Walde-P. 1.339. Ernout-M. 127. Walde-H. 1.128.

Fr. *tomber*, replacing *cheoir* (above) in 18th cent., OFr. *tomber*, *tumber* 'leap, dance, stagger, make tumble', prob. with

OFr. *tumer* 'leap', loanword fr. the Gmc. group seen in OHG *tūmōn* 'turn around', NHG *taumeln* 'stagger', OE *tumbian* 'tumble, dance', NE *tumble*, etc., all prob. of imitative origin. REW 8975. Gamillscheg 847.

3. Ir. *do-tuit* (3sg.), Nir. *tuitim*, prob. through 'hit the ground': Lat. *tundere* 'beat, pound', Skt. *tud-* 'push, thrust, prick', Goth. *stautan* 'smite', etc. Walde-P. 2.618. Pedersen 2.656 ff.

W. *cuympo*, cf. MW *cuymp* 'a fall', of imitative orig.

W. *syrthio*, perh. (with reg. s. fr. *st*, as in *seren* 'star', etc.): OE *styrte* 'jump, leap' (NE start). Loth. RC 43.148 f.

Br. *koeza* (*koeza*), W. *cuyddo* (arch.), Corn. *codhe*, etym. dub., perh.: ON *hitta* 'hit upon, meet', etc. Walde-P. 1.364. Falk-Torp 407.

4. ON *falla*, OE *feallan*, OHG *fallen*, etc., the main Gmc. group: Lith. *pulti*, Lett. dial. *pult* 'fall', Arm. *p'lanim* 'fall in'. Walde-P. 2.103. Falk-Torp 202.

Goth. *driusan*, OE *drēosan*, ME *drese* (rare), OS *drīosan*: OHG *trōren* 'drip, trickle', Grk. *ῥαίω* 'break up, shatter', IE \**dhreus-*. Walde-P. 1.873. Feist 126.

ME *droppe*, NE *drop*, orig. like OE *dropian* 'fall in drops' (see 10.24), but extended, so that in its intr. use it is common in the sense of *fall*, without by any means displacing it, and in its trans. use is generally substituted for the

phrase *let fall*, NHG *fallen lassen*, Fr. *laisser tomber*, etc., e.g. *drop a pencil*, a *handkerchief*, etc.

5. Lith. *pulti*, above, 4.

Lith. *kristi*, Lett. *krist*; prob.: Lith. *krestis*, Ablaut 333. Mühl-Endz. 2.281. Otherwise (: Lith. *kirsti*, Lett. *cirst* 'hew, hack') Walde-P. 2.579.

## 10.24 DROP (sb., of Liquid)

|      |                        |       |         |       |        |
|------|------------------------|-------|---------|-------|--------|
| Grk. | σπάω                   | Goth. | ....    | Lith. | lašas  |
| NG   | σπάω                   | ON    | dropi   | Lett. | lase   |
| Lat. | gutta                  | Dan.  | draabe  | ChSl. | kaplja |
| It.  | goccia, gocciola       | Sw.   | droppe  | SCr.  | kaplja |
| Fr.  | goutte                 | OE    | dropa   | Boh.  | kapka  |
| Sp.  | gota                   | ME    | drope   | Russ. | kropka |
| Rum. | picătură, strop (guță) | NE    | drop    | Russ. | kropka |
| Ir.  | brann, brōen           | Du.   | drop    | Skt.  | bindu- |
| Nir. | dafn, diferyn          | OHG   | tropfo  | Av.   | ....   |
| W.   | dafn, diferyn          | MHG   | tropfe  |       |        |
| Br.  | banne, bannec'h        | NHG   | tropfen |       |        |

The extension of 'fall in drops' to 'fall' in general, as seen in NE *drop* (10.23), leads us to consider here the nouns for a 'drop'—despite the fact that in these the notion of motion, the 'dropping', is subordinate in feeling to that of (small) amount (of a liquid), so that the inclusion in this chapter seems illogical.

1. Grk. *σπάω*, with vb. *σπάω* 'drip' (\**stāgō*), prob.: Lat. *stagnum* 'stagnant water, pool', OBr. *staer*, NBr. *ster* 'river', W. *taen* 'a sprinkling'. Walde-P. 2.612. Pedersen 1.103.

2. Lat. *gutta* (> It. *gota* 'gout'; *gocciola* 'drop'; Fr. *goutte*, Sp. *gota* 'drop' and 'gout'; Rum. *guță* 'gout', dial. 'drop'), etym.? Ernout-M. 439. Walde-H. 1.629. REW 3928, 3929. For the sense 'gout', see NED s.v. *gout*, sb.1.

Rum. *pic* (also 'a little, a bit'), for 'drop' more commonly *picătură*, fr. vb. *pică* 'drip', this fr. an imitative syllable seen in It. *piccolo* 'small', etc. (1.256).

6. ChSl., SCr. *pasti*, *padati*, etc., general Slavic: Skt. *pad-* 'fall, go', Av. *pad-*, *paš-* 'move downward, plunge down', prob. the same root as in Skt. *pad-*, Grk. *πίω*, etc. 'foot'. Walde-P. 2.23.

7. Skt. *pad-*, above, 6. Skt. *pat-*, Av. *pat-*, above, 1.

REW 6494. Puşcariu 1304. Tiktin 1154.

Rum. *strop*, back-formation fr. vb. *stropi* 'sprinkle', prob. corruption of a Slavic \**sū-kropiti* (cf. ChSl. *kropiti*, SCr. *škropiti* 'sprinkle', Berneker 623). Tiktin 1519.

3. Ir. *banna* (K. Meyer, Contrib. 177), Br. *banne*, *bannec'h*, OConn. *banne* (MCorn. 'a jot, bit'): Skt. *bindu-* 'drop', root connection? Walde-P. 2.110. Pedersen 1.116. A. Mayer, Glotta 29.69 f.

Ir. *brōen* (also 'rain, shower, spot', K. Meyer, Contrib. 266), Nir. *brann*, etym.? Walde-P. 1.268 (vs. Stokes 271).

W. *dafn* (with vb. *dafnu* 'drip'), etym.?

W. *diferyn*, with vb. *diferu* = Corn. *devery*, *dyvery* 'drip', etym.?

4. ON *dropi*, OE *dropa*, OHG *tropfo*, etc., general Gmc., beside vbs. ON *drjupa*, OE *drēpan*, OHG *triufan*, etc., also OE *dropian*, *dryppan*, etc. (NE *drop*, *drip*, beside *dreep* fr. OE *drēpan*, and *droop* fr. ON *drūpa*), with Ir. *drucht*

'dew', fr. \**dhreub-* beside \**dhreubh-* in Grk. *θρόσσω* (*trōsōn*) 'break in pieces', *θρόσσω*, *ρῥόσος* 'bit, lump', and *dhreus-* in Goth. *driusan*, OE *drēosan* 'fall'. Walde-P. 1.873. Falk-Torp 150, 159.

5. Lith. *lašas*, Lett. *lase*, perh.: Russ. *lasa*, *lasina* 'spot'. Mühl-Endz. 2.441. Berneker 691. Buga, Kalba ir Senovė 193.

6. ChSl., SCr., Russ. *kaplja*, Boh.

*kapka*, beside vb. ChSl. *kapati* 'drip', etc., perh. fr. an imitative syllable. Berneker 487.

Pol. *kropka* (ChSl. *kroplja* 'stream' of tears, Supr.), fr. the root of ChSl. *kropiti*, etc. 'sprinkle', based on an imitative syllable like that in Lat. *crepere* 'rattle, clatter', etc. Walde-P. 1.416. Berneker 623. Brückner 270

*pyr* 'embers', Grk. *πῦρ* 'fire', etc.? Trautmann 232. Štrekelj, Arch. sl. Ph. 27.56 f.

6. ChSl. *tręsti*, etc., general Slavic, fr. *\*trem-*, a blend of *\*trem-* in Grk. *τρέμω*, Lat. *tremere* 'tremble', ON *bramma* 'trample', and *\*tres-* in Skt. *tras-*

'tremble', Grk. *τρέω* 'flee'. Walde-P. 2.758, 760.  
7. Skt. *dhū-* : Grk. *θῦω* 'rage, blow', Slavic *duiti* 'blow', the same root as in Skt. *dhūma-*, Lat. *fūmus*, ChSl. *dymū* 'smoke', Grk. *θύμός* 'spirit, anger', all with a common notion of 'agitation'. Walde-P. 1.837.

## 10.31 BOIL (vb. intr.)

Grk. *βράζω*  
NG *βράζω*  
Lat. *fervere*  
It. *bollire*  
Fr. *bouillir*  
Sp. *hervir, bullir*  
Rum. *ferbe*  
Ir. *berbaim, fichim*  
Nl. *beirbhim, fuchaim, bruihim*  
W. *berwi*  
Br. *birwi*

Goth. *wulan*  
ON *vella*  
Dan. *koge (syde)*  
Sw. *koka (sjuda)*  
OE *weallan*  
ME *boile, welte, sethe*  
NE *boil (seethe)*  
Du. *koken, zieden*  
OHG *wallan*  
MHG *wallen, sieden*  
NHG *kochen (sieden)*

It. *bollire*, Fr. *bouillir* (> ME *boile*, NE *boil*), Sp. *bullir*, fr. Lat. *bullire*

'bubble, be in bubbling motion', deriv. of *bullā* 'bubble' (also 'knob', etc.) : Grk. *βούλος* 'bulb', Lith. *bulbė* 'potato', etc. Walde-P. 2.111, 115. Ernout-M. 121. Walde-H. 1.122. REW 1389.

3. Ir. *berbaim*, Nl. *beirbhim*, above, 2. Ir. *fichim*, Nl. *fuchaim*, same word as *fichim* 'fight', with development through idea of 'quick, restless motion'? Pedersen 2.521.

4. Goth. *wulan*, ON *vella*, OE *weallan*, OHG *wallan*, MHG *wallen*, all 'bubble up, well up, boil', prob. through idea of 'rolling' (of the water, waves, etc.) : Lat. *volvere*, Goth. *-walaujan*, OE *wielwan* 'roll', etc. (10.15). Walde-P. 1.302. Falk-Torp 1401 (otherwise). Feist 575 f.

Du. *koken* (MLG > Dan. *koge*, Sw. *koka*), NHG *kochen*, orig. 'boil' trans. = 'prepare (food) by boiling' fr. Lat. *coquere* (5.22).

Dan. *syde*, Sw. *sjuda*, ME *sethe*, NE *seethe*, Du. *zieden*, MHG, NHG *sieden* (all now more or less archaic), orig. only

'Boil' is understood here as the intransitive verb, as in NE *water boils*, in contrast to the transitive 'boil' in cooking (5.22). Most, though not all, of the words in the two groups are the same or related.

1. Grk. *βέω* : Skt. *yas-*, Av. *yah-* 'boil, foam' (cf. Grk. *γαστήρ*, Skt. *yasta-*, Av. *yašta-*), W. *ias* 'boiling, seething', ON *jastr*, OE *giest*, NE *yeast*, etc., IE *\*yes-*. Walde-P. 1.208.

NG *βράζω*, fr. late Grk. *βράζω* 'boil, froth up, ferment' beside *βράσσω*, Att. *βράσσω* 'shake violently', 'throw up' (on the shore of the sea), perh. : Lett. *mur-dēt* 'bubble, gush', Lith. *murdynas* 'springy spot of ground', etc. Walde-P. 2.280.

2. Lat. *fervere*, also *fervere* (> Sp. *hervir*, Rum. *ferbe*), Ir. *berbaim*, Nl. *beirbhim*, W. *berwi*, Br. *birwi*, also Nl. *bruithim* : Skt. *bhruvāṇi-* 'wild, restless', Russ. *brujā* 'streaming, current', OHG *bruiwan*, etc. 'brew', IE *\*bheru-*. Walde-P. 2.167 f. Ernout-M. 352 f. Walde-H. 1.437.

'boil' trans., like ON *sjōða*, OE *seōpan*, OHG *siodan* (5.22), root connections dub. Walde-P. 2.471 f. Falk-Torp 1225. Feist 413.

ME *boile*, NE *boil*, above, 2.

5. Lith. *virti*, Lett. *virt*, ChSl. *vrěti*, SCr. *vrěti*, Boh. *vřiti*, Pol. (caus. refl.) *warzyć się* beside *wrzeć* (this mostly 'bubble, boil violently'), Russ. (caus. refl.) *varit' sja* all prob. fr. IE *\*uer-* 'turn' (cf. Lat. *vertere*, ChSl. *vrěti*, 10.12), with same semantic development as in Goth.

## 10.32 FLOW (vb.)

Grk. *ῥέω*  
NG *ῥέω*  
Lat. *fluere*  
It. *scorrere, fluire*  
Fr. *couler*  
Rum. *curge*  
Ir. *rethim*  
Nl. *rihim*  
W. *llifo, rhedeg*  
Br. *bera, redek*

Goth. *rinnan*  
ON *renna, fljóla*  
Dan. *flyde, rinde*  
Sw. *flyta, rinna*  
OE *flōwan, irnan*  
NE *flowe, renne*  
Du. *vloeden*  
OHG *flōcan, rinnan*  
MHG *fließen, rinne*  
NHG *fließen, rinne*

Among verbs for 'flow' there is one group which clearly reflects a distinctive IE root for this notion, though its survival is more widespread in derivatives than in the verbs. Some are cognate with verbs for 'gush forth, swell' or 'pour' or 'float', or come through 'drip', from 'filter'.

But the commonest situation is the extension of words for 'run' (10.46) to cover 'flow'. Nearly everywhere the words for 'run' may, at least occasionally or colloquially, be applied to liquids. So in NE, despite *flow*, the brook *runs*, water is *running* (in the tap), etc. In many languages they are the regular words for 'flow', either for both 'flow' and 'run' (as NG *ῥέω*, Lith. *bėgti*) or specialized to 'flow' (as mostly *tek-* in Balto-Slavic). Or the older distinctive word for 'flow' may survive only in tech-

nical or literary use, as It. *fluire* beside *scorrere*.

1. IE *\*sreu-*. Walde-P. 2.702 f. Grk. *ῥέω*, Skt. *śru-*, Av. *rud-* (pres. stem *raōda-*, caus. *raōdaya-*; cf. also *raōdah-* 'stream') beside *urwant-* (*\*sru-* variant-) pple. 'flowing', more widespread in derivs., esp. words for 'river' or 'stream' (1.36).

2. From 'run' (10.46). Grk. *τρέχω* 'run', NG 'run' and 'flow'; Lat. *currere* 'run', as 'flow' mostly poet., It. (*scorrere*, Sp. *correr* 'run, flow', Rum. *curge* (re-formed after *merge* 'go') formerly 'run, flow', now reg. 'flow'; Ir. *rethim*, Nl. *rihim*, W. *rhedeg*, Br. *reded* 'run, flow'; Goth. *rinnan*, ON *renna*, OE *irnan*, OHG *rinnan*, etc. 'run, flow' (NHG *rinnen* mostly 'flow in a small stream, trickle'); Lith. *bėgti* 'run, flow';

Lith. *tekėti* 'flow, run', Lett. *tecēt* mostly

'flow' (as 'run' only special uses, cf. Mühl.-Endz. s.v.), ChSl. *tešti* 'run, flow', SCr. *teći*, Boh. *teci*, Russ. *teč'* 'flow' (sense 'run' entirely lost), Av. *tač-* 'run, flow'.

3. Lat. *fluere* (> It. *fluire*, Sp. *fluir*), perf. *fluxi* (cf. also *con-fluēs*) : Grk. *ὀινό-φλυξ* 'wine-drunk', *φλύξω* 'boil up, bubble over', fr. an extension of *\*bheleu-* in words for 'swell (up), burst (out)', etc., cf. Grk. *φλέω* 'teem', ChSl. *blivati* 'spit, vomit', etc. Walde-P. 2.213 f. Ernout-M. 370 ff. Walde-H. 1.519 f.

Fr. *couler*, fr. Lat. *colāre* 'filter, strain' (fr. *cōlum* 'strainer'), with development of 'flow' through 'drip'. REW 2035.

4. W. *llifo*, cf. *llif* 'a stream, flood', Br. *liaden* 'flood', prob. fr. *\*lib-* : Grk. *λείβω*, Lat. *libāre* 'pour a libation', with extension of the root in Lith. *lieti*, ChSl. *liti* 'pour', W. *lliant* 'stream', Ir. *lia* 'flood', etc. (Walde-P. 2.392 f., without W. *llifo*, etc.). G. S. Lane, Language 8.297.

Br. *bera* 'flow' beside W. *beru* 'drip', prob. fr. *\*bher-* in Ir. *topur* 'spring, well', Skt. *bhru-* 'quiver', *bhruvan-* 'surging', etc. (Walde-P. 2.157 f., without the

Br., W. forms). G. S. Lane, Language 8.297.

5. OE *flōwan*, ME *flowe*, NE *flow*, Du. *vloeden* (= ON *flōa* 'flow over, flood'), ChSl. *pluti* 'sail, flow', Pol. *plynąć* 'flow' (but other Slavic cognates mostly 'float, swim, sail', as also Grk. *πλέω*, Skt. *plu-*, etc.) fr. IE *\*pleu-*, with extension *\*pleu-d-* in ON *fljóta*, Dan. *flyde*, Sw. *flyta*, OHG *flōcan*, MHG *fließen*, NHG *fließen* (= OE *flōtan*, ME *flete* 'float' (ME also sometimes 'flow'), Lith. *plauti* 'swim'). Cf. 10.34-36. Walde-P. 2.94 f. Falk-Torp 242.

6. Lith. *tekėti*, *bėgti*, ChSl. *tešti*, etc., above, 2.

ChSl. *pluti*, Pol. *plynąć*, above, 5.

7. Skt. *śru-*, Av. *rud-*, above, 1. Skt. *śr-* 'flow, run' : Grk. *δρῦν* 'on-rush, onset', etc. Walde-P. 2.497. Uhlenbeck 330.

Skt. *ksar-*, Av. *γζar-* (by metathesis *žgar-*) : Arm. *jur* 'water', Grk. *φείρω* 'destroy' (as 'let perish, pass away'). Walde-P. 1.700.

Av. *tač-* above, 2.

## 10.33 SINK (vb.)

(a = trans., b = intr.)

Grk. *(κατα-)βύω* (a, b, mid. b), *βυθίζω* (a, mid. b)  
NG *βουλάζω* (a, b), *βυθίζω* (a, mid. b)  
Lat. *(sub)mergere* (a, pass. b)  
It. *affondare* (a, refl. b)  
Fr. *couler* (a, b), *enfoncer* (a, refl. b), *plonger* (a, refl. b)  
Sp. *hundir* (a, refl. b)  
Rum. *scufunda* (a, refl. b)  
Ir. *báidim* (a, pass. b)  
Nl. *báidim* (a), *teighim* (b)  
W. *suddo, soddi* (a, b)  
Br. *goueledi* (a, b)

Goth. *siggan* (b), *saggjan* (a)  
ON *sökkva* (st. b, wk. a)  
Dan. *synke* (b), *sænke* (a)  
Sw. *sunka* (b), *sänka* (a)  
OE *sincan* (b), *sencan* (a)  
ME *sink* (a, b), *senche* (a)  
NE *sink* (a, b)  
Du. *zinken* (b), *laten zinken* (a)  
OHG *sinkan* (b), *senkan* (a)  
MHG *sinken* (b), *senken* (a)  
NHG *sinken* (b), *senken* (a)

Av. *tač-* above, 2.

In verbs for 'sink' the primary notion is taken here as 'become or cause to be submerged', as of a ship in the sea, though many of the words are used also for 'sink' in wider sense = 'go down', 'lower', etc. Several are connected with words for 'bottom' or 'depth'. But in many cases the relations are obscure, and in part a notion of movement downward or into may be earlier than the specific.

The transitive and intransitive 'sink' are expressed by related forms of the same verb, or in part by the same form, as NE *sink*. The primary forms are entered first in the list, whether transitive or intransitive.

1. Grk. *δύω* (pres. also *δύνω*), esp. *καταδύω*, same root as in *ἐν-δύω* 'put on' (clothing), *ἐκ-δύω* 'take off', perh. : Skt. *upá-du-* 'put on'; but primary sense of root obscure. Walde-P. 1.777 f. Boisacq 206.

Grk. *βυθίζω* (rare in classical, common from Hellenistic times, Polyb., NT, etc., Byz., etc.), deriv. of *βυθός* 'depth' (esp. of the sea).

NG *βουλάζω*, fr. late Grk. *βουλάζω* 'heave the lead, sound' (NT, Byz.), mid. 'sink' (Geop.), deriv. of *βούλα* 'a missile, a casting-lead' (: *βάλλω* 'throw', 10.25). Koraes, *Ἀρακτα* 4.58. Cf. Fr. *plonger*, below, 2.

2. Lat. *mergere*, esp. *sub-mergere* : Skt. *majj-* 'sink', Lith. *masgoti*, Lett. *masgot* 'wash' (through 'dip, plunge into water'), IE *\*mezg-*. Walde-P. 2.300 f. Ernout-M. 610. Walde-H. 2.76 f.

Derivs. of Lat. *fundus* 'bottom'. It. *affondare* (cf. *affondo* 'deep'); Fr. *enfoncer* (cf. OFr. *fons*, Fr. *fond* 'bottom'), Sp. *hundir* (*hondo* 'bottom'), Rum. *scufunda* (also *cufunda*, fr. *\*con-fondāre*; s-

from *ex-* or by blend with *sub-*). REW 269, 3585, 8437.

Fr. *couler* = *couler* 'flow', fr. Lat. *colāre* 'filter, strain' (10.32).

Fr. *plonger*, fr. *\*plumbicāre*, deriv. of *plumbum* 'lead' through its nautical sense. REW 6613.

3. Ir. *báidim* ('drown' and 'sink', cf. K. Meyer, Contrib. 161), Nl. *báidim*, *báidaim* : W. *boddi*, Br. *beuzi* 'drown', Skt. *gāh-* 'plunge (into)', *gāha-* 'depth', IE *\*gādāh-*. Walde-P. 1.665. Pedersen 2.458 f.

Nl. (for intr.) *teighim fē* (or *faoi*), lit. 'go under'.

W. *suddo, soddi*, perh. fr. forms of IE *\*sed-* 'sit', with semantic development as in NE *settle* (of a ship), but there are phonetic difficulties. Morris Jones 78, 154 (but untenable explanation of the *u*-form).

Br. *goueledi*, fr. *goueled* 'bottom'.

4. Goth. *siggan*, ON *sökkva* (strong vb.), Dan. *synke*, Sw. *sunka*, OE *sincan*, etc., whence caus. Goth. *saggja* (= *\*saggjan*, cf. *ufsaggjan*), ON *sökkva* (weak vb.), OE *sencan*, etc. (caus. forms lost in NE and Du.), general Gmc. group, but outside connections dub. Walde-P. 2.496. Falk-Torp 1228.

5. Lith. *grimsti*, *gramzdėti*, caus. *gramzdinti*, Lett. *grimt*, caus. *gremdēt*, fr. a root *\*gremd-*, beside *\*grend-* in ChSl. *pogręznati*, *pogražati* 'sink', further connections dub. Walde-P. 1.654 f. Berneker 350.

6. ChSl. *topiti*, *tonati* (fr. *\*topnati*), attested late (in Gospels only *pogražati*, etc.), but general Slavic : Arm. *tatavem* 'dip, plunge', *t'on* 'dampness, wet'. Walde-P. 1.705. Otherwise Brückner 573 (: ChSl. *teiti*, *tepa* 'strike', for which see Trautmann 319).

7. Skt. *majj-*, above, 2.

## 10.34 FLOAT (vb.)

Grk. *πλέω*  
NG *πλέω*  
Lat. *fluere*  
It. *galleggiare*  
Fr. *floter, flatter*  
Sp. *flotar*  
Rum. *pluti*  
Ir. *snáim*  
Nl. *snámhaim*  
W. *nofo*  
Br. *neutvi, neu*

Goth. *plaukti, pludurioti*  
Lett. *pludot*  
ChSl. *pluti, plavati*  
SCr. *plaviti, plivati*  
Boh. *plouti, plovati*  
Pol. *plywać*  
Russ. *plyt', plavat'*  
Skt. *plu-*  
Av. *...*

The notions of 'float', 'swim', and 'sail' are so closely related that in many cases two of them are expressed by the same word or even all three by forms of the same root.

1. IE *\*pleu-*, also *\*pleu-d-*, *\*pleu-k-*, in words for 'float', 'swim', and 'sail', also 'flow' (10.32), and 'rain' (Lat. *pluere*). Walde-P. 2.94 ff. Ernout-M. 781 f.

Grk. *πλέω*, mostly 'sail', also 'float', *ἐπιπλέω* 'sail upon', also 'float', NG 'float'; ON *fljóta*, Dan. *flyde*, Sw. *flyta* 'flow, float', OE *flōtan*, *flōtan* (rare), ME *flete*, *flote*, NE *float* 'float', OHG *flūzan*, MHG *fließen* mostly 'flow', sometimes 'float'; Lith. *plaukti* 'swim, float, sail', *pludurioti*, Lett. *pludnot* 'float'; ChSl. *pluti*, *plavati*, SCr. *plaviti*, *plivati*, Boh. *plaviti* se (refl.), *plovati*, Pol. *plywać*, Russ. *plyt', plavat'*, all 'float, swim' and, except Pol. 'sail', Skt. *plu-* 'float, swim, sail' : Av. *fru-* in caus. 'cause to flow' (Vd. 5.16, 18), also 'overflow, extinguish, fly, etc.' (Barth. 990).

2. Lat. *fluāre*, frequent. of *fluere* 'flow' (10.32).

It. *galleggiare*, deriv. of *galla* 'gall-apple, air-bubble, light object' (cf. a *galla* 'floating'), fr. Lat. *galla* 'gall-apple'. REW 3655.

5. Lith. *pludurioti*, Lett. *pludnot*, Lith. *plaukti*, above, 1.

6. ChSl. *pluti*, etc., general Slavic, above, 1.

7. Skt. *plu-*, above, 1.

OFr. *floter*, Fr. *flotter* (> Sp. *flotar*), prob. deriv. of *flot* 'wave', this fr. an OFrank. form corresponding to OE *flōd* 'flowing, flood'. Wartburg 3.638 ff. Somewhat otherwise, as to the precise Gmc. source, REW 3383, Gamillscheg 426.

Fr. *survager*, cpd. of *sur* 'on' and *nager* 'swim' (10.35).

Rum. *pluti*, fr. the Slavic (above, 1).

3. Ir. *snáim*, etc., general Celtic for 'swim' (10.35) and 'float'.

4. ON *fljóta*, OE *flōtan*, etc., above, 1. OHG *swebēn*, MHG *sweben* 'float' in water or air, NHG *schweben* 'soar' : OHG *swebibōn* 'move to and fro', OE *swifan* 'move, sweep' etc. Walde-P. 2.520. Weigand-H. 2.815.

Du. *drijven* 'drive' (10.65), also 'drift, float'. Cf. the similar use of NE *drive* (NED s.v. 26) and esp. (through sb.) *drift*, *NHG auf dem Wasser treiben*.

MHG *swimmen*, NHG *schwimmen* 'swim' (10.35), also 'float' (for purposes of definition *obenauf schwimmen*).

5. Lith. *pludurioti*, Lett. *pludnot*, Lith. *plaukti*, above, 1.

6. ChSl. *pluti*, etc., general Slavic, above, 1.

7. Skt. *plu-*, above, 1.

deriv. of *návis* 'ship' (10.81). Ernout-M. 624.

3. Ir. *immráim*, lit. 'row about', but reg. also 'sail, go by ship' (cf. vbl. n. *imráim* 'voyage'), cpd. of *ráim* 'row' (10.852). Pedersen 2.591.

Nl. *seolaim*, W. *hwylio*, derivs. of Ir. *seol*, W. *hwyli* 'sail' (10.88).

W. *morio*, deriv. of *mor* 'sea'.

W. *morhwylo*, Br. *mordei*, cpds. of *mor* 'sea' and last part : Ir. *tiagu* 'go' (10.47). Pedersen 2.648.

4. Goth. *farjan* (*πλέω* Lk. 8.23, also *θαλάσσω* 'row' Jn. 6.19), OHG *ferian*, MHG *vern* = OS *ferian* 'voyage', OE *ferian* 'transport' (esp. by water), ferry, go, travel', ON *ferja* (trans.) 'carry, transport' (esp. by sea), ferry : Goth. *faran* 'go (about)', OHG, OE *faran*, ON *fara* 'go, travel', all used frequently of travel by sea, and so esp. Du. *varen* (10.47).

ON *sigla*, Dan. *sejle*, Sw. *segla*, OE *siglan*, *seglan*, ME *seile*, NE *sail*, Du. *zeilen*, MHG *sigeln*, NHG *segeln*, derivs.

of ON, OE *segl*, etc. 'sail' (10.88). Falk-Torp 955.

OE *līpan* 'travel', but esp. 'travel by sea, sail' : ON *líða* 'go, travel', etc. (10.47).

OE *rōwan* 'row' (10.852), but also 'travel by ship, sail', cf. *ic rowe = navigo* (Aelfric, Gram.), *þa hig reowon* 'navigantibus illis' (Lk. 8.23).



wan), Du. *waaien*, OHG *wājan*, MHG *waen*, NHH *wehen*; ChSl. *vějati* (in Gospels *vūz-vějati* Mt. 7.25, 27 for *πνέω*, beside more common *duchati* Lk. 12.55, etc.), Boh. *vdít*, Pol. *wiać*, Russ. *vejat'*.

2. Grk. *πνέω* 'breathe' and the usual word for 'blow', see 4.51.

Grk. *φύσσω*, NG *φύσσω* (now the usual pop. word), fr. an imitative syllable \**bhū* beside \**pū* in Lith. *pūsti*, Lett. *pūst*, SCR. *puhati* 'blow' (Boh. *puchati* 'swell up, stink', *pychati* 'be puffed up', Russ. *puchnuť* 'swell up', *pychnout'* 'breathe hard, pant', etc.), Lat. *pustula* 'blister', etc. Walde-P. 2.81. Trautmann 233.

3. Lat. *flāre* (cpd. *sufflāre* > Romance words; REW 8430), fr. \**bhlā-* beside \**bhlē-* in OE *blāwan*, ME *blawan*, NE *blow*, OHG *blājan*, MHG *blājen* (NHG *blāhen* mostly 'cause flatulence', refl. 'be puffed up'); and \**bhlēs-* in Goth. *blēsan* (only in *uþlēsan* 'be puffed up'), ON *blāsa*, Dan. *blāse*, Sw. *blāsa*, Du. *blazen*, OHG *blāsen*, etc., all fr. various extensions of an imitative syllable. Walde-P. 2.179. Ernout-M. 369. Walde-H. 1.517. Feist 512.

4. Ir. *sētim*, Nl. *sēdim*, W. *cwythu*, Br. *c'houeza*, fr. \**sueizd-*, \**sueizd-*, with parallel, though not identical, forms in Skt. *kṣvid-* 'hum', Grk. *σιῶω*, Lat. *sibi-*

*lāre*, ChSl. *svistati* 'hiss', etc., all of imitative origin. Walde-P. 2.517 f. Ernout-M. 936. Pedersen 2.627.

5. Gmc. words, above, 1 and 3.

6. Lith. *pūsti*, Lett. *pūst*, SCR. *puhati*, above, 2.

7. ChSl. *duchati*, *dušq* (reg. in Gospels for *πνέω* 'blow'), SCR. *duhati*, beside ChSl. *dūchnqti*, *dychati* (in Gospels *vūz-* 'sigh'), SCR. *dihati*, etc. 'breathe' (4.51) : Lith. *dusti* 'get out of breath', *dvēsti* 'expire, die', etc., fr. IE \**dhwes-*, extension of \**dheu-* in Skt. *dhū-* 'shake', etc. (cf. ChSl. *dunqti*, etc., below). Walde-P. 1.846. Berneker 234 f.

ChSl. *dqti*, *dūmq* (Supr. 'be puffed up'), SCR. *duti*, *dmem* (old), Boh. *douti*, Pol. *dąć*, Russ. *duť* (here in part) : Lith. *dumti*, Skt. *dham-* 'blow', etc. Walde-P. 1.851 f. Berneker 244.

ChSl. *dunqti*, *dunq*, SCR. (old *duti*, *dujem*) *duwati*, Russ. *duť*, *duvat'*, *dunul'* : Skt. *dhū-* 'shake, agitate', Grk. *θίω* 'rage, seethe', etc. In part confused with preceding group (where *q* and *u* were merged). Walde-P. 1.835 f. Berneker 236.

ChSl. *vějati*, etc., above, 1.

8. Skt., Av. *vā-*, above, 1.

Skt. *dham-* : Lith. *dumti*, ChSl. *dqti* 'blow' (above, 7).

Words for 'creep' in the literal sense are also extended to denote slow or stealthy motion, and, conversely, the latter is the primary notion in some of the words included in the list. Apart from an inherited group, several of the words are reflexive or middle forms of those for 'drag', while others are cognate with words denoting such diverse actions as 'slip', 'stroke', 'climb', 'scratch', 'turn', etc.

1. IE \**serp-*. Walde-P. 2.502. Ernout-M. 931.

Grk. *ἔρπω*; Lat. *serpere* (pple. *serpens* 'serpent' > It. *serpe*, whence vb. *serpeggiare*); Skt. *srp-* (with *sarpa-* 'serpent'); Alb. *gjarpën* 'serpent'. Clearly an IE root with the dominant sense of 'creep' though in the last analysis, if taken as \**serp-* beside \**ser-* in Skt. *sr-* 'flow, hasten, etc.', this would be an early specialization.

2. Grk. *ἐρπω* (NG esp. fig. 'cringe'), above, 1.

NG *ἐρρωμαι* (or with *με τὴν κοιλιά* 'with the belly'), mid. of *ἐρρω* 'draw, drag' (9.33). Cf. late Grk. *σέρωμαι* 'crawling' (Pallad., Migne 34.1084).

3. Lat. *serpere*, above, 1.

Lat. *repere* : Lith. *replioti*, *roploti*, Lett. *rāpuot* 'creep on all fours', perh. fr. \**srēp-* beside \**serp-* (above, 1). Walde-P. 2.370. Ernout-M. 861, 931. Mühl-Endz. 3.497.

It. *strisciare*, also and orig. 'touch lightly, stroke', of imitative orig. REW 8309.

It. *serpeggiare*, above, 1.

Fr. *rampier*, formerly 'climb' (cf. also *rampant* 'with raised paws' > NE *rampant*) : It. *rampare* 'clamber up', *rampa* 'claw', etc., all through 'claw, paw', fr. Gmc. \**hrampa-* 'hook' (cf. MLG *ramp* 'cram, misfortune', Du. *ramp* 'misfortune') related to OHG *hrimfan* 'pull

together, wrinkle'. REW 7032. Gamillscheg 739. Falk-Torp 875.

Fr. *se traîner*, refl. of *traîner* 'drag', fr. VLat. \**tragināre*, fr. \**tragere* for *trahere* 'draw' (9.27). REW 8837. Gamillscheg 856.

Sp. *arrastrarse*, refl. of *arrastrar* 'drag' : *rastra* 'track, trail, harrow', fr. Lat. *rāstrum* 'rake'.

Rum. *se târî*, refl. of *târî* 'drag' (fr. Slavic, ChSl. *trěti*, *tîrq* 'rub', 9.25). Tik-tin 1606.

4. Nl. *snāighim*, fr. root seen in OHG *snahan* 'creep' (rare), OE *snaca* 'snake', etc. Falk-Torp 1098.

Nl. *snānhaim* 'swim, float' (10.35), also 'creep, crawl'.

Nl. *lāmacān* (sb.), deriv. of *lām* 'hand', is the word used for the child's 'creeping on all fours'.

W. *ymlusgo*, cpd. of refl. *ym-* and *llusgo* 'drag', etym.? Morris Jones 139 (but cf. Loth, RC 36.166).

W. *cropan*, fr. NE (dial.) *crope*, pret. of *creep* (below). But same form in sense of 'grope' fr. NE *grobe*. Fynes-Clinton, W. Voc., Bangor Dist., 298. Parry-Williams 182, 220.

Br. *en em sleja*, refl. of *sleja* 'drag', etym.? (Henry 254 : Ir. *sloet* 'a slide', OE *slidan* 'slide', etc.)

5. ON *skrīða* = OE *scriþan* 'go, go about, glide', OHG *scriþan*, NHG *schreiben* 'stride' : Lith. *skristi*, Lett. *skriet* 'fly' (10.37). Walde-P. 2.571. Falk-Torp 1027.

ON *krjūpa*, Dan. *krybe*, Sw. *krypa*, OE *crēpan*, ME *crepe*, *creep*, NE *creep*, Du. *kriepen*, fr. IE \**greu-* ( : Lith. *grubineti* 'stumble'); OHG *chriochan*, MHG *NHG kriechen*, fr. IE \**greu-* ( : Ir. *grug* 'wrinkle'); extensions of IE \**ger-* in Lett. *griezti* 'turn' (10.13-14), Lith. *gręžti* 'turn around, bore', etc. Walde-P. 1.597 f. Falk-Torp 585.

Dan. *kraule*, Sw. *krala* (ME *craule*, NE

\**(s)lei-*. Nl. *slēamhnuighim* (cf. Mr. *slēmon* 'lubricus', W. *lyffu* 'level, even'), OHG *slifan* (NHG *schleifen*), Sw. *slippa*, ME *slippe*, NE *slip* (OE adj. *slipor* 'slippery'), Du. *slippen*, etc.

\**(s)lei-*. SCR. *klizati se*, Boh. *klouznoti*, Pol. *pośliznąć się*, *śliznąć się*, Russ. *skol'zit'*, *skol'znut'* : ChSl. *slizūkū*, SCR. *klizak*, Russ. *slizkiĭ* 'slippery', etc. (cf. OHG *slīhhan* 'crawl', etc., 10.41). Brückner 531. Miklosich 300.

2. NG *γλιστρώ*, fr. *ἐκ-λίστρω* (Eust. 1119.53), deriv. of Grk. *λίστρον* 'tool for smoothing, scraper' (cf. 8.23). Hatzi-dakis, *Mer.* 1.160.

3. Lat. *lābi* : *labāre* 'waver, be ready to fall', prob. Ir. *lobor* 'weak' and (with *s-*) ChSl. *slabū* 'weak', Goth. *slēpan* 'sleep', etc., fr. a root in words for 'loose, weak, hang down' and the like. Walde-P. 2.431 f. Ernout-M. 512 f. Walde-H. 1.734.

It. *sdrucciolare*, fr. \**dis-roteolāre*, deriv. of Lat. *rota* 'wheel'. REW 2686.

It. *scivolare*, of imitative orig., belonging with the group Lat. *sibilāre* 'hiss, whistle', Fr. *siffler*, etc. REW 7890.

Fr. *glisser*, blend of OFr. *glīer* 'slip' with OFr. *glacier* 'slip out' (fr. *glace* 'ice'); OFr. *glīer* fr. the Gmc., cf. OE *glīdan*, etc. below, 5. REW 3789. Gamillscheg 472.

Sp. *deslizar*, deriv. of *liso* 'smooth, even' (15.77).

Sp. *resbalar*, etym. dub. Wartburg 1.221.

8. Skt. *srp-*, above, 1.

Let. *slidēt*, prob. also W. *lithro* (formation as in Grk. *δισθρόος* 'slippery'); cf. also Lett. *list*, Lith. *lendu*, *listi* 'crawl, creep' (10.41).

## 10.43 JUMP, LEAP (vb.)

|      |                        |       |                           |       |                        |
|------|------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | ἄλλομαι, πηδᾶω         | Goth. | - <i>hlaupan</i>          | Lith. | <i>šokti</i>           |
| NG   | πηδᾶω                  | ON    | <i>stökka, hlaupa</i>     | Lett. | <i>lēt</i>             |
| Lat. | <i>salire</i>          | Dan.  | <i>hoppe, springe</i>     | ChSl. | <i>skočiti</i>         |
| It.  | <i>sallare</i>         | Sw.   | <i>hoppa</i>              | SCR.  | <i>skočiti</i>         |
| Fr.  | <i>sauter</i>          | OE    | <i>hlēapan, springan</i>  | Boh.  | <i>skočiti</i>         |
| Sp.  | <i>saltar, brincar</i> | ME    | <i>lepe, springe</i>      | Pol.  | <i>skoczyc</i>         |
| Rum. | <i>sări</i>            | NE    | <i>jump, leap, spring</i> | Russ. | <i>prygnuť, skočit</i> |
| Ir.  | <i>lingim</i>          | Du.   | <i>springen</i>           | Skt.  | <i>skand-, pr-</i>     |
| Nl.  | <i>lēmim, lingim</i>   | OHG   | <i>springan</i>           | Av.   | ....                   |
| W.   | <i>neidio, llamu</i>   | MHG   | <i>springen</i>           |       |                        |
| Br.  | <i>lammet</i>          | NHG   | <i>springen</i>           |       |                        |

1. IE \**sel-* or \**sal-*. Walde-P. 2.505. Ernout-M. 888 f. REW 7540, 7551.

Grk. *ἀλλομαι*; Lat. *salire* 'jump' (> It. *sallare*, Fr. *sauter*, Sp. *sallar* 'jump'), Toch. A *sāl-* 'hop, jump' (SSS 477); perh. Skt. *uchalati* 'rushes up'.

2. Grk. *πηδᾶω*, NG *πηδᾶω* : Skt. *pad-* 'go, fall', ChSl. *pasti* 'fall' (10.23), fr. the same root as Grk. *πῶς*, *ποδός*, Skt. *pad-*, etc. 'foot'. Walde-P. 2.23.

3. Lat. *salire*, etc., above, 1.

Sp. *brincar* : Cat. *vinclar*, *blincar* 'bend' (intr.), deriv. of Lat. *vinculum* 'chain, bond'. REW 9341.

4. Ir. *lingim*, vbl. n. *lēm* = W. *llam*, Br. *lamm* 'a leap' (\**līg-smen*), whence Nl. *lēmim*, W. *llamu*, Br. *lammet* (-at, -ou) : Skt. *laghu-*, *raghu-* 'quick, swift', Grk. *λαγυς* 'small, little', IE \**legh-*. Walde-P. 2.426. Pedersen 2.368.

W. *neidio* : Br. *nijal*, MCor. *nyge* 'fly' (10.37).

5. Goth. *-hlaupan* (only cpd. *us-hlaupan* 'jump up'), ON *hlaupa*, OE *hlēapan*, ME *lepe*, NE *leap* = OHG *hlaufen*, NHG *laufen* 'run' (this meaning also in OE and late ON), etym. dub., perh. : Lith. *slubas* 'limping', *slubuoti* 'limp', IE \**klou-*, extension of \**klou-* in Skt. *grṇa-* 'lame', Lith. *šlumas* 'limping'. Walde-P. 1.473 f. Feist 532 f.

ON *słkka*, also 'burst, spring apart, spurt' : Goth. *stiggan* 'hit, collide with', OE *stincan*, OHG *stincan* 'smell' (15.21). Walde-P. 2.617. Falk-Torp 1168.

Dan. *hoppe*, Sw. *hoppa* (ON *hoppa* 'hop') = OE *hoppian*, NE *hop*, etc. :

Goth. *hups*, OE *hype*, OHG *huf* 'hip', Lat. *cubitum* 'elbow', Grk. *κύβος* 'hollow above the hips of cattle', etc. Walde-P. 2.374. Falk-Torp 418.

Dan. *springe* (ON *springa* 'burst', rare and poet. 'leap', Sw. *springa* 'run'), OE *springan* (also 'burst forth, spurt'), ME *springe*, NE *spring*, Du. *springen*, OHG *springan*, MHG, NHG *springen*, fr. IE \**sprengh-* : \**spergh-* in Skt. *sprh-* 'be jealous of, emulate', Grk. *σπέρχωμαι* 'move rapidly, be in haste'. Walde-P. 2.675. Falk-Torp 1133.

NE *jump*, of imitative orig., like *bump*. Cf. also NHG dial. *gumpen* 'jump, hop', etc. NED s.v.

6. Lith. *šokti* : Grk. *κῆκῖω* 'gush, bubble forth', Lith. *sankinti* 'cause (a horse) to mount', OHG *hengist* 'stallion', etc. Walde-P. 1.334. Otherwise ( : ChSl. *skočiti*, etc. below) Brückner 494.

Lett. *lēkt* : Lith. *lėkti* 'fly' (10.37).

7. ChSl. *skočiti*, iter. *skakati*, etc., general Slavic, beside *skokū* 'a leap' : Br. *diskogella* 'shake', W. *ysgogi* 'move, stir' (10.11), also OE *scacan* 'shake', etc. IE \**skēk-*, \**skēg-*. Walde-P. 2.556 f.

Russ. *prygnuť*, *prygat'*, perh. fr. a guttural extension of IE \**preu-* in Skt. *pru-* (below). Walde-P. 2.88. Otherwise Miklosich 266 ( : ChSl. *prega*, *prešti* 'span, stretch'), Brückner 436 (with other connections).

8. Skt. *skand-* : Lat. *scandere* 'climb, mount', Mr. *scendim* 'spring, burst out', Grk. *σκάδαλον* 'trap, snare', etc. Walde-P. 2.540. Ernout-M. 902.

Skt. *pru-* : ON *frár* 'swift, light-footed', etc. Walde-P. 2.87 f.

## 10.45 WALK (vb.)

ON *hoppa*, used of the dance, but mostly 'hop, jump about', cf. Dan. *hoppe* 'stroll' (10.43).

ON *dansa*, etc., above, 2.

OE *sealtian*, *saltian*, OHG *salzōn*, fr. Lat. *saltāre* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *šokti*, also regularly 'jump' (10.43).

Lett. *diet* (used for 'dance' in NT translation, now obs.) : Skt. *dī-* 'soar, fly', Grk. *δύω* 'whirl', Ir. *diān* 'swift'. Walde-P. 1.775. Mühl-Endz. 1.483.

Lett. *dancuot*, above, 2.

6. ChSl. *plēsati*, SCR. *plesati*, Russ. *pljasať* (Boh. *plēsati*, Pol. *plązać* 'frol-ic') : Olith. *plēsti* 'dance, frolic', further connections disputed. Walde-P.

|      |                                |       |                          |       |                         |
|------|--------------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | βαδίζω, βαίω                   | Goth. | <i>gaggan</i>            | Lith. | <i>eiti, vaikščioti</i> |
| NG   | περ(ι)παρῶ                     | ON    | <i>ganga</i>             | Lett. | <i>staigāt, iet</i>     |
| Lat. | <i>ambulare, gradi</i>         | Dan.  | <i>gaa</i>               | ChSl. | <i>iti, choditi</i>     |
| It.  | <i>camminare</i>               | Sw.   | <i>gå</i>                | SCR.  | <i>iči, hoditi</i>      |
| Fr.  | <i>marcher</i>                 | OE    | <i>gangan, gān</i>       | Boh.  | <i>jeti, choditi</i>    |
| Sp.  | <i>andar, caminar, marchar</i> | ME    | <i>go, walke</i>         | Pol.  | <i>ići, chodzić</i>     |
| Rum. | <i>umbla, merge</i>            | NE    | <i>walk</i>              | Russ. | <i>iditi, choditi</i>   |
| Ir.  | <i>cinim, tiagu</i>            | Du.   | <i>wandelen, gaan</i>    | Skt.  | <i>gam-</i>             |
| Nl.  | <i>siubhalaim</i>              | OHG   | <i>gān, gangen</i>       | Av.   | <i>gam-</i>             |
| W.   | <i>cerdād, rhodio</i>          | MHG   | <i>gēn, gān, wandeln</i> |       |                         |
| Br.  | <i>kerzet, bale</i>            | NHG   | <i>gēn, gān</i>          |       |                         |

'Walk' is most widely expressed by the words for 'go', either alone or in phrases 'go on foot', as Fr. *aller à pied*, NHG *zu fuss gehen*, etc. Rarely is there so specific a word as NE *walk*, clearly distinguished from both *go* and *run* (cf. NED s.v. *walk*, vb. 1). Even where the words for 'go' are not repeated in the list for 'walk', they may be so used. Conversely, some of the other words entered here, as Fr. *marcher*, Sp. *marchar*, may be used in the wider sense of 'go'.

Expressions that are used only for 'take a walk', as Fr. *se promener*, NHG *spazieren gehen*, are not included.

2.100 ( : ChSl. *plesna* 'sole of the foot'). Brückner 417, KZ 45.323 ( : ChSl. *pleksati* 'clap the hands'). Trautmann 225. Specht, KZ 57.159 (IE \**plen-*).

ChSl. *igrati* 'leap, spring, dance', SCR. *igrati* 'dance', refl. 'play', general Slavic word for 'play' (16.27) : Skt. *ej-* 'stir, move, tremble', ON *eikenn* 'wild, raging', etc. Walde-P. 1.11. Berneker 422.

Boh. *tancovati*, Pol. *tańcować*, Russ. *tancovať*, above, 2.

7. Skt. *nrt-*, cf. *nrti-* 'dance, play', etc., perh. : Lith. *įnirtęs* 'enraged', OPruss. *er-neritmai* 'we become angry', etc., through a common notion of violent motion or emotion. Walde-P. 2.333.

## 10.44 DANCE (vb.)

|      |                         |       |                     |       |                           |
|------|-------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| Grk. | ὀρχέομαι, χορεύω        | Goth. | <i>plinsjan</i>     | Lith. | <i>šokti</i>              |
| NG   | <i>χορεύω</i>           | ON    | <i>hoppa, dansa</i> | Lett. | <i>dancuot (diet)</i>     |
| Lat. | <i>saltāre</i>          | Dan.  | <i>plēsati</i>      | ChSl. | <i>plēsati</i>            |
| It.  | <i>ballare, danzare</i> | Sw.   | <i>dansa</i>        | SCR.  | <i>plēsati, igrati</i>    |
| Fr.  | <i>danser</i>           | OE    | <i>sealtian</i>     | Boh.  | <i>tancovati</i>          |
| Sp.  | <i>bailar, danzar</i>   | ME    | <i>dauense</i>      | Pol.  | <i>tańcować</i>           |
| Rum. | <i>dansa, juca</i>      | NE    | <i>dance</i>        | Russ. | <i>tancovať, pljasat'</i> |
| Ir.  | ....                    | Du.   | <i>dansen</i>       | Skt.  | <i>nrt-</i>               |
| Nl.  | <i>rinnim</i>           | OHG   | <i>salzōn</i>       | Av.   | ....                      |
| W.   | <i>dawnsio</i>          | MHG   | <i>tanzēn</i>       |       |                           |
| Br.  | <i>dañsal</i>           | NHG   | <i>tanzēn</i>       |       |                           |

Several of the verbs for 'dance' are connected with words for 'jump, leap', or other notions of quick motion; one rests on a specialization of 'enclosure' to 'place for dancing'. Interchange between 'dance' and 'play' is seen in Slavic and by semantic borrowing in Rumanian. Most conspicuous is the extent of loanwords—the Gothic word from Slavic, the

Words for 'run' are often related to those for 'flee'. Other affinities are with those for 'jump', 'turn', and 'flow'.

1. IE \**drem-*, \**drā-*, \**drev-*, apparently extensions of a root \**dēr-* not found in monosyllabic form. Other cognates mean mostly 'step, trample, stumble, etc.'. Walde-P. 1.795 ff.

\**drem-*. Grk. aor. *ἔδραμον*, perf. *ἔδραμα* (poet.), cf. *δρόμος* 'course'; Skt. *drām-* 'run about, wander'.

\**drā-*. Skt. *drā-* (3sg. *drāti*); Grk. *ἀποδράσκω* 'run away', aor. *ἀπέρδαν*.

\**drev-*. Skt. *dru-* (3sg. *dravati*), Av. *dru-* (caus. *drāwaya-*, ppl. *drāta-*, but only of Daevic beings); Goth. *trudan* 'tread, step', etc.

2. Grk. *τρέχω*, fut. *θρέξω*, with *τροχός* 'wheel'; Ir. *droch* 'wheel'. Arm. *druḡ* 'potter's wheel', fr. \**dhrēgh-* beside \**tregh-*(?) in Goth. *bragan*, OE *bragan* 'run' (root relations complicated). Walde-P. 1.753 f., 874 f. Feist 500.

Grk. *θεω*, with *θεός* 'swift': Skt. *dhāu-* 'run, flow', *dhāuti-* 'spring, brook', ON *dogg*, OE *deaw* 'dew', IE \**dheu-*. Walde-P. 1.834.

Byz., NG *πιδάλω*, widespread pop. word for 'run, run hard', fr. *ἐπιδάλω* (*πι-* as in *πυγών* 'chin', 4.209), cpd. of *λαλῶ* (cf. 18.21) in its sense of 'spout' to domestic animals, and so make them run (*πιδάλω* in Patmos, according to an informant, is reg. used for 'drive' sheep, goats, etc.) Korais, *Ἀρακτα* 1.303 f. Pernot, Phonétique des parlers de Chio 319. Βασ. Φάβης, *Ἀθηνά* 29, *παράορ.* 39 ff.

3. Lat. *currere* (> It. *correre*, Fr. *courir*, Sp. *correr*) : *cursus* 'course', *currus* 'wagon', Gallie *carrus*, Ir. *carr*, Br. *karr* 'vehicle, wagon', further connections (as with OE *hors* 'horse', etc.) dub. Walde-P. 1.428. Ernout-M. 247 f. Walde-H. 1.315 f.

Rum. *alerga* : It. dial. *alargarse* 'withdraw', VLat. \**allargāre*, deriv. of Lat. *largus* 'abundant' in its later sense 'wide' (as in It. *largo*, etc., 10.61). REW 352, 4912.

4. Ir. *rethim*, Nir. *riithim*, W. *rhedeg*, Br. *redex* : Ir. *roth*, W. *rhod*, OHG *rad*, Lat. *rola* 'wheel', Skt. *ratha-* 'chariot'. Walde-P. 2.368, Pedersen 2.600 f.

5. Goth. *rinnan*, ON *renna*, OE *irnan*, *rinnan*, ME *rinne*, *renne*, NE *run*, OHG *rinnan*, MHG *rinnen* (NHG *rinnen*); hence NHG *rennen*, Sw. *ränna*, orig. caus. = OHG *rennan*, ON *renna* (pret. *rende*) 'cause to run', Goth. *ur-rannjan* 'cause (the sun) to rise': Skt. *r-* (3sg. *ṛṇoti*, *ṛṇati*) 'move, stir' (10.11), Grk. *δρνύμι* 'rouse, move', etc. Walde-P. 1.138. Falk-Torp 890, 901. Feist 398 f.

Goth. *bragan*, OE *bragan*, see under Grk. *τρέχω*, above, 2.

ON *hlaupa* (late in this sense, earlier mostly 'leap'), Dan. *løbe* (Sw. *löpa* 'run' in many phrases, but mostly replaced by *springa*; Hellquist 1051), Du. *loopen*, OHG *hlaufan*, *loufan*, MHG *loufen*, NHG *laufen*, see ON *hlaupa*, OE *hlæpan* 'leap, jump' (10.43).

Sw. *springa*, orig. 'leap, jump', as ON *springa*, OE *springan*, etc. (10.43). Hellquist 1051.

6. Lith. *bėgti*, Boh. *běžeti*, *běhati*, Pol. *biedz*, *biegać*, Russ. *bežat'*, *begat'*, also or orig. 'flee', like Lett. *bēgt*, etc. See 10.51.

Lett. *skriet*, see under 'fly' (10.37). Lett. dial. *vert*, prob. fr. \**uer-* underlying words for 'turn' (10.12). Walde-P. 1.271. Persson, Beiträge 956.

7. ChSl. *tešti*, *tekā* 'run, flow', whence the Slavic words for 'flow' (cf. 10.32) : Lith. *tekėti* 'flow, run', Lett. *tecēt* 'flow', Ir. *techim* 'flee' (10.51), Av. *tač-* (3sg. *tačaiti*) 'run, flow', Skt. *tak-* (3sg. *takti*) 'rush'. Walde-P. 1.715.

Scr., Slov. *trčati* : ChSl. *trūkū* 'course, flight', Ir. *trice*, Nir. *tric* 'quick, nimble', root \**trek-* : *trek-* in Av. *udaro-brasga-* 'moving on the belly, creeping' (of snakes)? Walde-P. 1.755.

Boh. *běžeti*, etc., above, 6.

8. Skt. and Av. words, above, 1, 2, 7.

| 10.47 GO   |  |   |  |
|--|--|---|--|
| Grk. <i>εἶμι</i> , <i>βαίω</i>                       | Goth. <i>gaggan</i> , <i>-leipan</i> , <i>-stei-</i>     | Lith. <i>eiti</i>                                       |  |
| NG <i>πᾶω</i> , <i>πυγῶω</i>                         | ON <i>ganga</i> , <i>fara</i> , <i>lida</i>              | Let. <i>iet</i> , pret. <i>gaju</i>                     |  |
| Lat. <i>ire</i> ( <i>cēdere</i> , <i>late vā-</i>    | Dan. <i>gaa</i> (fare)                                   | ChSl. <i>iti</i> , <i>choditi</i>                       |  |
| <i>dere</i> , <i>ambulare</i> )                      | Sw. <i>gå</i> (fara)                                     | Scr. <i>iti</i> , <i>hoditi</i>                         |  |
| It. <i>andare</i> (ire), <i>vado</i>                 | OE <i>gangan</i> , <i>gān</i> , <i>faran</i> ,           | Boh. <i>jiti</i> , <i>choditi</i>                       |  |
| Fr. <i>aller</i> , <i>vais</i> , <i>irai</i>         | OE <i>gangan</i> , <i>gān</i> , <i>faran</i> ,           | Pol. <i>iść</i> , <i>choditi</i>                        |  |
| Sp. <i>ir</i> , <i>voy</i>                           | ME <i>go</i> , <i>gonge</i> , <i>fare</i>                | Russ. <i>iditi</i> , <i>choditi</i>                     |  |
| Rum. <i>merge</i> , <i>umbla</i>                     | NE <i>go</i> , <i>went</i>                               | Skt. <i>i-</i> , <i>yā-</i> , <i>gam-</i> , <i>gā-</i>  |  |
| Ir. <i>tiagu</i> (lod, <i>-rega</i> , <i>dul</i> )   | Du. <i>gaan</i> , <i>varen</i>                           | Av. <i>jam-</i> , <i>i-</i> , <i>yā-</i> , <i>daar-</i> |  |
| Nir. <i>tēighim</i> ( <i>chuaidh</i> , <i>rag-</i>   | OHG <i>gangan</i> , <i>gān</i> , <i>faran</i> ,          |   |  |
| <i>haidh</i> )                                       | OHG <i>gangan</i> , <i>gān</i> , <i>faran</i> ,          |   |  |
| W. <i>mynded</i> (a, <i>aeth</i> , <i>el</i> , etc.) | MHG <i>gēn</i> , <i>gān</i> , <i>varn</i> , <i>liden</i> |   |  |
| Br. <i>mont</i> (a, <i>eas</i> , <i>yelo</i> , etc.) | NHG <i>gehen</i> ( <i>fahren</i> )                       |   |  |

'Go' is understood here as covering the most generic verbs denoting locomotion, without necessary implication of direction or goal. In so far as they are used for 'go away, go from', it is only by contrast to those for 'come', as in NE *come and go*, etc.

In NE *come* and the other European words listed under 'come' (10.48) there is the implication of approach toward or arrival at a goal (which is often felt as the real or imagined position of the speaker or another; but any such definition is too narrow).

It is probable that this situation fairly reflects the difference in value between the two important IE roots \**ei-* and \**g<sup>em</sup>-*, as essentially one of aspect. The former expressed the action of going *per se*, while the latter involved the implication of a definite goal. But such a relation is only partially maintained in their derivatives. Skt. *i-* and *gam-* are both used where we must translate 'go' or 'come' according to the situation or the prefix employed (especially *ā-* for 'come', *sam-* for 'come together'), and similarly in Iranian, only that Av. *i-* is rare, *gam-* (*jam-*) frequent and without prefix mostly 'come'. Grk. *βαίω* is 'go, walk', and *εἶμι* sometimes 'come'. The Balto-Slavic words for 'come' (except

Lett. *nākt*) are compounds of IE \**ei-* with prefixes meaning 'to' or the like (cf. Grk. *εἰς-εἰμι* 'go to, come').

Grk. *ἐρχομαι*, aor. *ἔρχομαι*, though listed only under 'come', in accordance with what eventually became their prevailing use, are also frequently 'go', especially in Homer, and regularly in *ἐπιρχομαι* 'go away'.

On the Celtic words for 'go' and 'come', cf. esp. Vendryes, RC 46.217 ff.

1. IE \**ei-*, extended \**yā-*. Walde-P. 1.102 ff. Ernout-M. 303 ff. Walde-H. 1.406 ff.

\**ei-*. Grk. *εἶμι* (but mostly fut. in sense); Lat. *ire* (> Sp. *ir*, Fr. fut. *irai*, It. inf. *ire*, imperat. *ire*, etc.); Lith. *eiti*, Lett. *iet*, ChSl. *iti*, SCR. *iti*, Boh. *jiti*, Pol. *iść*, Russ. *iditi*, Skt. *i-* (3sg. *eti*), Av. *i-* (3sg. *aeiti*, OPers. *aitiy*); Hitt. imperat. 2sg. *it*, 2pl. *iten* (Sturtevant, Hitt. Gram. 95).

\**yā-*. Skt., Av. *yā-* : Lith. *joti*, Lett. *jāt*, ChSl. *jachati* 'ride', etc.; uncertain Goth. *idǰa*, OE *eode* 'went', which, moreover, do not coincide (Feist 288 f.); Toch. A *yā-* 'go' (SSS 423, 458); Hitt. *ya-* 'go, march' (Sturtevant, Hitt. Gloss. 184).

2. IE \**g<sup>em</sup>-*, \**g<sup>a</sup>-*. Walde-P. 1.675 ff. Ernout-M. 1083 ff. \**g<sup>em</sup>-*. Grk. *βαίω* 'go, walk'; Lat.

el, elo, Corn. *ello*, Br. fut. *y-elo* : Ir. *ad-ella* 'goes to, visits', either fr. IE \**pel-* in Lat. *pellere* 'drive', or fr. \**el-* in Grk. *ἐλθῶ* 'drive'. Walde-P. 1.156. Pedersen 2.353. Thurneysen, Gram. 95.

6. Goth. *gaggan*, ON *ganga*, OE *ganagan*, ME *gonge*, OHG *gangan* : Lith. *žengti* 'step, stride', Skt. *jaṅghā-* 'lower leg', Av. *zanga-* 'ankle'. Walde-P. 1.588. Feist 182.

Goth. *-leipan* (only in cpds.), ON *lida*, OHG *lidan*, MHG *liden* (OE *līpan* 'go by sea, sail', the latter sense prominent in other dialects also) : Av. *riḡ-* (3sg. *iriḡyeiti*) 'die' (as 'go away'), IE \**leit(h)-*. Walde-P. 2.401. Feist 8.

Goth. *steigan*, etc. : Ir. *tiagu*, above, 5. Goth. *faran* (but only Lk. 10.7, for *μεταβαίω*; *farjan* 'row, sail'), ON *fara*, Dan. *fare*, Sw. *fara*, OE *faran* (also *feran*, in form = OHG *fuoren* 'lead', but in use = *faran*; NED s.v. *fer*, vb.), ME, NE *fara*, OHG *faran*, MHG *varn* (NHG *fahren*, Du. *varen*), in the modern Gmc. languages mostly 'travel' (but Nicel. *fara* 'go, go away') : Skt. *pr-* 'bring across, deliver', Grk. *πορεύω* 'carry, convey', Lat. *portāre* 'carry', etc. Walde-P. 2.39. Feist 142 f.

Dan. *gaa*, Sw. *gå*, OHG, MHG *gān*, etc. (cf. 10.47).

10.48 COME

|  |                                  |   |
|--|----------------------------------|---|
| Grk. <i>ἐρχομαι</i> , aor. <i>ἔρχομαι</i> , aor. <i>ἔρξατο</i>   | Goth. <i>giman</i>               | Lith. <i>ateiti</i>                         |
| Lat. <i>venire</i>   | ON <i>koma</i>                   | Let. <i>nākt</i> ( <i>atiet</i> )           |
| It. <i>venire</i>  | Dan. <i>komme</i>                | ChSl. <i>priti</i> , <i>grēsti</i>          |
| Fr. <i>venir</i>   | Sw. <i>komma</i>                 | Scr. <i>priti</i> , <i>grēsti</i>           |
| Sp. <i>venir</i>   | OE <i>cuman</i>                  | Boh. <i>priti</i> , <i>prichazeti</i>       |
| Rum. <i>veni</i>   | ME <i>come</i>                   | Pol. <i>przysięć</i> , <i>przychodzić</i>   |
| Ir. <i>doicim</i> , <i>ticim</i>                                 | NE <i>come</i>                   | Russ. <i>pridi</i> , <i>prichoditi</i>      |
| Nir. <i>tiagin</i>   | Du. <i>komen</i>                 | Skt. <i>(ā-)gam-</i> , <i>(ā-)i-</i> , etc. |
| W. <i>dyfod</i> ( <i>daw</i> , <i>daeth</i> , <i>del</i> , etc.) | OHG <i>queman</i> , <i>coman</i> | Av. <i>(ā-)jam-</i>                         |
| Br. <i>don(e)</i>  | MHG <i>komen</i> , <i>kumen</i>  |   |
|  | NHG <i>kommen</i>                |   |

W. *mynded*, Br. *mont*, *monet*, Corn. *mones* : ChSl. *minati* 'pass' (of time), Lat. *medre* 'wander, go', IE \**mei-*.

Walde-P. 2.241. Pedersen 2.454.—The finite indicative Britannic forms chiefly fr. the root \**ag-* (in Lat. *agere*, etc.), e.g. (only 3sg. forms quoted) W. pres. *a* (OW *agit*), imperf. *ai*, perf. *aeth*; Br. pres. *a*, imperf. *ae*, pret. *eaz*. Pedersen 2.353, 451 f. (Walde-P. 1.35).—W. subj. (3sg.)

1. For the Latin, Romance, Germanic, and Indo-Iranian words, representing IE \**g<sup>em</sup>-*, and for the general relation of 'come' to 'go', see under 'go' (10.47).

2. Grk. *ἐρχομαι*, etym. dub. Boisacq 287 with refs. Perh. fr. an extension of IE \**er-* in Grk. *δρνύμι* 'rouse', Skt. *ṛṇoti* (10.11); or more closely : *δρξιο-* 'moves' (10.11); Persson (cf. Boisacq). McKenzie, Cl. Q. 15.44.

Grk. aor. *ἔρχομαι*, fut. *ἐλεύσομαι* : Ir. *lod* 'I went' (pret. to *tiagu* 'go', 10.47), further connection with Skt. *rudh-* 'grow, mount', Goth. *liudan* 'grow', dub. Walde-P. 1.417.

3. Ir. *do-iccim*, *ticim*, Nir. *tigim*, cpd. of *icc-* (fr. \**rk-*?) : Skt. *aç-*, *naç-*, Av. *nas-* 'attain', Lat. *nanciri*, *nancisci* 'attain, obtain', Grk. *ἡνεκα*, Lith. *nešti*, ChSl. *nesti* 'carry, bring'. Walde-P. 1.128 f. Ernout-M. 652. Pedersen 2.557 f. Thurneysen, Gram. 126, 130.

W. *dyfod*, cpd. of *dy-* (\**to-*) and *bod* 'be'. Here also Br. *donet*, *dont*, but blended with *monet*, *mont* 'go'. The finite Welsh forms are fr. cpds. (\**to-ag-*,

\**to-el-*) of the roots \**ag-*, \**el-* discussed under 'go' (10.47). The modern Breton has constructed a regular conjugation on the stem *deu-*, after MBr. 1sg. *d-euaff*, etc. (\**to-ag-*). Pedersen 2.446, 452 ff.

4. Lith. *ateiti* = Lett. *atiet*, but the latter mostly 'come back', cpds. of prefix *at-* 'back, hither', and *eiti*, *iet* 'go' (10.47).

Lett. *nākt* : Lith. *nokti* 'mature', *pranokti* 'overtake', perh. fr. a \**nek-* beside \**nek-* in Skt. *naç-*, etc. (above, 3). Walde-P. 1.129. Mühl.-Endz. 2.698.

5. ChSl. *priti* (= *pri-iti*), SCR. *doti* (= *do-iti*), etc., also ChSl. *pri-choditi*, Boh. *při-cházeti* (orig. iter. form to *při-choditi*, rare), etc., all cpds. of the Slavic preverbs *pri-* or *do-* 'to, at', and words for 'go', ChSl. *iti*, *choditi*, etc. (10.47).

ChSl. *gręda*, *gręsti* (more frequent than forms of *iti* in present; Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 337) : Av. *aiwi-garōdmahi* 'we begin', Lat. *gradī* 'step, walk', Ir. *in-grennim* 'pursue' (10.53). Walde-P. 1.652. Berneker 349.

6. Skt. (*ā-i-*), cf. 'go' (10.47).

## 10.49 GO AWAY, DEPART

|  |  |                                     |
|--|--|-------------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>ἀπ-(ἐξ-)έρχομαι</i> , <i>ἀνα- (ἀπο-)χωρέω</i> , <i>ἀναχωρῶ</i> , <i>φείγω</i> , <i>μίσσω</i> | Goth. <i>afreijan</i> , <i>usgaggan</i>          | Lith. <i>išėiti</i> , <i>nuėiti</i> |
| NG <i>ab-(ex-)ire</i> , <i>discidere</i>   | ON <i>ganga af</i> , <i>ganga brott</i>          | Let. <i>aiziet</i>                  |
| Lat. <i>partire</i> , <i>andarsene</i>   | Dan. <i>gaa bort</i> , <i>drage bort</i>         | ChSl. <i>otiti</i> , <i>iziti</i>   |
| Fr. <i>partir</i> , <i>sortir</i> , <i>s'en aller</i>  | Sw. <i>gå bort</i>                               | Scr. <i>otici</i>                   |
| Sp. <i>partir</i> , <i>salir</i> , <i>irse</i>   | OE <i>geuitan</i> , <i>algān</i>                 | Boh. <i>odejiti</i>                 |
| Rum. <i>pleca</i>  | ME <i>go away</i> , <i>depart</i>                | Pol. <i>odejiti</i>                 |
| Ir. <i>imthigim</i>  | NE <i>go away</i> , <i>depart</i> , <i>leave</i> | Russ. <i>vyyiti</i>                 |
| Nir. <i>ymadael</i>  | Du. <i>weggaan</i> , <i>vertrekken</i>           | Skt. <i>apagam-</i>                 |
| Br. <i>mont kuit</i>   | OHG <i>azangan</i> , <i>argangan</i>             | Av. <i>apajam-</i>                  |
|  | MHG <i>azgan</i>                                 |                                     |
|  | NHG <i>weg-(fort-)gehen</i>                      |                                     |

'Depart' is simply to 'go away' and is most commonly so expressed (NE *depart* is mostly in literary use). But there are also some terms of different origin.

1. Verbs for 'go' are often used alone

for 'go away', as NE *go!*, *begone!*, *he's gone*, It. *andarsene*, Fr. *s'en aller*, Sp. *irse*, etc. Cf. OE *ferde*, Gospels Mk. 5.20 = *eode* Lindisf. = Vulgate *abii*, Goth. *galaiþ*, ChSl. *ide* in same passage.

A frequent and obvious relation of words for 'flee' is to those for 'run', just as NE *run away* is the colloquial substitute for *flee*, which is now rather literary. Some are related to those for 'bend', with development through 'bend aside'.

1. Grk. *φείγω*, Lat. *fugere* : Lith. *bugti* 'take flight', *buginti* 'frighten', fr. IE \**bheug-*, prob. identical with \**bheug(h)-* in Skt. *bhuḡ-*, Goth. *biugan*, 'bend' etc. (9.14). Walde-P. 2.144. Ernout-M. 397 (with different view of the words for 'bend'). Walde-H. 1.556. VLat. *fugire* > It. *fuggire*, Fr. *fuir* (but mostly *s'enfuir*), Sp. *huir*, Rum. *fugi*. REW 3550.

2. Ir. *techim*, Nir. *teichim*, Br. *tec'het*, *tec'houit* : Av. *tač-*, ChSl. *tešti* 'flow, run', Lith. *tekėti* 'flow', etc. (10.32, 10.46). Walde-P. 1.715. Pedersen 1.128.

W. *floi* fr. *fo* 'flight', this fr. Lat. *fuga* 'flight'. Loth, Mots lat. 169.

3. Goth. *pliuhan*, ON *flýja*, Dan., Sw. *fly*, OE *flēon*, ME *flee(n)*, *fley*, NE *flee*, Du. *vlien* (but usually *vlieden*), OHG *flōhan*, MHG *vliehen*, NHG *flicchen*, fr. a Gmc. root \**pleuh-*, without clear outside connections. Falk-Torp 242. Feist 499. Weigand-H. 1.553. The view that Goth. *pl-* is from *fl-* and so the whole group connected with that for 'fly' (of *flýga*, etc. 10.37), as Zupitza, Gutt. 131,

is generally rejected. But there was much later confusion between the two groups. Cf. NED s.v. *flee*.

Du. *vluhten* (MLG > Dan. *flygte*) = NHG *flüchten* 'rescue (by flight)', refl. *sich flüchten* 'flee, escape', deriv. of NHG *flucht*, Du. *vluht* 'flight' : OHG *flugan*, NHG *fliegen* 'fly', etc. (10.37). Falk-Torp 243.

4. Lith. *bėgti*, Lett. *bēgt*, ChSl. *běžati*, *bégati*, SCR. *bježati*, *bježati*, Russ. *bežat'*, *begat'* (the Lith. and Russ. words also 'run', as reg. Boh. *běžeti*, Pol. *biedz*, 10.46) : Grk. *φείδομαι* 'flee in terror', *φόβος* 'panic flight' (Hom.), 'fear', IE \**bheg-*. Walde-P. 1.148 f. Berneker 54 f.

5. Boh. *utéci*, Pol. *ucieć*, cpds. of root in ChSl. *teka*, *tešti* 'run, flow' (10.32, 10.46); Boh. and Pol. simplex now only 'flow' or 'leak'.

Boh. *prchnouti* (Pol. *pierzchnąć* also 'flee', but less common) : SCR. *prhati* 'fly up', Russ. *porchat'* 'flutter', *poruch* 'dust', etc. Walde-P. 2.50. Miklosich 241. Brückner 411.

6. Skt. *palāy-* = *i-* 'go' (10.47) with preverb *palā-* for *parā-* 'away, forth'.

Av. *frā-nam-*, *apa-nam-*, cpds. of *namp-* 'bend' (: Skt. *nam-* id., etc.) with *frā-* 'forward, forth', and *apa-* 'away'.

## 10.52 FOLLOW

|                                       |                       |         |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------|
| Grk. <i>ἑσμαι</i> , <i>ἀκολουθεῖω</i> | Goth. <i>laistjan</i> | Lith. < |
|---------------------------------------|-----------------------|---------|

| 10.53 PURSUE |                     |       |                          |
|--------------|---------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| Grk.         | διώκω               | Goth. | wrikan                   |
| NG           | διώκω, κυνηγῶ       | ON    | ella                     |
| Lat.         | (in-, per-)sequi    | Dan.  | forfølge                 |
| It.          | inseguire           | Sw.   | förfölja                 |
| Fr.          | poursuivre          | OE    | ēhtan, folgian           |
| Sp.          | perseguir           | ME    | pursue, chase            |
| Rum.         | urmari, goni        | NE    | pursue, chase            |
| Ir.          | ingrennim, dosennim | Du.   | pursue, jagen            |
| Nl.          | toerighim           | OHG   | ahlen, arfolgēn, jagōn   |
| W.           | erlidio, ymliid     | MHG   | achten, vervolgen, jagen |
| Br.          | redék warlerc'h     | NHG   | verfolgen, nachjagen     |

Many of the words for 'pursue' are connected with, mostly compounds of, those for 'follow'. So in Latin and Romance, and probably by semantic borrowing, in modern Germanic languages (NHG *verfolgen*, etc.), hence again in Lithuanian and West Slavic.

Some are words that were used primarily of the 'hunt, chase' of animals (3.79) or the 'driving' of cattle. Some are from roots that appear elsewhere in words for 'go', 'run', 'stride', etc., and everywhere the literal phrases for 'run after' or the like may be popular expressions of 'pursue'.

The older European words for 'pursue' and many of the modern cover the more malignant 'persecute', which is the sense of Grk. *διώκω* in the Gospels, with its translations in Gothic, etc. Less commonly 'persecute' is differentiated either by a new formation as Fr. *persécuter* (> NE *persecute*), back-formation fr. sbs. Lat. *persecutō*, *persecutor*, or by specialization in this direction of an old word for 'pursue', as Pol. *prześladować* (below, 6).

1. Grk. *διώκω* (NG pop. *διώκω*), perh. pres. formation fr. a perf. \**δεδιωκα* : *διώ* 'fly', *διωμα* 'drive away', *διώκω* 'whirl', Skt. *diyate* 'flies, soars'. Walde-P. 1.775. Boisacq 192.

NG *κυνηγῶ* properly 'hunt' (3.79), but also 'pursue'.

2. Lat. *in-sequi*, *per-sequi* (late -se-

*quere* > It. *inseguire*, Sp. *perseguir*, with change of prefix Fr. *poursuivre*, OFr. *porsivre*, *porsuire*, cpds. of *sequi* 'follow' (10.52).

Rum. *urmari*, fr. *urma* 'follow' (10.52).

Rum. *goni* (also 'drive'), fr. the Slavic (below, 6).

3. Ir. *ingrennim*, cpd. of the vbl. stem *-grenn-* (not found as simplex), fr. \**grendn-* : Lat. *gradī* 'walk', ChSl. *gresti* 'come'. Walde-P. 1.652. Walde-H. 1.615. Pedersen 2.549. Thurneysen, Gram. 353.

Ir. *do-sennim* (e.g. 3pl. *du-m-sennat*, etc.), etym. dub., perh. as orig. 'start, frighten (game, etc.) by a noise': Skt. *svan-* 'sound', Lat. *sonāre*, etc. (15.44). Pedersen 2.625.

Nl. *toerighim* : Ir. *toracht* 'pursuit, success' prob. fr. \**to-ro-saig-*, cpd. of *saig-* 'go after, claim' (cf. 3sg. *doroich* 'attains', etc.). Pedersen 2.310. Laws, Gloss. 739.

W. *erlidio*, *ymliid*, perh. fr. same root as *dilyn*, *canlyn* 'follow' (10.52). Morris Jones 391. Lloyd-Jones, BCS 2.108.

Br. *redék warlerc'h* 'run after' (*war-*

*lerc'h* 'after' fr. *war* 'on' and *lerc'h* 'track').

4. Goth. *wrikan* = ON *reka*, OE *wre-*

*can* 'drive, avenge' (NE *wreak*), OHG *rehhan* 'punish, avenge' : Lat. *urgere* 'press, impel', Skt. *vraj-* 'stride, go'. Walde-P. 1.319. Feist 574.

ON *ella* : Grk. *ἐλαίνω* 'drive', etc. (10.65). Walde-P. 1.156. Falk-Torp 188.

Dan. *forfølge*, Sw. *förfölja*, prob. modeled on NHG *verfolgen*, MHG *verfolgen* (but not ordinarily in this sense), Du. *vervolgen*, OHG *arfolgēn*, cpds. of the words for 'follow' (10.52).

OE *ēhtan*, OHG *ahlen*, MHG *achten* (NHG *achten*), fr. OE *ōht* 'hostile pursuit, enmity', OHG *āhta* (NHG *acht*) 'hostile pursuit', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.60. Falk-Torp 17, 1430.

ME, NE *pursue*, fr. Anglo-Fr. *pursuer* = OFr. *porsivre*, *porsuire* (above, 2). NED s.v.

ME *chace*, NE *chase*, fr. OFr. *chacier* 'hunt out, pursue', Fr. *chasser* 'drive (away), hunt' (3.79).

Du. *najagen*, NHG *nachjagen*, cpds. of *na*, *nach* 'after' and *jagen* 'hunt', OHG *jagōn*, MHG *jagen* 'hunt, pursue' (3.79).

5. Lith. *persekinėti*, cpd. of per-'through' and frequent. form of *sekti* 'follow' (10.52).

Lith. *vyti*, Lett. *vajāt*, Av. 3sg. *vayeiti*, 3pl. *vyeinti*, etc. (Barth. 1407) : Skt. 3sg. *veti*, 3pl. *vyaniti* 'seek, approach eagerly', Grk. *τεμα* 'hasten, be eager', etc., IE \**wei-*. Walde-P. 1.228 ff.

6. ChSl. *izgūnati* (commonest for *διώκω* in Gospels), *pogūnati*, *goniti*, SCr. (*pro*-)*goniti*, (*pro*-)*ganjati*, Boh. *honiti*, Pol. *gonić*, Russ. *gnat'* (also refl. with *za* 'after'), all of these also or mainly 'drive' and 'chase' : Skt. *han-* 'strike, kill', Grk. *θεῖω* 'strike', Ir. *gonim* 'wound, kill', etc., IE \**g<sup>h</sup>hen-*. Walde-P. 2.615. Berneker 328.

Boh. *stihati*, Pol. *ścigać* : SCr. *stizati*, ChSl. *stignati* 'arrive', Lett. *staiģāt* 'walk' (10.45), Ir. *tiagu* 'go' (10.47), Grk. *στειχω* 'stride, advance', etc., IE \**steigh-*. Walde-P. 2.615.

Boh. *pronásledovati* (Pol. *prześladować* 'persecute'), Russ. *prəsledovat'*, cpds. of words for 'follow' (10.52).

7. Skt. *anu-dhāv-*, lit. 'run after', cpd. of *dhāv-* 'run' (10.46), similarly other cpds. of words for 'run' or 'go'.

Av. *vayeiti*, above, 5.

## 10.54 OVERTAKE

|      |                   |       |                  |       |                        |
|------|-------------------|-------|------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | καταλαμβάνω, φθάω | Goth. | ....             | Lith. | pavyti                 |
| NG   | φθάνω, προφθάνω   | ON    | nā               | Lett. | panākt                 |
| Lat. | ad-, con-sequi    | Dan.  | indhente         | ChSl. | postignati             |
| It.  | raggiungere       | Sw.   | upphinna         | SCr.  | (do)stici              |
| Fr.  | rattraper         | OE    | offaran          | Boh.  | dohoniti, přistihnouti |
| Sp.  | alcanzar          | ME    | oftake, overtake | Pol.  | dogonić, doścignąć     |
| Rum. | ajunge            | NE    | overlake         | Russ. | dogonjať               |
| Ir.  | dogrennim         | Du.   | inhalen          | Skt.  | ap-                    |
| Nl.  | beirim (suas) ar  | OHG   | arfolgēn(?)      | Av.   | ap-                    |
| W.   | goddiweddyd       | MHG   | erfolgen         |       |                        |
| Br.  | tizout            | NHG   | einholen         |       |                        |

Many of the words for 'overtake' are merely compounds of those already considered under 'follow' and 'pursue'.

Others are words for 'seize, catch', or 'arrive, reach', which, either in compounds or without change, are also used for 'overtake'. Cf. NE *catch* or *catch up* with.

1. Grk. *καταλαμβάνω* 'seize, lay hold of' and 'overtake' (Hdt., etc.), cpd. of *λαμβάνω* 'take, seize' (11.13).

Grk. *φθάνω* 'be beforehand, get ahead of, overtake, arrive', NG *φθάνω* 'overtake, arrive', and 'be enough', etym.? Boisacq 1025. Cpd. Grk. *προφθάνω* 'an-

## 10.55 ARRIVE (intr.) and ARRIVE AT, REACH (trans.)

|      |                     |       |                    |       |                       |
|------|---------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | ἀφικνέμαι, φθάνω    | Goth. | (anagiman)         | Lith. | atvykti, ateiti       |
| NG   | φθάνω, προφθάνω     | ON    | koma at, nā        | Lett. | atnākt, pīnākt        |
| Lat. | advenire, pervenire | Dan.  | ankomme, naa       | ChSl. | priiti, prispēti      |
| It.  | arrivare, giungere  | Sw.   | framkoma, anlānda, | SCr.  | (na)doći, prispieti   |
| Fr.  | arriver             |       | hinna, nā          | Boh.  | přijiti, přistati     |
| Sp.  | llegar              | OE    | ancuman            | Pol.  | přijiti, přistati     |
| Rum. | ajunge, sosi        | ME    | aryse, reche       | Russ. | priiti, pribyti       |
| Ir.  | roicim, roaigim     | NE    | arrive, reach      | Skt.  | gam-, ā-gam-, ā-sad-  |
| Nl.  | broichim            | Du.   | aankomen           | Av.   | jam-, aibi-jam-, han- |
| W.   | dyfod, cyrraed      | OHG   | anaguman, gilangōn |       |                       |
| Br.  | don(e)t             | MHG   | ankomen, gelangen  |       |                       |
|      |                     | NHG   | ankommen, gelangen |       |                       |

'Arrive' is most widely expressed by verbs for 'come' or compounds of these. But several new terms have arisen, of diverse sources.

1. Grk. *ἀφικνέμαι* (or simple *ικνέμαι*), mostly 'arrive at, reach' with acc., but also intr. 'arrive': *ἵκω* 'come' also 'reach', prob. : Lith. *siekti* 'reach out with the hand, take oath'. Walde-P. 2.465. Boisacq 372.

Grk. *φθάνω* in part 'arrive', NG *φθάνω* usual for 'arrive' (cf. waiter's *ἔφρασα* lit. 'I have arrived' = 'immediately'), also *προφθάνω*, see under 'overtake', 10.54.

2. Lat. *advenire*, *pervenire*, cpds. of *venire* 'come'.

Fr. *arriver* (> It. *arrivare*), in the older language 'reach the shore, land', fr. VLat. \**adripāre*, deriv. of Lat. *ripa* 'bank' (1.27). REW 675. Wartburg 1.146 f.

It. *giungere*, fr. Lat. *iungere* 'join', late refl. 'arrive'. Cf. *iunximus nos* *denuo ad mare rubrum* Peregrinatio 6.3.

Similarly Rum. *ajunge* 'arrive' and 'overtake', fr. Lat. cpd. *adiungere*. REW 171, 4620.

Sp. *llegar*, fr. Lat. *plieāre* 'fold', in late Lat., esp. refl., 'turn, approach'. Cf. in Peregrinatio ut . . . sic *placivimus nos ad montem Dei* (2.4), *placivimus nos ad mare* (6.3), *cum iam prope placent civitati* (19.9). So, not fr. *applicāre* as REW 548.

Sw. *anlānda*, orig. 'come to land', now in extended sense like Fr. *arriver*. Hellquist 607.

Sw. *hinna* : Goth. *fra-hinþan* 'capture', OE *hentan* 'pursue, follow', *hun-*

Rum. *sosi*, fr. Grk. *σῶσω*, aor. *ἔσωσα* 'save', also 'bring safe to', Byz. and NG (new pres. *sōwō*) also simply 'arrive'. Cf., fr. same source, Alb. *sos* 'finish, arrive' and Bulg. *sosaja* 'come'. Densusi-anu 358.

3. Ir. *roicim*, *riccim* ('reach', trans.; cf. Laws, Gloss. 614 f.), Nl. *roichim*, *sroichim*, fr. same root as *do-icim* 'come' (10.48).

Ir. *roaigim*, *doroichim*, cpds. of *saigim* usual for 'arrive' (cf. waiter's *ἔφρασα* lit. 'I have arrived' = 'immediately'), also *προφθάνω*, see under 'overtake', 10.54.

2. Lat. *advenire*, *pervenire*, cpds. of *venire* 'come'.

Fr. *arriver* (> It. *arrivare*), in the older language 'reach the shore, land', fr. VLat. \**adripāre*, deriv. of Lat. *ripa* 'bank' (1.27). REW 675. Wartburg 1.146 f.

It. *giungere*, fr. Lat. *iungere* 'join', late refl. 'arrive'. Cf. *iunximus nos* *denuo ad mare rubrum* Peregrinatio 6.3.

Similarly Rum. *ajunge* 'arrive' and 'overtake', fr. Lat. cpd. *adiungere*. REW 171, 4620.

Sp. *llegar*, fr. Lat. *plieāre* 'fold', in late Lat., esp. refl., 'turn, approach'. Cf. in Peregrinatio ut . . . sic *placivimus nos ad montem Dei* (2.4), *placivimus nos ad mare* (6.3), *cum iam prope placent civitati* (19.9). So, not fr. *applicāre* as REW 548.

Sw. *anlānda*, orig. 'come to land', now in extended sense like Fr. *arriver*. Hellquist 607.

Sw. *hinna* : Goth. *fra-hinþan* 'capture', OE *hentan* 'pursue, follow', *hun-*

*tian* 'hunt', outside root connections? Walde-P. 1.460. Hellquist 354.

ME *aryse*, NE *arrive*, fr. Fr. *a(r)river* and in ME mostly in its older sense (see above, 2). NED s.v. *arrive*.

ME *reche*, NE *reach* (OE *ræcan* = OHG-NHG *reichen*), orig. 'stretch out the hand', hence 'seize, obtain, attain' (as also NHG *erreichen*), further 'arrive at', as *reached home*, etc. NED s.v. *reach*, vb.

OHG *gilangōn*, MHG *gelangen*, fr. *lang* 'long', with development through 'stretch out, seize', similar to that in NE *reach*. Weigand-H. 1.663, 2.15. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 195, 311.

5. Lith. *atvykti* (beside *įvykti* 'happen') : Lett. *vikti* 'succeed, prosper', Lith. *veikti* 'act, do', *veikus* 'quick, ready', outside root connections dub. Walde-P. 1.235. Leskien, Ablaut 289.

Lith. *at-* (or *nu-*)eiti, *-joti*, *-važiuoti*, cpd. of vbs. for 'go, come' (10.47) or 'ride' (10.66).

Lett. *atnākt*, *pienākt*, cpds. of *nākt* 'come' (10.48).

6. Slavic verbs for 'come' (10.48), also 'arrive'.

ChSl. *prispēti* (Supr.), SCr. *prispieti* ('be in time, arrive') = Pol. *przyspacić* 'come in time, be in a hurry', cpd. of verb seen in ChSl. *spēti* 'make progress, succeed', Boh. *spēti* 'hasten', etc. : Skt. *sphā-* 'grow, increase', OE *spōwan* 'succeed', *spēd* 'success', etc. Walde-P. 2.656 f. Brückner 509.

Boh. *přistati*, cpd. of *stati* 'stand'.

Pol. *przybyć*, Russ. *prityt'*, cpds. of verb for 'be'.

7. Skt. *gam-*, Av. *jam-*, 'go, come' (10.47), also used for 'arrive', or cpds. with Skt. *ā-*, *abhi-*, Av. *aibi-*, OPers. *abiy-ā* (Barth. 496). OPers. also *abiy upa-i-* (*abiy* *bābiruma yabā naiy upāyām* 'when I had not yet reached Babylon'). Barth. 150.

Skt. *ā-sad-* 'arrive at, reach, approach, meet', cpd. of *sad-* 'sit', with notion of motion developed in cpds. Cf. Grk. *ódos* 'road', ChSl. *choditi* 'go' (10.47). Walde-P. 2.486.

Av. *hant-* : OHG *sinnan* 'travel', *sint* 'course, way', etc. Walde-P. 2.496 f. Barth. 1771.

## 10.56 APPROACH (vb.)

|      |   |       |                          |       |                      |
|------|---|-------|--------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | πλησιάζω, πηλάζω, ἐγγίζω                | Goth. | nēhwa wisan, nēhwa giman | Lith. | artintis             |
| NG   | πλησιάζω, ἱγνάνω, σιμώνω                | ON    | ganga nær, nákwama       | Lett. | tuvoities            |
| Lat. | adpropinquāre, accēdere                 | Dan.  | nærme sig                | ChSl. | približiti se        |
| It.  | avvicinarsi                             | Sw.   | närma sig                | SCr.  | približiti se        |
| Fr.  | approcher, s'approcher                  | OE    | nāhlzean                 | Boh.  | přibližiti se        |
| Sp.  | acercar(se), allegar(se), aproximar(se) | ME    | aproche                  | Russ. | približat'sja        |
| Rum. | apropia                                 | NE    | approach                 | Skt.  | abhi-gam-, upa-sthā- |
| Ir.  | ascenaim, tascenaim                     | Du.   | naderen                  | Av.   | ....                 |
| Nl.  | druidim, tarraingim                     | OHG   | nāhan, nāhlithōn         |       |                      |
| W.   | dynesu                                  | MHG   | nāhen                    |       |                      |
| Br.  | lostaat, (di)nesaat                     | NHG   | nāhen, sich nāhern       |       |                      |

'Enter' is simply to 'go or come in' and is most commonly so expressed, but also in part by compounds of verbs for 'tread, step' or the like, or by a direct derivative of a word for 'within'.

1. Cpds. or phrases with verbs for 'go' or 'come'.

Grk. *εἰσέρχουμαι*, Lat. *intrōire*, Ir. *in-od-tiaqu* (Pedersen 2.645), Nl. *iēghim isteach* ('isteach' 'into', orig. 'into the house': *tech* 'house'; Pedersen 1.264), W. *myned* (or *dyfod*) *i meun* ('within' : Ir. *medōn* 'middle', Pedersen 1.112), Henry 2,109), Goth. *innagagan*, *algagan*, *galeiþan*, OE *ingān*, *infaran*, OHG *ingangan* (NHG *eingehen* formerly so used, now replaced in this sense by *hineingehen* or *eintreten*; but still *eingang* 'entrance'), Lith. *įeiti*, ChSl. *vūniti*, etc.

2. Cpds. of words for 'tread, step, walk', as Lat. *ingredi* (*gradī*, 10.45), NG *μπαίνω* (fr. *ἐμβαίνω*, in class. Grk. mostly 'embark'), NHG *eintreten* (*tretēn* : OE

*tredan* 'step upon, tread', etc., outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.796, Falk-Torp 1291), Dan. *intræde*, Sw. *intråda* (semantic borrowing?), SCr. *stupiti u*, Boh. *vstupiti*, Russ. *vstupiti'* (: ChSl. *stupiti* 'tread').

3. Lat. *intrāre* (< It. *entrare*, Sp. *entrar*, Rum. *intra*, Fr. *entrer* > ME *entre*, NE *enter*), deriv. of *intrā* (*inter*, *intrō*) 'within'. Ernout-M. 482. REW 4511.

4. SCr. *ulaziti* (with sb. *ulaz* 'entrance' = ChSl. *vūlazū* id.) : ChSl. *sūlaziti* 'descend', etc., this : ChSl. *lěza*, *lěsti* in words for 'ascend, descend'. Berneker 697, 715.

5. Skt. *viç-*, the usual word for 'enter', but this sense perh. extension fr. 'enter the house or home' (cf. Nl. *isteach* 'into', above) in view of the widespread cognate nouns, like Skt. *viç-* 'settlement, dwelling place, house', Grk. *oikos* 'house', Goth. *weihs* 'village', etc. Walde-P. 1.231.

The majority of the verbs for 'approach' are based on adverbs for 'near' (12.43). A few are compounds of verbs for 'come' or 'go', or from various other sources.

1. Grk. *πλησιάζω*, *πηλάζω* fr. *πλησιον*, *πῆλας* 'near'.

Grk. *ἐγγίζω*, fr. *ἐγγύς* 'near'. But NG *ἐγγίζω* 'touch'.

NG *ἱγνάνω*, fr. class. Grk. *ἱγνώω* 'join'. Cf. Lat. *iungere* 'join', late refl. 'approach', It. *giungere* 'arrive' (10.55).

NG *σιμώνω*, fr. *σιμά* 'near'. NG *κοντέω* (fr. *κοντά* 'near') is rarely used for 'approach' in the literal sense, but reg. in phrases like *κοντέειν τὰ πῆλα* 'comes near dying'.

2. Lat. *adpropinquāre*, fr. adj. *propinquus* 'near', deriv. of adv. *prope* 'near'. Similarly, late *adproximāre* (> Sp. *aproximar*), through *proximus*; late *adpropiāre* (> OFr. *aprochier*, Fr. *aprocher*, Rum. *apropia*). Ernout-M. 815. REW 557-59.

Lat. *accēdere*, cpd. of *cēdere* 'go' (10.47).

Sp. *acercar*, cpd. of *cercar* 'circle, surround' (Lat. *circāre*, REW 1



(\**ūdātos*) : Lat. *tollere* 'raise, lift', etc. (10.22); the primary sense of the root \**tel-* being prob. 'support'. Ernout-M. 1044.

Lat. *portāre* (> It. *portare*, Fr. *porter*, Rum. *purta*) : Skt. *pr-* 'lead across, rescue', *para-* 'beyond, far', Grk. *πείρω* 'pierce', *περάω* 'pass across', Goth., OHG, OE *faran* 'go, travel' (10.47), OE *fara* 'carry' (Dan. *føre*, Sw. *föra* 'carry' and 'lead', 10.64), IE \**per-*. Walde-P. 2.39. Ernout-M. 793 f.

Lat. *vehere*, sometimes generic 'carry' but mostly 'carry' on a horse, vehicle, ship, cf. pass. *vehī* 'be carried, ride' and cognates (10.66).

Lat. *gerere*, sometimes 'carry', but mostly 'carry on one's person, wear, conduct oneself, act', etc., root \**ges-* (cf. *gessī*, *gestus*) but etym. dub., perh. as \**ḡ-es-* : \**aḡ-* in *agere* 'drive', etc. Walde-P. 1.37. Ernout-M. 420 f. Walde-H. 1.595 f.

Sp. *llevar* = It. *levare*, Fr. *lever* 'lift', fr. late Lat. *levāre* 'lift, lighten, alleviate' (10.22).

Rum. *duce*, fr. Lat. *dūcere* 'lead' (10.64).

5. Ir. *biru*, NlR. *beirim*, above, 1.

Ir. *immchuirim*, NlR. *iomcharaim*, cpd. of *cuirim* 'place, put' (12.2). Peder- sen 2.500.

W. *chudo*, orig. 'carry by a vehicle' : *clud* 'a vehicle, baggage', outside connections?

W. *cario*, fr. NE *carry* (or independent deriv. of *car* 'car, vehicle'?).  
Ir. *ru-ucc-* (perfect. stem in conjugation of *berim*), beside Ir. *to-ucc-* (perfect. stem to *do-biur* 'bring'), W. *duyn* 'bring' (Isig. *dygaf*), Br. *dougen* 'carry', etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.111. Pedersen 2.474, 475.

6. Goth. *bairan*, ON *bera*, etc., above, 1.

OE *farian*, Dan. *føre*, Sw. *föra*, see under Lat. *portāre* (above, 4).

ME *carie*, NE *carry*, orig. 'carry' by a vehicle, fr. ONorthFr. *carier* (Fr. *charrier* 'cart, haul'), fr. late Lat. *carri-cāre* derived fr. *carrus* 'cart' (Gallic; cf. *currere* 'run', 10.46). NED s.v.

OHG *tragen*, MHG *tragen*, Du. *dragen* (Goth. *dragan* for *ga-dragan* 'heap up'), prob. (but disputed) : ON *draga*, OE *dragan* 'draw, drag' (9.33). Walde-P. 1.862. Franck-v. W. 130. Feist 91. Falk-Torp 150 f. (separating OHG *tragen*, from ON *draga*, etc.).

7. Lith. *nešti*, Lett. *nest*, ChSl. *nesti*, *nositi*, above, 2.

8. Skt. *bhṛ-*, Av. *bar-*, above, 1. Av. *nāš-*, above, 2.

## 10.62 BRING

|      |  |       |   |       |                             |
|------|--|-------|---|-------|-----------------------------|
| Grk. | φέρειν, etc.                                   | Goth. | <i>briggan</i>                                  | Lith. | <i>atnešti</i>              |
| NG   | φέρειν, φέρω                                   | ON    | <i>fēra</i> , <i>koma</i> (with dat.)           | Lett. | <i>atnest</i>               |
| Lat. | <i>ferre</i> , <i>adferre</i> , etc.           |       |   | ChSl. | <i>prinesiti</i>            |
| It.  | <i>portare</i>                                 | Dan.  | <i>bringe</i>                                   | SCR.  | <i>donositi</i>             |
| Fr.  | <i>apporter</i>                                | Sw.   | <i>bringa</i>                                   | Boh.  | <i>prinesiti</i>            |
| Sp.  | <i>traer</i>                                   | OE    | <i>bringan</i> , <i>brengan</i> , <i>fetian</i> | Pol.  | <i>przynieść</i>            |
| Rum. | <i>aduce</i>                                   |       |   | Russ. | <i>prinesiti</i>            |
| Ir.  | <i>biru</i> , <i>dobiur</i> ( <i>to-ucc-</i> ) | ME    | <i>bringe</i> , <i>fecche</i>                   | Skt.  | <i>bhṛ-</i> , <i>hr-</i>    |
| NlR. | <i>beirim</i> , <i>dobairim</i>                | NE    | <i>bring</i> ( <i>felch</i> )                   | Av.   | <i>bar-</i> , <i>ā-gās-</i> |
| W.   | <i>duyn</i> , <i>cyrchu</i>                    | Du.   | <i>brengen</i> , <i>halen</i>                   |       |                             |
| Br.  | <i>digas</i> , <i>dizougen</i>                 | OHG   | <i>bringan</i> , <i>halōn</i>                   |       |                             |
|      |  | MHG   | <i>bringen</i> , <i>holen</i>                   |       |                             |
|      |  | NHG   | <i>bringen</i> , <i>holen</i>                   |       |                             |

## 10.63 SEND

|      |                                 |       |                                 |       |                              |
|------|---------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| Grk. | πέμπω                           | Goth. | <i>sanđjan</i>                  | Lith. | <i>siusti</i>                |
| NG   | στέλλω, στέλω                   | ON    | <i>senda</i>                    | Lett. | <i>sūtīt</i>                 |
| Lat. | <i>mittere</i>                  | Dan.  | <i>sende</i>                    | ChSl. | ( <i>po-</i> ) <i>sūlati</i> |
| It.  | <i>mandare</i> , <i>inviare</i> | Sw.   | <i>sūnda</i>                    | SCR.  | ( <i>po-</i> ) <i>sūlati</i> |
| Fr.  | <i>envoyer</i>                  | OE    | <i>sendan</i>                   | Boh.  | ( <i>po-</i> ) <i>sūlati</i> |
| Sp.  | <i>enviar</i> , <i>mandar</i>   | ME    | <i>sende</i>                    | Pol.  | ( <i>po-</i> ) <i>sūlac</i>  |
| Rum. | <i>trimite</i>                  | NE    | <i>send</i>                     | Russ. | ( <i>po-</i> ) <i>sūlat</i>  |
| Ir.  | <i>fōidim</i>                   | Du.   | <i>zenden</i>                   | Skt.  | <i>pra-iṣ-</i>               |
| NlR. | <i>cuirim</i>                   | OHG   | <i>senſan</i>                   | Av.   | <i>mačō-(?)</i>              |
| W.   | <i>anfōn</i>                    | MHG   | <i>senden</i>                   |       |                              |
| Br.  | <i>kas</i>                      | NHG   | <i>schicken</i> , <i>senden</i> |       |                              |

Several of the words for 'send' are derived from words for 'road', with development through an intermediate 'go, travel' to 'cause to go' = 'send'. Some show specialization from 'let go, throw', or 'put, place, prepare, arrange' (an expedition, etc.). Some are connected with words for 'know', 'warn', 'command', and must then have been used first for 'send a message'.

1. Grk. *πέμπω*, etym.? Boisacq 765.

NG *στέλλω*, *στέλω*, fr. Grk. *στέλλω* 'make ready, equip, arrange, dispatch' (an expedition), esp. *ἀποστέλλω* 'send off, dispatch' (an embassy, expedition, etc.) : OE *stellan*, 'set, establish', etc. (12.12).

2. Lat. *mittere* (orig. *sm-*? cf. *cosmit-tere* Paul. Fest.), etym. wholly uncertain (Av. *maēθ-* 'mittere' Barth. 1105, but?), but meaning 'send' specialization of 'let go, throw', etc., which is also found at all periods and is dominant in the cpds. and in VLat. (whence Fr. *mettre* 'put', etc.). Walde-P. 2.688. Ernout-M. 621 f.

It. *mandare*, Sp. *mandar* (also 'command') = Fr. *mander* 'send word, summon', fr. Lat. *mandāre* 'commit, enjoin', also late 'send word', fr. *man-* = *manus* 'hand' (cf. *man-eps*, etc.) and *dare* 'give'. Ernout-M. 586. REW 5286.

It. *inviare*, Fr. *envoyer*, Sp. *enviar*, fr. VLat. \**inviāre* beside late Lat. *viāre*

'travel', deriv. of *via* 'road' (10.71). REW 9295.

Rum. *trimite*, fr. Lat. *trāmittere* = *trans-mittere* 'send across'. REW 8849. Puscariu 1763.

3. Ir. *fōidim*, prob. : Skt. *vēdaya-* caus. of *vid-* 'know' (IE \**weid-* in Grk. *oīda* 'know', Lat. *vidēre* 'see', etc.), with semantic development 'inform' to 'send (a message)' and 'send' in general. Pedersen 1.359, 2.525.

NlR. *cuirim* 'put, place' (12.12; cf. Ir. *fo-ceird* 'throws' 10.25), also 'send'.

W. *anfōn* (and *danfōn*, with *dy-* 'to'), perh. fr. \**ṇdhi-mon-* : Lat. *monēre* 'warn', caus. of the root \**men-* in Lat. *memini* 'remember', Skt. *man-* 'think'. Pedersen 2.301.

Br. *kas* (also 'lead'), fr. Norm. Fr. *casser* = Fr. *chasser* 'hunt, drive away'. Henry 56.

4. Goth. *sanđjan*, OE *sendan*, OHG *senſan*, etc., general Gmc., caus. of the root seen in OHG *sinnan* 'travel, go', OE *sīð*, OHG *sint* 'journey, course, way', etc., hence orig. 'cause to go'. From the same root prob. also Lith. *siusti*, Lett. *sūtīt*. Walde-P. 2.496 f. Feist 410 f.

NHG *schicken*, earlier meaning 'prepare, suit, adapt', so MHG *schicken* = ON *skikka* 'arrange' : OHG *sechen*, NHG *geschehen* 'happen', etc. Weigand-H. 2.702. Kluge-G. 516.

The relation of 'bring' to 'carry' is similar to that of 'come' to 'go' (cf. 10.47). While 'carry' denotes the action without regard to direction, 'bring' involves the implication of a definite goal, often the position of the speaker, but not necessarily so. Generally this notion is either undistinguished from 'carry', as in Grk. *φέρειν*, Lat. *ferre*, etc., which cover both 'carry' and 'bring', or is expressed by compounds of the verbs for 'carry' with prefixes meaning 'to' or the like. For these, as already discussed in 10.47, or obvious compounds of the same, no further comment is needed.

It is only in Germanic that there is a distinctive independent group for 'bring'. But some other words of various primary meanings are also used for 'bring', and the most important of these are listed.

1. Sp. *traer*, fr. Lat. *trahere* 'pull, draw' (9.33).

2. Ir. *to-ucc-* (perfect. to *do-biur*), W. *duyn*, Br. *dizougen* (= *di* + *dou-gen*), see under Ir. *ro-ucc-*, Br. *dougen* 'carry', 10.61.

W. *cyrchu* 'approach', but also (prob. through 'go for, go get') 'bring', fr. Lat. *circāre* 'go around' and 'seek', the latter meaning attested by It. *cercare*, Fr. *chercher* 'seek', etc. (11.31). Loth, Mots lat. 157.

Br. *digas*, cpd. of *dī-* 'to' and *kas* 'send, lead' (10.63).

3. Goth. *briggan*, OE *bringan*, ME *bringe*, NE *bring*, MLG *bringen* (> Dan.

*bringe*, Sw. *bringa*), OHG *bringan*, MHG, NHG *bringen*, beside OE *brengan*, OS *brengian*, MLG, Du. *brenge* (fr. *brang-jan*) : W. *he-brung* 'lead, conduct, bring', MCor. *hem-bronk* 'will lead', MBr. *ham-brouc*, NBr. *ambrourk* 'lead'. Walde-P. 2.204. Falk-Torp 102. Feist 105.

ON *færa* (Dan. *føre*, Sw. *föra* 'carry' and 'lead', NHG *föhren* 'lead', 10.64), caus. to ON *fara*, Goth. *faran* 'go, travel' (10.47).

ON *koma* 'come' (10.48) with dat. of object, and so reg. Nlcel. *koma með*, for 'bring'.

OE *fetian*, ME *fecche*, NE *felch* (still common locally), prob. as orig. 'go after' : ON *fel* 'a step', *fela* 'find one's way', Grk. *πῆδον* 'ground', etc. Walde-P. 2.24. NED s.v. *fel* and *felch*.

OHG *halōn*, *holōn*, MHG, NHG *holen*, Du. *halen* (also 'draw', cf. ME *hale*, NE *haul*) : OE *ge-holian* 'get', perh. Arm. *k'atem* 'collect, take away', Toch. *kāl-* 'lead, bring' (SSS 430). The old comparison with Lat. *calāre*, Grk. *καλέω* 'call', etc. (Falk-Torp 373, Walde-H. 1.141) is based on the frequent use as 'call' in OHG. But the evidence as a whole indicates that this sense is secondary. Mansion, PBB 33.547 ff. Franck-v. W. 226.

4. Skt. *hr-* 'hold, carry, take' and (esp. with *ā-*) 'bring' : Osc. *heriad* 'capiat', Lat. *hortus* 'garden', etc., IE \**ḡher-*. Walde-P. 1.603.

Av. *ā-yās-*, cpd. of *yās-* 'desire, ask for, order'; outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.197. Barth 1288 f.

5. Lith. *siusti*, Lett. *sūtīt*, see under Goth. *sanđjan*, etc. (above, 4).

6. ChSl. *sūlati*, more commonly perfect. *poslati* (iter. *sylati*), etc., general Slavic, perh. : Goth. *saljan* 'offer', ON *selja* 'give over, sell', OE *sellan* 'give, sell'. Walde-P. 2.504 f. Brückner 499.

7. Skt. *pra-iṣ-* in *preṣyati* and caus.

*preṣayati* (so also OPers. *fraēšayam* 'I sent'; but Av. *fraēšya-* 'impel' and 'promise', not quotable as 'send'), cpd. of *pra-* 'forth' and *iṣ-* 'impel, hurl' = Av. *iṣ-* 'set in rapid motion' : ON *eisa* 'start violently', Lat. *ira* 'anger', etc., IE \**eis-*. Walde-P. 1.106 f.

Av. *maēθ-* 'mittere', Barth. 1105, but this sense dub.

## 10.64 LEAD (vb.)

|      |  |       |                               |       |                              |
|------|--|-------|-------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| Grk. | ἀγω, ἡγέομαι                                     | Goth. | <i>tiuhan</i>                 | Lith. | <i>vesti</i>                 |
| NG   | δῶν  | ON    | <i>leiða</i>                  | Lett. | <i>vest</i>                  |
| Lat. | <i>dūcere</i>                                    | Dan.  | <i>lede</i> , <i>føre</i>     | ChSl. | <i>vesti</i>                 |
| It.  | <i>menare</i> , <i>condurre</i> , <i>guidare</i> | Sw.   | <i>leiða</i> , <i>föra</i>    | SCR.  | <i>voditi</i>                |
| Fr.  | <i>mener</i> , <i>conduire</i> , <i>guider</i>   | OE    | <i>lædan</i>                  | Boh.  | <i>vésti</i>                 |
| Sp.  | <i>llevar</i> , <i>conducir</i> , <i>guiar</i>   | ME    | <i>lede</i>                   | Pol.  | <i>prrowadzić</i>            |
| Rum. | <i>duce</i> , <i>conduce</i>                     | NE    | <i>lead</i>                   | Russ. | <i>vesti</i> , <i>vodit'</i> |
| Ir.  | <i>fedim</i>                                     | Du.   | <i>voeren</i> , <i>leiden</i> | Skt.  | <i>ni-</i>                   |
| NlR. | <i>trebruihaim</i>                               | OHG   | <i>leiten</i>                 | Av.   | <i>nī-</i> , <i>vādaya-</i>  |
| W.   | <i>arwain</i> , <i>tywys</i>                     | MHG   | <i>leiten</i> , <i>vueren</i> |       |                              |
| Br.  | <i>kas</i>                                       | NHG   | <i>föhren</i> , <i>leiten</i> |       |                              |

Apart from an inherited group in which 'lead' seems to be the primary sense, words for 'lead' are cognate with others for 'draw', 'seek', 'road', 'carry', 'go' (as 'cause to go'), and 'drive'. Strictly, one 'leads' from in front and 'drives' from behind, but in situations where both have in common the notion of 'conduct' the difference may be lost sight of, with resulting interchange.

1. IE \**wedh-*. Walde-P. 1.255. Pedersen 2.515 f.

Ir. *fedim*; Lith. *vedu*, *vesti*, Lett. *vedu*, *vesti*; ChSl. *vedu*, *vesti*, iter. *voditi*, SCR. *voditi*, Boh. *vésti*, Pol. *prrowadzić* (cpd. replacing largely *wieść*, *wodzić*), Russ. *vesti*, *vodit'*, Av. *vādaya-* (caus.).

2. Grk. *ἀγω* : Lat. *agere*, Skt. *aj-* 'drive' (10.65).

Grk. *ἡγέομαι* (cf. *ἡγεμών* 'leader, chief') : Lat. *sāgīre* 'perceive keenly', Goth. *sōkjan* 'seek', etc. (11.31). Walde-P. 2.449. Boisacq 314. Ernout-M. 887.

Grk. *δῶν* 'show the way, guide', NG *δῶν* 'guide, lead', deriv. of *δῶν* 'guide', cpd. of *δῶδ* 'way, road' and the root of *ἀγω*.

3. Lat. *dūcere* (also 'draw'), OLat. *doucere* : Goth. *tiuhan* 'lead' and 'draw', OHG *ziohan*, OE *lēon*, etc. 'draw' (9.33). Walde-P. 1.780 f. Ernout-M. 285 f. Walde-H. 1.377 f.

Hence Rum. *duce* both 'carry' and 'lead' (cf. Sp. *llevar*); and, fr. the cpd. Lat. *condūcere* 'draw, bring together, assemble', It. *condurre* (OIt. *conducere*), Fr. *conduire*, Sp. *conducir*, Rum. *conduce*. REW 2127.

It. *menare*, Fr. *mener* (both also used for 'drive' animals) = Rum. *mīna* 'drive' animals, fr. late Lat. *mīnare* 'drive' animals, deriv. of *mīnare* 'threats'. Ernout-M. 615. REW 5585.

It. *guidare*, Fr. *guider* (Ofr. *guier*), Sp. *guiar*, fr. Gmc., prob. a Frank. *uīlan* : OE *gewīlan* 'see, look' and 'take a cer-

tain direction'. REW 9528. Gamill-scheg 498.

Sp. *llevar* 'carry' (10.61), also 'lead'.

4. Ir. *fedim*, above, 1.

NlR. *trebruihaim*, deriv. of *treōir* 'guide, direction, conduct, strength' : Ir. *treōir* 'vigor', *treōrach* 'strong' (Windisch), further etym.?

W. *arwain*, earlier 'carry', fr. \**ari-wegn-* : Ir. *fēn*, OE *wagn* 'wagon', Lat. *vehere* 'carry', *vehī* 'ride', Skt. *vah-* 'carry, ride', etc. (10.66). Walde-P. 1.250.

W. *tywys* (cf. also *tywysog* 'leader, prince') : Ir. *tuus*, *tossach* 'beginning', *lōisech* 'leader', fr. IE \**weid-* 'know' in Skt. *vid-*, Grk. *oīda*, etc., with development of 'know' to 'know the way, lead'. Walde-P. 1.238, 256. Pedersen 1.308 (vs. 136).

Br. *kas* 'send' (10.63), also 'lead'.

5. Goth. *tiuhan*, see under Lat. *dūcere*, above, 3.

## 10.65 DRIVE (vb. trans.)

|      |                                     |       |                                  |       |  |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|-------|--|
| Grk. | δαίνω                               | Goth. | <i>dreiban</i> , <i>draihjan</i> | Lith. | <i>varyti</i> , <i>ginti</i>                 |
| NG   | διώκω, θγάω, etc.                   | ON    | <i>reka</i> , <i>keyra</i>       | Lett. | <i>dzi</i>                                   |
| Lat. | <i>agere</i> , <i>pellere</i>       | Dan.  | <i>drive</i>                     | ChSl. | <i>gūnati</i> , <i>goniti</i>                |
| It.  | <i>spingere</i> , <i>cacciare</i>   | Sw.   | <i>driva</i> , <i>kōra</i>       | SCR.  | <i>tjerati</i> , <i>goniti</i>               |
| Fr.  | <i>pousser</i> , <i>chasser</i>     | OE    | <i>drifan</i> , <i>wreccan</i>   | Boh.  | <i>hnāti</i> , <i>honiti</i> , <i>puđiti</i> |
| Sp.  | <i>arraer</i> , <i>echar</i>        | ME    | <i>drive</i>                     | Pol.  | <i>gnac</i> , <i>gonić</i> , <i>pedzić</i>   |
| Rum. | <i>goni</i> , <i>mīna</i>           | NE    | <i>drive</i>                     | Russ. | <i>gnat'</i> , <i>gonit'</i>                 |
| Ir.  | 3sg. <i>ad-aig</i> , <i>imm-aig</i> | Du.   | <i>drijven</i>                   | Skt.  | <i>aj-</i> , <i>nud-</i>                     |
| NlR. | <i>tiomānīm</i>                     | OHG   | <i>triban</i>                    | Av.   | <i>az-</i>                                   |
| W.   | <i>gyrru</i>                        | MHG   | <i>triben</i>                    |       |  |
| Br.  | <i>kas</i>                          | NHG   | <i>treiben</i>                   |       |  |

Apart from the inherited group, some words for 'drive' are cognate with words for 'strike' or 'push', but many are of doubtful origin. Several were clearly used first of driving cattle.

'Drive' is understood here as 'force to move on or away' (from in front of one, action from behind), virtually the opposite of 'lead'. But the words listed, like NE *drive*, have many other, and quite disparate, uses.

Where the object is a horse or a ve-

hicle, NE always uses *drive* (so Grk. *δαίνω*, e.g. Hom. Il. 23.334, and Lat. *agere*), but the majority of other modern languages use rather a verb for 'lead' (10.64) or 'guide', e.g. NG *δῶν*, It. *guidare*, *condurre*, Fr. *conduire*, Sp. *guiar*, *conducir*, NHG *lenken* (but *vieh treiben*), Russ. *praviti* ('rule, direct', etc. : *pravij* 'right').

1. IE \**aḡ-*, widespread root in words with primary meaning 'drive' but with highly developed secondary uses. Walde-

hicle, NE always uses *drive* (so Grk. *δαίνω*, e.g. Hom. Il. 23.334, and Lat. *agere*), but the majority of other modern languages use rather a verb for 'lead' (10.64) or 'guide', e.g. NG *δῶν*, It. *guidare*, *condurre*, Fr. *conduire*, Sp. *guiar*, *conducir*, NHG *lenken* (but *vieh treiben*), Russ. *praviti* ('rule, direct', etc. : *pravij* 'right').

|      |                             |       |                       |       |                  |
|------|-----------------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | ὄθω                         | Goth. | afskiuban             | Lith. | stumti           |
| NG   | σπρώχω                      | ON    | skija                 | Lett. | stumt            |
| Lat. | trudere, impellere, pulsare | Dan.  | puffe, skubbe, stæde  | ChSl. | ...              |
| It.  | spingere                    | Sw.   | skjuta, stöta         | SCr.  | guratī, turatī   |
| Fr.  | pousser                     | OE    | scifan                | Boh.  | strkatī, šoupatī |
| Sp.  | empujar                     | ME    | shoue, thrist, pusshe | Pol.  | pchač, sunač     |
| Rum. | împinge, îmbrinci           | NE    | putte                 | Russ. | tolkat', pichat' |
| Nr.  | sāithim                     | Du.   | puah, shove (thrust)  | Skt.  | tud-             |
| W.   | guthio, hyrddu              | OHG   | duwen, stooten        | Av.   | ...              |
| Br.  | poulza                      | MHG   | schieben              |       |                  |
|      |                             | NHG   | stossen, schieben     |       |                  |

The notion intended by the heading is that of forcing back either by a sharp impact or by gradual pressure. These two aspects are sometimes distinguished, at least roughly, as in NHG *stossen* vs. *schieben*. But, in general, the former is the earlier, as shown by the frequent connection with words for 'strike, hit', 'drive', or 'shoot', or others for 'swift' motion.

1. Grk. ὄθω : Skt. *vadh-* 'strike, kill', Av. *vādāya-* 'force back'. Walde-P. 1.254 f. Boisacq 1080.

NG σπρώχω, fr. cpd. of preceding, namely \*σπρω- (cf. class. πρῶ-σπρω-), whence σπρώχω after the -u presents and with guttural fr. aor. ἔσπρωξα for ἔσπρωσα (cf. class. ὄσα and ἔσπρωσα; for spread of ξ- vs. σ- aor. cf. Hatzidakis Einleitung 136). Cf. NG dial. ἀμπώσω, ἀμπώχω, etc. fr. ἀμώσω (1<sup>st</sup> r. Aē. 1.550).

2. Lat. *trudere* : Goth. *us-brīutan* 'make trouble for, annoy', OE (ā) *brēotan* 'make weary', OHG *drīozan* 'press, oppress', ChSl. *trudū* 'trouble', vb. *truditi* 'trouble', etc. Walde-P. 1.755. Ernout-M. 1060.

Lat. *pellere* 'drive, strike' (10.65) and cpds., esp. *impellere*, sometimes 'push'. Hence also, through *pulsus* 'blow', *pulsare* (> Fr. *pousser*) and *impulsare* (> Sp. *empujar*). Ernout-M. 750. REW 4323, 6837.

SCr. *drum* (esp. 'highway') > Rum. *drum* 'road'. Berneker 231. Tiktin 578.

2. Lat. *via* (> It., Sp. *via*, Fr. *voie*) generally both 'road' and 'street', Osc. *viā*, Umbr. (abl.) *vea*, *via*, perh. : Skt. *vī-thi-* 'row', also 'street', *vī-* 'approach eagerly, seek, etc.', Lith. *vyti* 'pursue' (10.53). Walde-P. 1.229. The old deriv. fr. \**uegh-ya-* : Lat. *vehere*, etc., still mentioned in Ernout-M. 1101 and most attractive semantically (cf. Goth. *uigs*, etc., below, 4), seems phonetically impossible.

Lat. (*via*) *strāta* 'paved road' (*strātus* pple. of *sternere* 'spread, pave') > It. *strada* (> Rum. *stradă* 'street'), Byz., NG *σπάρα* (now mostly 'course, way'), Ir. *srāt*, Nlr. *srāid* (see 10.73), OE *strat* (> ON *strati*), ME *strete*, NE *street*, Du. *straat*, OHG *strāza*, MHG *strāze*, NHG *strasse*. For the varying use of these as 'road' or 'street', see the lists and NED s.v. *street*.

It. *cammino*, Fr. *chemin*, Sp. *camino*, fr. Gallo-Lat. *camminus* : Ir. *cingim* 'walk, stride' (10.45). REW 1552. Thurneysen, Keltorum. 52.

Fr. *route*, fr. Lat. (*via*) *rupta* (*ruptus* pple. of *rumpere* 'break') 'broken road', i.e. one that has been broken through, opened up. Gamillscheg 775.

Rum. *drum*, see above, 1, NG *drōmos*. Rum. *cale* (= Sp. *calles* 'street'), fr. Lat. *callis* 'path' (10.72). Pușcariu 262.

3. Ir. *slige* (Nlr. *slighe* 'way, avenue'), with *sluicht* 'a following', Mlr. *slícht* 'track' : Ir. *sligim* 'strike'(?). Pedersen 2.103. Adversely Walde-P. 2.706.

Ir. *sél*, Br. *hent* (= W. *hynt* 'way, journey') : OE *sēð*, OHG *sind* 'journey, course, way, time', Goth. *sinþs* 'time', etc. Walde-P. 2.496. Pedersen 1.138.

Ir. *conar* 'road, path' (*conaraib* gl. *semitis* MI. 143b2), journey, also 'way, manner' (K. Meyer, Contrib. 460. Laws, Gloss. 174), etym.? Pedersen 2.51.

Lat. *impingere* (> Rum. *împinge*), \**expingere* (> It. *spingere*), cpds. of *pangere* 'drive in, fix'. Ernout-M. 728 f. REW 3048, 4309. Tiktin 764.

Rum. *îmbrinci*, deriv. of *brinca* 'paw, hand' (etym. dub., REW 1271).

3. Nlr. *sāithim*, fr. Ir. *sāidim* 'drive in, fix', caus. of *sāidim* 'sit'. Pedersen 2.605.

W. *guthio*, beside sb. *guth* 'a push, thrust', etym.?

W. *hyrddu*, beside sb. *hurd* 'a push', etym.? Loth, RC 36.175 (vs. Morris Jones 153).

Br. *poulza*, fr. an early form of Fr. *pousser*, fr. Lat. *pulsare* (above, 2).

4. Goth. *afskiuban* (renders *ἀσπῶσω*), ON *skija*, Norw. *skjve* (Dan. *skubbe* fr. a different but related form), OE *scifan*, ME *shoue*, NE *shove* (Du. *schuiven* now less common in this sense), OHG *sciohan*, MHG, NHG *schieben*, prob. : Lith. *skubus* 'swift, quick', ChSl. *skubati* 'pull' (cf. also Skt. *kṣubh-* 'a jerk'), with common notion of quick motion. Walde-P. 2.556. Feist 9. Falk-Torp 1035, 1047. Weigand-H. 2.703.

Dan. *stæde*, Sw. *stöta*, Du. *stooten*, NHG *stossen*, all also 'hit, strike' as mostly in earlier times (Goth. *stautan* in this sense) : Lat. *tundere* 'strike, beat, pound', Skt. *tud-* 'hit, push', etc. Walde-P. 2.618. Feist. 451. Falk-Torp 1198.

Dan. *puffe*, fr. MLG *puffen*, *buffen* 'hit, pop' (Du. *poffen*, *boffen*), of imitative orig. (cf. NE *puff*, etc.). Falk-Torp 854.

Sw. *skjuta* (also 'shoot') : ON *skjöta* 'put in motion, shoot', etc. (with *bátr* 'boat' = 'shove off'), OE *scōtan* 'move or cause to move swiftly or suddenly, shoot', etc. (cf. NE *shoot the bolt*), OHG *sciozan* (NHG *schieszen*), etc. Falk-Torp 1044.

Early ME *prusten*, *pristan*, ME *thrist*, NE *thrust* (now mostly a lit. word), fr. ON *þrysta* 'thrust, press,' this perh. : Lat. *trudere* (above, 2). Walde-P. 1.755. Falk-Torp 1294. NED s.v. *thrust*, vb.

ME *pusshe*, NE *push*, fr. Fr. *pousser* (above, 2). NED s.v. *push*, vb.

ME *putte* 'put, place' (12.12), also 'push', NED s.v. *put*, vb. B1.

Du. *sunagē*, OHG *dūhan*, OE *þyn* 'press', prob. : Grk. *τίκω* 'mason's hammer', ChSl. *tūknaťi* 'prick, stab' and with other extensions, Lat. *tundere*, Goth. *stautan*, etc. (above), Grk. *τίκω* 'strike, hit, beat'. Walde-P. 2.615 ff. Frank-v. W. 144.

5. Lith. *stumti*, Lett. *stumt*, fr. another extension of the root \**(s)leu-* seen

in Goth. *stautan*, NHG *stossen*, etc. (above, 4). Mühl-Endz. 3.1106.

6. SCr. *gurati*, deriv. of *gura* 'hump'? Berneker 363 (but without this vb.).

SCr. *turati*, *turiti* (also 'throw') : Russ. *turiti* 'urge, drive away', outside connections? Miklosich 365.

Boh. *strčiti*, *strkatī* (with sb. *strk* 'a thrust') : Pol. *sterczel* 'jut out, project', etc., outside connections? Miklosich 322. Brückner 513.

Boh. *šoupati*, fr. sb. *šoup* 'a shove', this fr. NHG *schub* id. (: *schieben*, above, 4).

Pol. *pchač*, Russ. *pichat'* : ChSl. *pī-chati* 'strike' (with the fist or the foot), Boh. *pichati* 'prick', Skt. *pi-*, Lat. *pīnsere* 'pound, crush'. Walde-P. 2.1. Ernout-M. 770 f. Brückner 401.

Pol. *sunagē*, *sunagē* = Russ. *sunul'*, *sovat'* 'thrust, poke, put in', ChSl. *sovati* 'throw, hurl' : Lith. *šauti* 'shoot', Walde-P. 2.552. Brückner 526.

Russ. *tolkat'*, *tolknul'* : ChSl. *tūknaťi*, *tūknaťi* 'strike, knock' (9.21).

7. Skt. *tud-* : Lat. *tundere* 'strike, beat, pound', Goth. *stautan* 'hit', NHG *stossen*, etc. (above, 4).

## 10.71 ROAD

|      |                                |       |                    |       |                         |
|------|--------------------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | ὁδός (ὁδῶς)                    | Goth. | uigs               | Lith. | kelias                  |
| NG   | ὁδῶς                           | ON    | vegr, braut, gata  | Lett. | cel's                   |
| Lat. | via                            | Dan.  | vej                | ChSl. | paťi, cēsta             |
| It.  | strada, cammino, via           | Sw.   | väg                | SCr.  | paťi, cēsta             |
| Fr.  | chemin, route, voie            | OE    | weġ, strat         | Boh.  | cesta                   |
| Sp.  | camino, via                    | ME    | weie, strete, gate | Pol.  | droga                   |
| Rum. | drum, cale                     | NE    | road (way)         | Russ. | doroga, put'            |
| Ir.  | slige, sēt, rōd, conar, bóthar | Du.   | weg                | Skt.  | path-, mārga-, adhvana- |
| Nr.  | bóthar, rōd, bealach           | OHG   | weg, strāza        | Av.   | paθ-, advan-, frayana-  |
| W.   | ffordd                         | MHG   | weg, strāze        |       |                         |
| Br.  | hent                           | NHG   | weg, strasse       |       |                         |

1. Grk. ὁδός : ChSl. *chodū* 'gait, walk', *choditi* 'walk, go' (10.45). Walde-P. 2.486.

Grk. *κλέωθω* (mostly poet., but also for 'road' in Arc. dial.) : Lith. *keliauti*,

Lett. *cel'uoť* 'travel', Lith. *kelias*, Lett. *cel's* 'road'. Walde-P. 1.446.

NG ὁδῶς = class. Grk. ὁδῶς 'course, race' : Grk. aor. *ἐδραμον* 'ran' (10.46). Hence SCr.-ChSl. *drumā*, *dromā*, Bulg.,

out, a stretch'. Berneker 212. Brückner 97.

7. Skt. *path-*, Av. *paθ-*, see above, 6. Skt. *mārga-*, orig. 'path of wild animals', deriv. of *mrga-* 'wild animal, deer' (3.11). Uhlenbeck 222.

Skt. *adhvan-*, Av. *advan-* : Pali *andhati* 'goes', further connections dub. Walde-P. 1.130.

Av. *frayana-*, cpd. of *fra* + *ayana* (Skt. *prāyana-* 'entrance, beginning') : *i-*, Skt. *i-* 'go' (10.47). Barth. 989.

## 10.72 PATH

|      |                        |       |             |       |                   |
|------|------------------------|-------|-------------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk. | πάτος, ἀρπατός, τριβος | Goth. | staiaga     | Lith. | takas             |
| NG   | μωνοπάτος              | ON    | stigr       | Lett. | teka, taka, stiga |
| Lat. | semitia, callis        | Dan.  | sti         | ChSl. | stiza, stidza     |
| It.  | sentiero               | Sw.   | stig        | SCr.  | staza             |
| Fr.  | sentier                | OE    | stip, paþ   | Boh.  | stezka            |
| Sp.  | senda, sendero, vereda | ME    | path, sti   | Pol.  | ścieżka           |
| Rum. | cărare                 | NE    | path        | Russ. | stezja, tropa     |
| Du.  | cassān (conar)         | Du.   | pad         | Skt.  | path-, mārga-     |
| Nr.  | coān                   | OHG   | pfad, stiga | Av.   | paθ-, advan-      |
| W.   | llywybr                | MHG   | pfad, stic  |       |                   |
| Br.  | guenodenn, ravent      | NHG   | pfad, steig |       |                   |

Although several of the words discussed under 'road' are used to cover any sort of 'way', there are usually other words for the less pretentious 'path'.

1. Grk. *πάτος* : ChSl. *paťi* 'road, strāza', MHG *strāze*, NHG *strasse* 'street, road', see above, 2.

NE *road*, fr. OE *rād*, ME *rode* 'act of riding, journey' : OE *riðan* 'ride' (10.66). NED s.v.

5. Lith. *kelias*, Lett. *cel's* : Grk. *κλέωθω*, above, 1.

6. ChSl. *paťi*, SCr. *put*, Russ. *put'* : OFr. *pintis* 'road', Skt. *path-* (nom. *panthās*, etc.), Av. *paθ-* (nom. *panthā*, etc.), OPers. acc. *paθim* 'way' (in general), whether 'road, street' or 'path', Grk. *πάτος* 'path', *πόντος* 'sea', Lat. *pons* 'bridge', etc. (10.74). Goth. *finþan*, ON *finna*, etc. 'find, experience', OS *fathi* 'going', OHG *fendeo* 'walker'. Walde-P. 2.26 f.

Lat. *callis* (> Sp. *calles* 'street', Rum.

*rao-hent*, cpd. of *rao* 'pole-chain' (on vehicles, etc.) and *hent* 'road' (in sense of 'twisted road?'). Henry 230.

4. Goth. *staiaga*; ON *stigr*, Dan. *sti*, Sw. *stig*, OE *stig*, ME *sti*, OHG *stiga*, MHG *stic*, NHG *steig*; Lett. *stiga*, ChSl. *stiza*, *stidza*, etc., general Slavic : Goth. *steigan*, ON *stiga* 'climb, mount', Lett. *staiģāt* 'walk' (10.45), ChSl. *stignati* 'arrive', Ir. *tiagu* 'go' (10.47), etc. Walde-P. 2.615. Falk-Torp 1160. Feist 447.

OE *paþ*, ME, NE *path*, Du. *pad*, OHG, NHG *pfad*, much disputed. Possibly (but historically difficult) an early

WGmc. loanword of either Grk. (*πάτος*) or Iran. (cf. Av. *paθ-*, 10.71) origin. Other etymologies unconvincing. Walde-P. 2.26 f. Weigand-H. 2.401. Kluge-G. 438. Franck-v. W. 485.

5. Lith. *takas*, Lett. *teka*, *taks* : Lith. *tekėti* 'run', etc. (10.46).

6. ChSl. *stiza*, *stidza*, SCr. *staza*, Boh. *stezka*, Pol. *ścieżka*, Russ. *stezja*, above, 4.

Russ. *tropa*, dim. *tropinka* (Pol. *trop* 'track'), see under Grk. *ἀρπατός*, above, 1.

7. Skt. Av. words for 'path', see under 'road' (10.71).

## 10.73 STREET

|      |                    |       |                 |       |                        |
|------|--------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | δῶς, ἄγυα, πλατεία | Goth. | gatuw, piapja   | Lith. | gatvė (ulyčia)         |
| NG   | δῶς, δρόμος        | ON    | strati, gala    | Lett. | ietā, gatva            |
| Lat. | via, platia        | Dan.  | gade            | ChSl. | raspiťije, paťi, cēsta |
| It.  | via                | Sw.   | gata            | SCr.  | ulica                  |
| Fr.  | rue                | OE    | strat           | Boh.  | ulice                  |
| Sp.  | calles, rúa        | ME    | street, gale    | Pol.  | ulica                  |
| Rum. | stradă, uliță      | NE    | street          | Russ. | ulica                  |
| Ir.  | srāid, srāt        | Du.   | straat          | Skt.  | rathayā, vithi-        |
| Nr.  | srāid              | OHG   | gaza, strāza    | Av.   | ...                    |
| W.   | heol (ystryd)      | MHG   | gasse, strāze   |       |                        |
| Br.  | ru                 | NHG   | strasse (gasse) |       |                        |

The distinction between 'road' and 'street' (in a town) is secondary and incomplete. Words for 'road' covered also 'street', and some came to be used mainly in the latter sense, like NE *street*. Several of the other words that are used mainly for 'street', and listed here only, are sometimes used also for 'road'.

1. Grk. δῶς 'road' (10.71) also and in NG only 'street' (beside pop. δρόμος).

Grk. ἄγυα (sc. δῶς), formed with the same suffix as the fem. perf. act. pple. in -ία (cf. also δργυα, etc.) fr. ἄγω 'lead'.

Grk. πλατεία (sc. δῶς), fem. of πλατῆς 'wide', in Hellenistic times the common word for 'street' (freq. in NT and pap.) but in NG the public 'square'.

Grk. βῶμη 'force, rush' (fr. ἐβῶ 'drag'), in Hellenistic times (LXX, NT, pap.) 'street' or 'alley', with development, fr.

'rush through', 'going, passage', like that in Fr. *allée* (> NE *alley*) fr. *aller* 'go'.

2. Lat. *via*, It. *via*, see 'road' (10.71). Lat. *platia*, fr. Grk. *πλατεία* (above, 1).

Fr. *rue* (> Sp. *rúa* 'street in a village'), fr. Lat. *rūga* 'wrinkle, fold, crease'. REW 7462.

Sp. *calles*, fr. Lat. *callis* 'path' (10.72).

Rum. *stradă*, fr. It. *strada* 'road' (10.71).

Rum. *uliță*, fr. the Slavic (below, 6). This is now used for the street in a village, but *stradă* for the city street.

3. Ir. *slige*, see 'road' (10.71).

Ir. *srāt*, Nlr. *srāid*, fr. Lat. *strāta* (10.71), directly (Pedersen, Vendryes) or through OE (Marstrand, Bridg 76); in either case the use affected by English. W. *ystryd* (used locally = *heol*) fr. ME *strete*. Parry-Williams 27.

SCr. *brv* 'beam, footbridge', etc., a group with primary meaning 'beam', whence 'bridge'. Walde-P. 2.207. Falk-Torp 103, 109.

5. Lith. *tillas*, Lett. *tilts* : OPruss. *talas* 'floor' (of a room), ChSl. *tilo* 'ground', ON *jil*, OHG *dil* 'board-wall', Skt. *tala-* 'surface, plane', etc. Walde-P. 1.740.

6. ChSl. *mostū*, SCr. *most*, etc., general Slavic (cf. also Russ. *mostovaja* 'pavement, deck', *pomost* 'floor, scaffold') prob. as orig. 'beam' an early loan-

word fr. the Gmc. group OHG *mast* 'pole, flagstaff', esp. 'mast', OE *mast*, ON *māstr* 'mast'. Stender-Petersen 282 f. Walde-P. 2.235 f. (rather as cognate with Gmc. group). Walde-H. 2.19.

7. Skt. *setu-*, lit. 'a band', as adj. 'binding' = Av. *haētu-* 'a dam' : Lat. *saeta* 'coarse hair', OHG *seid* 'string', etc., *i*-formations to Skt. *si-*, Av. *hi-*, Lett. *set* 'bind', etc. Walde-P. 2.464.

Av. *pašu-*, *paratu-*, also 'ford, passage' : OE *ford*, OHG *furt* 'ford', Lat. *portus* 'harbor', *porta* 'gate', etc. Walde-P. 2.40.

## 10.75 CARRIAGE, WAGON, CART

|      |                                     |       |                      |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | ἄμαξα, ἀπήνη, ὄχος                  | Goth. | ....                 |
| NG   | ἄμαξα, καρόσσα, κέσσο               | ON    | reið, vagn           |
| Lat. | vehiculum, raeda, carrus, plaustrum | Dan.  | vogn, karre          |
| It.  | vettura, carro                      | Sw.   | vagn, kārta          |
| Fr.  | voiture, chariot, charrelle         | OE    | wagn, cræt           |
| Sp.  | coche, carruaje, carro              | ME    | carre, vaim, cart(e) |
| Rum. | trăsăruț, cărușă, car               | NE    | carriag              |
| Ir.  | fén, carpat, carr                   | Du.   | wagen,               |
| Nl.  | carrisdie, carbad,                  | OHG   | wagan,               |
|      | fēan, cairt, carr                   | MHG   | wagen,               |
| W.   | ceybul, hen, cvel                   | NHG   | wagen,               |

5. ON *vagn*, OE *wagn*, etc., general Gmc., above, 1.  
ON *reið*, OHG *reita*, see Lat. *raeda* (above, 3).

ON *kartr*, OE *cræt*, ME *carte* (this form perh. fr. Norse), NE *cart*, perh. orig. with body of basket-work and so : MHG *krenze* 'basket', OHG *krato*, *krezzo* 'basket', OE *cradol* 'cradle', etc. Walde-P. 1.595. Falk-Torp 499. NED s.v. cart sb.

Dan. *karre*, Sw. *kärra*, ME *carre*, etc., see Lat. *carrus* (above, 3).

ME, NE *chariot* (fr. OFr. *chariot*, above, 3), formerly more generic than now. NED s.v.

NE *carriole* (fr. Fr. dim. *carriole*), used only of a special type, but interesting because of the resulting old New England (by pop. etym.) *carryall*.

NE *carriage*, fr. ME *cariage* 'act of carrying' and 'thing carried, burden', fr. ONorthFr. *cariage*, deriv. of *carier* 'carry', this again deriv. of Lat. *carrus* (above, 3). Used for 'wheeled vehicle' since 16th. cent., now esp. one for carrying persons. NED s.v.

6. Lith. *vežimas*, above, 1.  
Lith. *ratai*, Lett. *raši*, lit. 'wheels', pl. of *ratas*, *rats* 'wheel' (10.76). Cf. ChSl.

*kola* (below, 7) and Toch. A *kukāl*, B *kokale* 'wagon' : Skt. *cakra*, Grk. *κύκλος* 'wheel' (10.76).

Lett. *vāg'is*, above, 1.  
Lett. *diurīci* (esp. 'two-wheeled cart', also *riči*, Mühl.-Endz. 3.522), cpd. of *div-* for *divi* 'two' and form related to *ritenis* 'wheel' (10.76). Likewise *divritenis* 'bicycle' and 'two-wheeled cart'. Mühl.-Endz. 1.473.

7. ChSl. *kola*, *kolesa*, SCr. *kola* (Pol. *kolasa*, *kolaska*, Russ. *koljaska* dim. 'calash'), pl. of *kolo* 'wheel' (10.76). Berneker 548.

ChSl. *vozū*, Boh. *váz*, *povoz*, etc., above, 1.

SCr. *taljige*, Russ. *telega* 'cart' (Pol. *telega*, etc., not ordinary word), fr. Turk. *talika* 'light four-wheeled carriage'. Miklosich, Türk. Elemente 2.46. Brückner 568.

8. Skt. *vāhana-*, *vāha-*, above, 1.  
Skt. *yāna-* : *i-* 'go' (10.47).  
Skt. *anas-* (mostly 'draught-wagon, cart') : Lat. *onus* 'load'. Walde-P. 1.132 f. Ernout-M. 703.

Skt. *ratha-*, Av. *raθa-* 'chariot' : Lat. *rota*, Lith. *ratas* 'wheel' (10.76).  
Av. *vāša-* : *varat-* 'turn' (10.13-14). Barth. 1418.

## 10.76 WHEEL

|      |                 |       |                  |
|------|-----------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | τροχός (κύκλος) | Goth. | hvel, hjöl, hvel |
| NG   | trochós, róða   | ON    | hvel, hjöl, hvel |
| Lat. | rota            | Dan.  | hjul             |
| It.  | ruota           | Sw.   | hjul             |
| Fr.  | roue            | OE    | hweol            |
| Sp.  | rueda           | ME    | hwele, whele     |
| Rum. | roată           | NE    | wheel            |
| Ir.  | droch, roth     | Du.   | wiel             |
| Nl.  | roth            | OHG   | rad              |
| W.   | olwyn, rhod     | MHG   | rat              |
| Br.  | rod             | NHG   | rad              |

Words for 'wheel' include an inherited group derived from a root for 'turn' and others from roots meaning 'run' or 'roll'.

1. IE *\*k<sup>w</sup>elo-s*, *\*k<sup>w</sup>elo-s*, redupl. *\*k<sup>w</sup>ek<sup>w</sup>elo-s*, fr. *\*k<sup>w</sup>el-* in Skt. *car-* 'move,

wander', Grk. *πεδῶμαι* 'be in motion', etc. Walde-P. 1.514 ff. Falk-Torp 413.

ON *hvel*; OPruss. *kelan*; ChSl., SCr., Boh. *kolo*, Pol. *kolo*, Russ. *koleso*; Grk. *κύκλος* 'ring, circle', also rarely 'wheel'

(sg. Hom. Il. 23.340, mostly in pl. *κύκλα*); ON *hvel*, *hjöl*, Dan., Sw. *hjul*, OE *hweogul*, *hweowol*, *hweol*, ME *hwele*, *wehale*, NE *wheel*, Du. *wiel*; Skt. *cakra*, Av. *čakra-*; Toch. A *kukāl*, B *kokale* 'wagon'.

2. Derivs. of IE *\*reth-* in Ir. *rethim*, W. *rhedeg* 'run', etc. (10.46). Walde-P. 2.368. Ernout-M. 871.

Lat. *rola* (> Romance forms); Ir. *roth*, W. *rhod*, Br. *rod*; OHG *rad*, MHG *rat*, NHG *rad*; Lith. *ratas*, Lett. *rats*; Skt. *ratha-*, Av. *raθa-* 'chariot' (10.75). Here NG *póða* fr. Ven. *roda* = It. *ruota*. G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 2.77.

3. Grk. *τροχός* = Ir. *droch* : Grk. *τρεχών* 'run', etc. (10.46). Walde-P. 1.874 f.

4. Ir. *roth*, W. *rhod*, Br. *rod*, above, 2. Ir. *droch*, above, 3.

W. *olwyn*, etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.301.

5. Lith. *ratas*, Lett. *rats*, above, 2. Lith. *tekinis* : *tekėti* 'run', (10.46). Lett. *ritenis* : *ritināš*, *rietet*, *rist* 'roll' (10.15). Mühl.-Endz. 3.532.

Lett. *skritulis* : Lith. *skritulys* 'circle, knee-pan', *skrytis*, OPruss. *scritayle* 'felloe', Lith. *skriestis* 'make a circle', OE *scripe* 'course', *scrid* 'carriage', fr. extensions of *\*sker-* in words for 'turn, bend'. Mühl.-Endz. 3.894. Walde-P. 2.571.

6. SCr. *točak* : *tok*, ChSl. *tokū* 'flow', but through the sense of 'run' as in ChSl. *teka*, *tešiti* 'run, flow' (10.46).

SCr. *kotač* : *kotrljati*, Russ. *katiť*, etc. 'roll' (10.15). Berneker 591.

7. Skt. *cakra-*, Av. *čakra-*, above, 1.

## 10.77 AXLE

|      |            |       |                 |
|------|------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | ἄξω        | Goth. | axl             |
| NG   | ἄξω, ἔξω   | ON    | axl, axlre      |
| Lat. | axis       | Dan.  | aksel           |
| It.  | sala, asse | Sw.   | axel            |
| Fr.  | essieu     | OE    | ax              |
| Sp.  | eje        | ME    | ax, azle, aztre |
| Rum. | osie       | NE    | axle            |
| Ir.  | fertas     | Du.   | as              |
| Nl.  | acastoir   | OHG   | ahsa            |
| W.   | echel      | MHG   | ahse            |
| Br.  | ahel       | NHG   | achse           |

With few exceptions, the words for 'axle' belong to an inherited group.

1. Derivs. of IE *\*aks-*, this prob. fr. *\*aḡes-* : *\*aḡ-* 'drive' in Skt. *aj-*, Lat. *agere*, etc. (10.65). Walde-P. 1.37. Ernout-M. 97. Walde-H. 1.89.

Grk. *ἄξω*; Lat. *axis* (> It. *asse*, Sp. *eje*), It. *sala* (fr. VLat. *\*azalis*), Fr. *essieu* (fr. VLat. *\*azilis*); OE *ax*, ME *ax*, *az-tre* (tre here as 'beam'), NE dial. *ax* (usual pop. form in New England), Du. *as*, OHG *ahsa*, MHG *ahse*, NHG *achse*;

Lith. *asis*, Lett. *ass*; ChSl. *osi*, SCr. *osovina*, rarely *os* (Boh. *osa* 'axis'), Pol. *os*, Russ. *os'*; Skt. *akṣa-* (Av. *aṣa-* 'shoulder'); ON *axl*, *axl-trē* (> ME *azle-tre*, NE *azle*), Dan. *aksel*, Sw. *axel*

(Gmc. *\*ahsulaz*); W. *echel*, Br. *ahel* (fr. *\*aksilā*); Rum. *osie* fr. Slavic.

In late Lat. *axis* became identical with *assis* 'board', whence the two meanings of It. *asse* and the prevalence of derivs. in most Romance dialects. Wartburg 1.160 f., 190.

2. Ir. *fertas* 'distaff, spindle' (6.32), also 'axle' (Laws, Gloss. s.v.).

Nl. *acastoir* (Dinneen, etc.); *acastoir* McKenna), fr. ME *axtre*.

3. Boh. *náprava*, also 'restoration, repairing', abstract to *napraviti* 'set right, repair', with specialization to 'axle' as the part that breaks down and needs repairing?

evidence of IE words for 'oar' and 'row', but not for 'mast' or 'sail'. Cf. Schrader, Reallex. 2.295 ff.

Apart from the inherited group, the most common connection, in part reflecting the primitive 'dugout', is with words denoting some sort of hollow object, as 'vessel' (in orig. sense of *vessel*), 'pot', 'tub', 'trough', 'belly', etc. A late Grk. word for a kind of boat is a prolific source of European loanwords denoting a special type of ship or generic 'ship'. Specialization of 'something built' to 'ship' occurs. Connection with verbs for 'sail, float' is exceptional.

Words for the modern steamship are combinations of those for 'steam' and 'ship' or 'boat', as NE *steamship*, *steamboat*, NHG *dampfschiff*, Fr. *navire* (*bâtiment*, *bateau*, etc.) *à vapeur*, NG *ἀτμόπλοιο*, Russ. *parovoe sudno*, or simply those for 'steam' or derivs., as NE *steamer*, NHG *dampfer*, Fr. *vapeur*, It. *vapore* (> NG pop. *παπῆρι*), Russ. *parochod*.

1. IE *\*nāu-*, root connection wholly uncertain. Walde-P. 2.315. Ernout-M. 656 f. REW 5863.

Grk. *ναῦς*; Lat. *nāvis* (> It., Sp. *nave*, obs. Rum. *naie*, *navă*), *nāvigium* (> Fr. *navire*, Sp. *navio*); Ir. *naui*, *nō*; ON (poet.). *nāf*; Skt. *nāu-*, NPers. *nāv* (OPers. *nāviyā* 'navigable'? Av. *nāva-* 'navigable'), Arm. *nav*.

2. Grk. *πλοῖον* = ON *fley* (poet.) : Grk. *πλεω* 'sail, float', Slav. *plōviti* 'float', etc. (10.34, 10.36).

NG pop. *καράβι*, fr. *καράβιον*, dim. of *κάραβος* 'horned beetle, crayfish' (: *έρας* 'horn'), which came to be applied to a kind of boat, apparently from its crab-like appearance (cf. Hesych. *ἐφάλας* *μικρά καράβια*) and is a common Byz. word. Hence also late Lat. *carabus* 'wicker boat covered with hide' (Isid.), It. *caravella*, NE *caravel*, etc., also the

Slavic group (below, 7). For the application of other Grk. animal names to certain types of ships (*κύκλος*, *δόρυκας*, *κρύος*, *τράγος*) cf. Gelzer, Leont. v. Neap., p. 128.

3. Lat. *nāvis* and derivs., above, 1.

Derivs. of Lat. *vasellum*, dim. of *vās* 'vessel, dish, utensil', spec. specialization to 'seagoing vessel, ship', as It. *vascello*, OFr. *vessel* (> ME, NE *vessel* in current speech mainly in this sense, cf. NED s.v.), Fr. *vaisseau*, Sp. *bajel*. REW 9163.

It. *bastimento*, Fr. *bâtiment*, derivs. of It. *bastire*, Fr. *bâtir* 'build' (9.44). REW 981.

Sp. *bucque*, fr. Cat. *buc* 'belly, ship's hull, ship', this fr. Gmc. OE *bāc*, OHG *bāh* 'belly'. REW 1376.

Rum. *corabie*, fr. the Slavic (below, 7).

4. Mir., Nl. *long*, W. *llong*, usually considered loanwords fr. Lat. *longa* (*nāvis*), cf. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 152, Pedersen 1.195; but Loth, RC 43.133 ff., takes as Celtic *\*lungā* : Ir. *luighe* 'cal-dron, kettle, pan', *coblach* 'fleet'.

Lat. *cymba*, *scapha*, fr. Grk., above, 1. Late Lat. *barca*, fr. *\*bārica*, deriv. of *bāris*, fr. Grk. *βάρης* 'flat-bottomed boat', in origin an Egypt. word (Copt. *bari*). Hence Byz., NG *βάρκα*; It. *barca* (> Fr. *barque* > NE *bark*), Fr. *barge* (> NE *barge*), Sp. *barca*, *barco*, Rum. *barcă*; Mir. *bāre*; late ON *barki*, MHG *barke*, etc. The words of this group are applied in different languages and periods to the most diverse types, from a small row-boat (only, or covering small sailboat) to a large three-masted vessel (as NE *bark* in the technical sequence according to the rigging, *ship*, *bark*, *brig*, *brigantine*). Ernout-M. 103. Walde-H. 1.96. Wartburg 1.251. NED s.v. *bark* and *barge*.

Fr. *bateau*, OFr. *batel* (> It. *battello*), deriv. of Anglo-Norm. *bat* fr. OE *bāt* (below, 4). REW 985. Wartburg 1.281.

Sp. *bote*, fr. NE *boat*.

ME, NE *vessel*, above, 3.

6. Lith. *laivas* 'ship', Lett. *laiva* 'boat' (Russ. dial. *laiba*, Pol. dial. *taiba*), fr. Finn. *laiva* 'ship'. Berneker 686.

Lett. *kug'is*, fr. MLG *kogge* = MHG *koche*, late OHG *kocho* 'sort of boat'

(broad with round bow and stern), Icel. *kuggur* 'barge'. Berneker 537. Mühl.-Endz. 2.300.

7. ChSl. *korablŭj*, Boh. *koráb*, Russ. *korabl'* (Pol. *korab* 'boat, skiff'), an old general Slavic loanword (despite *b* for expected *v*) fr. late Grk. *καράβιον* (above, 2). Berneker 567. Brückner 256.

Otherwise Preveden, Language 6.279 ff. ChSl. *ladŭj*, *aldŭj* (less common than *korablŭj*, cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 358), SCr. *lada*, Boh. *lod'* (Pol. *łódź*, *łódka*, Russ. *lodka* 'boat'), perh. as orig. 'hollow vessel' : ON *alda* 'wave', Dan. *olde* 'trough', OE *ealdop* 'trough, tub'. Walde-P. 1.92. Brückner 310.

SCr. *brod*, also and orig. 'a ford', as general Slavic (Russ., Boh. *brod*, Pol. *bród*, etc., Berneker 86 f.), hence as

means of crossing it 'boat', extended to 'ship', Rječnik Akad. s.v.

Pol. *okręł*, cpd. of *kręł* 'a twist' : *kręcił*, *kręcił* 'twist' (ChSl. *krąčiti* 'turn', etc. 10.14). Semantic development prob. through 'plaited vessel' of some kind, cf. SCr. dial. *okrut* 'cask', Boh. *krutina* 'knot, cradle'. Berneker 627. Brückner 377 f.

Pol. *statek*, formerly 'property, equipment, implements' (cf. expressions like NHG *fahrzeug*, Dan. *fartøj*, etc.), fr. the root of *stač* 'stand', etc. Brückner 514.

Russ. *sudno* 'vessel' ('ship' or 'boat') : *sosud* 'vessel, vase', Pol. *sqd*, SCr., Boh. *sud* 'vat, tub', etc. Brückner 483. Walde-P. 1.827.

8. Skt. *nāu-* (in Av., OPers. only derivs. quotable), above, 1.

## 10.82 SAILOR

|      |                     |       |                             |
|------|---------------------|-------|-----------------------------|
| Grk. | ναύτης              | Goth. | skipari, skipamaðr, sjōmaðr |
| NG   | ναύτης              | ON    | skipari, skipamaðr, sjōmaðr |
| Lat. | navita, marinarius  | Dan.  | sjōmand, matros             |
| It.  | marinaio, marinaro  | Sw.   | sjōman, matros              |
| Fr.  | marin, matelot      | OE    | scipmann, scipere, sēlþend  |
| Sp.  | marinero, marino    | ME    | schipman, seman, mariner    |
| Rum. | marinar, matelot    | NE    | sailor, seaman (mariner)    |
| Ir.  | nāaire, loingsceach | Du.   | zeeman, matroos             |
| Nl.  | mairnēalach         | OHG   | scifman, sēolidanti         |
| W.   | morur, longur       | MHG   | schifmann, marnere          |
| Br.  | merdead, martolod   | NHG   | seemann, matroose           |

Most of the words for 'sailor' are derivatives or compounds of words for 'ship' or 'sea'; a few are from 'sail, navigate'.

1. Grk. *ναύτης* (> Lat. *navita*), Ir. *nāaire*, *noere*, Skt. *nāvika-*, derivs. of Grk. *ναῦς*, etc. 'ship' (10.81).

2. Fr. *marin*, Sp. *marino*, fr. Lat. *marinus* adj. 'marine', deriv. of *mare* 'sea'. It. *marinaio*, *marinaro*, OFr. *mariner* (> ME, NE *mariner*, now poet.), Sp. *marinero*, Rum. *marinar*, fr. MLat. *marinārius*. REW 5359.

Fr. *matelot* (> Rum. *matelot*; pl. > Du. *matroos* > Dan., Sw. *matros*, NHG *matroose*, Russ. *matros*), fr. OFr. *matenot* 'comrade', fr. ON *mǫtnautr* 'mess-companion' (cpd. of *matr* 'food, meal' and *nautr* 'companion'). Gamillscheg 599. Falk-Torp 705. Franck-v. W. 417.

3. Ir. *nāaire*, above, 1.

Ir. *loingsceach*, deriv. of *long* 'ship' (10.81).

Nl. *mairnēalach*, cf. *mairnēalacht* 'navigation', apparently fr. Sc. and North E. *marinal* 'mariner, sailor', fr.

OFr. *marinal*, MLat. *marinālis* (cf. NED s.v.).

W. *morur* and W. *llongur*, cpds. of *mor* 'sea' and *llong* 'ship' with *gur* 'man'.

Br. *merdead*, cf. W. *morwuyad* ('sea') voyage' : MBr. *mordeiff*, Br. (*merdei*) *mordei*, W. *morwuyog* 'navigate, sail' (10.36).

Br. *martolod*, fr. Fr. *matelot*, with *r* fr. *merdead*. Henry 196.

4. ON *skipari*, OE *scipere* (MLG, MDu. *schipper* > NE *skipper* 'captain of a small vessel'), derivs. of *skip*, etc., 'ship' (10.81).

ON *skipamaðr*, *skipmaðr*, OE *scipman*, ME *schipman*, OHG *scifman*, MHG *schifmann*, cpds. of words for 'ship' and 'man'.

ON (Nlcel.) *sjōmaðr*, Dan. *sjōmand*, Sw. *sjōman*, ME *seman*, NE *seaman*, Du. *zeeman*, NHG *seemann*, cpds. of words for 'sea' and 'man'.

OE *sēlþend*, OHG *sēolidanti* lit. 'seagoing', cpds. of word for 'sea' and pple. of OE *līþan*, OHG *līdan* 'go'.

Dan., Sw. *matros*, Du. *matroos*, NHG *matroose*, above, 2.

## 10.83 BOAT

|      |                        |       |                     |
|------|------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | ἡμιόλιος, σκάφος, κίβη | Goth. | skip                |
| NG   | ἡμιόλιος               | ON    | bátr, nǫkkvi        |
| Lat. | linter, cymba, scapha  | Dan.  | baad                |
| It.  | barca, battello        | Sw.   | båt                 |
| Fr.  | bateau, barque         | OE    | bāt, naca           |
| Sp.  | bote, barca, barco     | ME    | bote                |
| Rum. | luntre, barcă          | NE    | boat                |
| Ir.  | curach, bát            | Du.   | boot                |
| Nl.  | bād                    | OHG   | scif, nacho         |
| W.   | bād, cwech             | MHG   | nache, nāwe         |
| Br.  | bag                    | NHG   | boot (kahn, nachen) |

'Boat' is understood here as a small craft in contrast to the larger 'ship' (10.81). But there is no sharp line, and the words entered here are of diverse scope. Some are the same as those entered under 'ship'. Thus Grk. *πλοῖον* and dim. *πλοῖον* are used in NT with-

NE *sailer*, agent noun of vb. *sail* (10.36), now written *sailor* after the agent nouns of Lat. origin, as distinguished from *sailer* used of a ship (a fast sailer). MHG *marnere*, fr. MLat. *marinārius*



W. *cludair*, also 'heap, pile' (Spurrell), hence the meaning 'raft' (fr. 'pile of wood'): *cludo* 'carry, convey', arch. 'heap' (10.61).

Br. *radell*, *razell*, see above, 2.

4. ON *floti*, Dan. *flaade* (both also 'fleet'), Sw. *flotte* (cf. *flotta* 'fleet'), NE *float* (rare in this sense, NED s.v. *7a*), Du. *vlot*, OHG *flōz* (mostly 'flux, flow'), MHG *vlōz*, NHG *floss* (as ON *fljóta*, OE *flēotan* 'float', etc. (10.34). Falk-Torp 229.

NE *raft*, arch. (ME) 'rafter, beam, spar', fr. ON *raptr* 'rafter', coll. 'roof, ceiling'. NED s.v.

5. Lith. *sielis*, Lett. *sielains*, prob. : Lett. *siel* 'bind'. Leskien, Bildung d. Nom. 275. Mühl.-Endz. 3.858.

Lett. *pluošts* (= Lith. *pluoštas* 'ferry') : *plūst* 'overflow', OE *flēotan* 'float', etc. (above, 4). Mühl.-Endz. 3.364, 365.

Lett. *pluts*, fr. ORuss. \**plūtū*, Russ. *plot* 'raft' (below, 6). Mühl.-Endz. 3.359.

| Grk.                               | 10.85  | OAR                                 |
|------------------------------------|--|-------------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>κάρη</i> , <i>ἐρημύον</i>  | Goth. ....                                       | Lith. <i>irklas</i>                 |
| NG <i>κονί</i>                     | ON <i>ār, ræði</i>                               | Lett. <i>irkls</i>                  |
| Lat. <i>rēmūs</i> ( <i>lōnsa</i> ) | ON <i>are</i>                                    | ChSl. <i>veslo</i>                  |
| It. <i>remo</i>                    | Sw. <i>dra</i>                                   | ChSl. <i>veslo</i>                  |
| Fr. <i>rame</i> , <i>aviron</i>    | OE <i>ar, rōþer</i>                              | Boh. <i>veslo</i>                   |
| Sp. <i>remo</i>                    | ME <i>are</i>                                    | Pol. <i>wiozlo</i>                  |
| Rum. <i>vislă</i> , <i>lopătă</i>  | NE <i>oar</i>                                    | Russ. <i>veslo</i>                  |
| Ir. <i>rāme</i>                    | Du. <i>riem</i>                                  | Skt. <i>aritra-, kṣepaṇī-, nāu-</i> |
| Nlr. <i>rāmha</i>                  | OHG <i>ruodar</i> , <i>riemo</i>                 | Skt. <i>aritra-, kṣepaṇī-, nāu-</i> |
| W. <i>rhwyf</i>                    | MHG <i>ruoder</i> , <i>ruodel</i> , <i>rieme</i> | Av. ....                            |
| Br. <i>roeth</i>                   | NHG <i>ruoder</i>                                |                                     |

Many of the words for 'oar' belong to an inherited group pointing to IE words for 'oar' and 'row'. Other connections are with words for 'carry, ride' or for 'rod, pole'.

1. IE \**erā-*, \**rō-*, \**rō-* in words for 'oar, rudder, row' (perh. ultimately connected with IE \**er-* in Skt. *r-* 'move', Grk. *ῥοίω* 'rouse, move', but this quite uncertain). Walde-P. 1.143 f. Ernout-M. 859. Pedersen 2.591. Stokes 39.

2. Grk. *κάρη*, NG lit. *κάρη*, *κωνίον*, pop. *κονί*, orig. 'handle', hence the 'handle of

| Grk.                                 | 10.86                                | RUDDER                              |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>πρόδιον</i>                  | Goth. ....                           | Lith. <i>vairas</i>                 |
| NG <i>τύμβι</i>                      | ON <i>stýri, ræðri</i>               | Lett. <i>stūra</i>                  |
| Lat. <i>gubernaculum</i>             | Dan. <i>styr, ror</i>                | ChSl. <i>krāma, krāmilo</i>         |
| It. <i>timone</i>                    | Sw. <i>styre, røder</i>              | ChSl. <i>krāmilo</i>                |
| Fr. <i>gouvernail</i>                | OE <i>steor, stēorþōr</i>            | Boh. <i>kormidlo</i>                |
| Sp. <i>timón</i> , <i>gobernalle</i> | ME <i>stere, rother</i>              | Pol. <i>stér</i>                    |
| Rum. <i>cîrmă</i>                    | NE <i>rudder</i>                     | Russ. <i>ruľ</i> , <i>kormilo</i>   |
| Ir. <i>lue</i>                       | Du. <i>roer, stuur</i>               | Skt. <i>karṇa-, aritra-, kenī-</i>  |
| Nlr. <i>failm, stúur</i>             | OHG <i>ruodar, stiura, stiur-</i>    | Skt. <i>aritra-, kṣepaṇī-, nāu-</i> |
| W. <i>llyw</i>                       | OHG <i>ruodar</i>                    | Av. ....                            |
| Br. <i>stur</i>                      | MHG <i>stürruoder, stiur, rudder</i> |                                     |
|                                      | NHG <i>steuerruder</i>               |                                     |

Many of the names of the 'rudder' are cognates with those for 'oar'. In the older languages they may be the same since the simplest form of 'rudder' is merely an 'oar' trailed in the water behind the boat. With a more advanced form of steering apparatus come special words for 'helm, tiller' (mostly connected with words for 'handle' or 'beam'), and these are sometimes extended to cover the whole 'rudder'. A few words for 'rudder' are from verbs for 'guide, steer'.

1. Grk. *πρόδιον* : Hom. *πρόδιον* 'blade of the oar', pl. *πρόδιον* also 'rudder', through notion of 'flat surface' : *πρόδιον* 'ground, earth', *πρόδιον* 'plain', *ποῖς*, Lat. *pēs* 'foot', etc. Walde-P. 1.23 f.

NG *τύμβι*, fr. It. *timone* (below, 2).

2. Lat. *gubernaculum* (> Fr. *gouvernail*, Cat. *governall* > Sp. *governalle*), deriv. of *gubernare* 'steer, pilot a ship', fr. Grk. *κυβερνάω* 'act as pilot, steer'. Ernout-M. 437.

It. *timone*, Sp. *timón*, also 'helm, tiller, beam, pole' (so Fr. *timon*) fr. VLat. \**timo*, for *tēmo* (-*ōnis*) 'beam, pole'. REW 8625.

Rum. *cîrmă*, fr. the Slavic, cf. ChSl. *krāma* (below, 6).

3. Ir. *lue*, W. *llyw*, Corn. *leu*, fr. \**p[lu]wō-* : Grk. *πλώω* 'sail, float', ON *fljóta* 'float, flow', etc. (10.34). Walde-P. 2.95. Pedersen 1.61 f.

Nlr. *failm*, fr. Lat. *palma* 'blade of an

6. ScR. *splaw*, cpd. \**sū-plaw*, cf. *plaw* (poet.) 'navis, linter' (Rječnik Akad. 10.22) : *plōviti* 'float', etc.

Boh. *vor*, as orig. 'a binding-together' (of logs) : Pol. *wór* 'sack, bundle', ChSl. *vrāvŭ*, Lith. *virvė* 'cord', Lith. *verti* 'to thread', etc. Walde-P. 1.263. Trautmann 352. Brückner 382, 634.

Pol. *trahwa*, earlier *trafta*, fr. early NHG *trift* 'a drive of logs' (14th cent., still in local use; cf. Weigand-H. 2.1071 and similar use of NE *drive* in U.S.) : *treiben* 'drive'. Brückner 575.

Russ. *plot*, Pol. *plet*, Boh. *plť* : Russ. *plavati*, Pol. *plywać*, Boh. *plovati* 'float'. Trautmann 224.

7. Skt. *uḍupa-*, also 'moon', particularly 'new moon' (whence the meaning 'raft, barge' as a 'flat, slightly curved boat?'), MIndic for Skt. \**rtu-pa-*, lit. 'keeper of the (correct) time'. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. 1.167 (Uhlenbeck 28, but with unconvincing explanation of the meaning 'raft').

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| Lat. <i>rēmūs</i> ( <i>lōnsa</i> ) | ON <i>are</i>                                    | ChSl. <i>veslo</i>                  |
| It. <i>remo</i>                    | Sw. <i>dra</i>                                   | ChSl. <i>veslo</i>                  |
| Fr. <i>rame</i> , <i>aviron</i>    | OE <i>ar, rōþer</i>                              | Boh. <i>veslo</i>                   |
| Sp. <i>remo</i>                    | ME <i>are</i>                                    | Pol. <i>wiozlo</i>                  |
| Rum. <i>vislă</i> , <i>lopătă</i>  | NE <i>oar</i>                                    | Russ. <i>veslo</i>                  |
| Ir. <i>rāme</i>                    | Du. <i>riem</i>                                  | Skt. <i>aritra-, kṣepaṇī-, nāu-</i> |
| Nlr. <i>rāmha</i>                  | OHG <i>ruodar</i> , <i>riemo</i>                 | Skt. <i>aritra-, kṣepaṇī-, nāu-</i> |
| W. <i>rhwyf</i>                    | MHG <i>ruoder</i> , <i>ruodel</i> , <i>rieme</i> | Av. ....                            |
| Br. <i>roeth</i>                   | NHG <i>ruoder</i>                                |                                     |

Many of the words for 'oar' belong to an inherited group pointing to IE words for 'oar' and 'row'. Other connections are with words for 'carry, ride' or for 'rod, pole'.

1. IE \**erā-*, \**rō-*, \**rō-* in words for 'oar, rudder, row' (perh. ultimately connected with IE \**er-* in Skt. *r-* 'move', Grk. *ῥοίω* 'rouse, move', but this quite uncertain). Walde-P. 1.143 f. Ernout-M. 859. Pedersen 2.591. Stokes 39.

2. Grk. *κάρη*, NG lit. *κάρη*, *κωνίον*, pop. *κονί*, orig. 'handle', hence the 'handle of

the oar', then the 'oar' itself : *κάρη* 'gulp down' (fr. 'seize'), Lat. *capere* 'seize, take', Alb. *kap* 'grasp', etc. Walde-P. 1.342. Walde-H. 1.159.

3. Lat. *rēmūs*, etc., above, 1.

Lat. *tōnsa* (poet.), etym. dub. perh. : Goth. *at-hīnsan* 'draw on', OHG *dīnsan* 'pull, drag', etc., IE \**tens-* extension of \**ten-* in Lat. *tendere* 'stretch', etc.; or else : Lat. *tondere* 'shear, crop, cut off' (as 'hewn-out stick?'). Walde-P. 1.720, 727.

Fr. *aviron*, fr. OFr. *avirer* 'turn about' (found only as refl.), cpd. of *vire* 'turn, change course, veer, tack'. Gamillscheg s.v.

Rum. *lopătă*, also and orig. 'shovel', fr. Slavic *lopata* 'shovel' (8.24).

Rum. *vislă*, fr. the Slavic, cf. ChSl. *veslo*, etc. (below, 7).

4. Ir. *rāme*, etc., cf. above, 1.

5. ON *ār*, Dan. *aare*, Sw. *åra*, *år*, OE *ār*, ME *ore*, NE *oar*, fr. Gmc. \**airō-* (cf. Finn. loanword *airo*), without clear outside connections. Walde-P. 1.167. Falk-Torp 7, 1429.

ON *ræði*, prob. : MHG *ruote* 'rod, pole' also 'oar-shaft, oar' (NHG *rule*), OHG *ruota*, OE *rōd* 'rod, pole', etc. Falk-Torp 908 (against connection with OE *rōþer*, etc.).

OE *rōþer*, OHG *ruodar*, above, 1.

Du. *riem*, OHG *riemo*, MHG *rieme* (NHG dial. *riemen*), fr. Lat. *rēmūs* (above, 1). Franck-v. W. 547. Weigand-H. 1.587.

6. Lith. *irklas*, Lett. *irkls*, above, 1.

7. ChSl. *veslo*, etc., general Slavic (fr. IE \**wegh-slo-*) : ChSl. *vožā, voziti*, Lat. *vehī* 'ride', etc. (10.66). Walde-P. 1.250. 8. Skt. *aritra-*, above, 1.

Skt. *kṣepaṇī-* (also *kṣepaṇī-*, *kṣipani-*,

etc.) : *kṣip-* 'throw, cast' (10.25), fr. the 'throwing motion' involved in rowing.

Skt. *nāūdanda-*, *nāukāndanda-* lit. 'boat-pole', cpd. of *nāu-* 'boat' and *danda-* 'stick, staff'.

10.852. 'Row' (vb.). Nearly all the verbs for 'row' are connected with the nouns for 'oar', mostly those of the widespread group 1 of 10.85—either from their roots or, more commonly, derivatives, compounds, or phrases with them. Thus Grk. *ῥοίω*; Lat. *rēm-igere* (cpd. with *agere*), VLat. \**rēmāre* (It. *remare*, Fr. *ramer*, Sp. *remar*; Ir. *rāim* (Pedersen 2.591), Nlr. *rāmhuighim*, W. *rhwyf*, Br. *roeth*); ON *rāa*, Dan., Sw. *ro*, OE *rōwan*, NE *row*, Du. *roeien*, OHG *ruoderōn*, NHG *rudern*; Lith. *irti*, Lett. *irt*; ScR. *veslati* (similarly Rum. *vislă*, fr. *vislă*), Boh. *veslovati*, Pol. *robić wiosłem* (lit. 'act with the oar').

But there are a few of different origin.

NG pop. *λάμνω*, fr. *λαῖνω* 'drive' (10.65), which is used for 'row' in NT, Mk. 6.48, Jn. 6.19, and so rendered in the other versions (Vulgate, Goth., OE, ChSl., etc.).

Fr. *nager*, fr. Lat. *nāvigāre* 'sail' (10.36), now commonly 'swim' or 'float', is also sometimes used for 'row', esp. in phrase *nager de long* 'row with long strokes'.

It. *vogare*, Sp. *vogar*, fr. a Gmc. form like NHG *wogen*, deriv. of word for 'wave' (1.35). REW 9566.

Goth. *farjan* (for *θαῖνω* 'row' in Jn. 6.19; also for *πλέω* 'sail') : OE *faran*, etc. 'go' (10.47).

ChSl. *greti*, Russ. *gresti* (latter also 'rake') : Lith. *grėbti* 'rake', Skt. *grabh-* 'seize', etc. Walde-P. 1.652 f. Berneker 347.

ChSl. *greti*, Russ. *gresti* (latter also 'rake') : Lith. *grėbti* 'rake', Skt. *grabh-* 'seize', etc. Walde-P. 1.652 f. Berneker 347.

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## 11.11 HAVE

|      |                         |       |               |       |                          |
|------|-------------------------|-------|---------------|-------|--------------------------|
| Grk. | ἔχω                     | Goth. | haban (aigan) | Lith. | turėti                   |
| NG   | ἔχω                     | ON    | hafa          | Lett. | būt with dat.; turēt     |
| Lat. | habēre                  | Dan.  | have          | ChSl. | imēti                    |
| It.  | avere                   | Sw.   | hava          | SCR.  | imati                    |
| Fr.  | avoir                   | OE    | habban        | Boh.  | imati                    |
| Sp.  | tener                   | ME    | have          | Pol.  | mieć                     |
| Rum. | avea                    | NE    | have          | Russ. | prep. u with gen., imet' |
| Ir.  | phrase with 'be'        | Du.   | hebben        | Skt.  | as- or bhū- with gen.    |
| Nir. | phrase with 'be'        | OHG   | haben         | Av.   | ah- with gen.            |
| W.   | phrase with 'be'        | MHG   | haben         |       |                          |
| Br.  | phrase with 'be'; kaout | NHG   | haben         |       |                          |

There is considerable overlapping of sense among the verbs listed in 11.11-11.17. There is no sharp line between the colorless 'have' and the stronger 'own, possess'. 'Have' is mostly from earlier 'seize, take hold of', 'hold', or 'take', which are again closely allied with each other and in part with 'get, obtain' and 'keep, retain'.

The oldest method of indicating simple possession, and doubtless that of the IE period, was by means of a phrase containing the verb 'be', expressed or implied, with an oblique case for the person. This is common enough even in languages which also have verbs for 'have' (Grk. *ποιεῖ*, Lat. *mihi est*, etc.), and is the normal type in Indo-Iranian, and in the Celtic languages down to the present day.

The secondary use of verbs for 'have' as auxiliaries, esp. for past tenses, but also for future and 'must' (9.94), is not considered here.

Cf. Meillet, Le développement du verbe 'avoir', Festschrift Wackernagel, 9 ff.

1. 'Have' regularly expressed by phrases. Ir. *roibia less lōg dodaggnāma* lit. 'reward shall be to thee with him of thy well-doing' (Wb. 6a11), or using a prepositional phrase, *is ed inso fil lasuie* lit. 'it is this that is with him' (MI. 63d4), or, taking NT, Jn. 4.17, *οὐκ ἔχω*

*ἀνδρα* is rendered by Nir *nī fhuil fear agam*, W. *nid oes gennyf ior*, and Br. *n'em eus pried ebel* 'there is not a husband to me'; so also Lett. *man vīra nav*, Russ. *u menja net muža* 'there-is-not a husband to me'. Skt. *as- or bhū-* with gen. may be 'have' or 'own', cf. *tasya śatam jāyā babhuvu* 'he had a hundred wives', or *manor ha vā ṣabha āsa* 'Manu had a bull' (cf. Delbrück, Altind. Syntax 162), and similarly, Av. *āšava dāna* . . . *yā hanti spontahe mainyāuš* 'those creatures . . . which the holy spirit possesses' (Yt. 6.2), also with omission of *ah-: vahista ištīš srātī zarabūstrahē* 'Zarathustra has the best good known', lit. 'optimum bonum auditum (est) Zarathustri' (cf. Reichelt, Aw. Gramm. 253; Barth. 269).

2. Grk. *ἔχω* 'hold, possess, have': Skt. *sah-* 'be able, be powerful, overcome, be victorious', Av. *haz-* 'take possession of, gain', Goth. *sigis*, etc. 'victory'. Walde-P. 1.344 f. Ernout-M. 442. Walde-H. 1.630 f.

3. Lat. *habere* (> It. *avere*, Fr. *avoir*, Rum. *avea*) earlier 'hold', whence 'occupy, possess' and finally 'have': Umbr. *habitu, habetu* 'habeto', but the older sense in *habentur* 'ceperint', etc., Ir. *gaibim* 'take, seize', W. *gafaelu* 'hold, grasp' (10.14), perh. Lith. *gabenti* 'carry off, transport', IE \**gab(h)-*. Walde-P. 1.344 f. Ernout-M. 442. Walde-H. 1.630 f.

*por-tendere*, etc.). Hence the borrowed Romance forms, It. *possedere*, Fr. *posséder*, Rum. *poseda*, and inherited forms, OIt. *posseer*, OFr. *posseoir*, Sp. *poseer*, etc. NE *possess* fr. OFr. *posseoir*, formed fr. Lat. pple. Ernout-M. 795 f. REW 6683.

Lat. *tenēre* 'hold' (11.15), then 'occupy, possess'.

3. Ir. *teclatim* 'own' (esp. in legal use, cf. Laws, Gloss.) : Br. *tizout* 'attain, obtain', ON *þiggja*, OE *þigan* 'take, receive, accept' (11.13).

Ir. *selbaim*, Nir. *sealbhuighim*, fr. *selb* 'property' (11.41).

W. *meddu*, with 'own' fr. 'rule, have power' : Ir. *midir* 'judge' (cf. *comidethar* 'rules, has power'), Lat. *mederi* 'be good for, remedy', *meditare* 'consider, meditate', Grk. *μύδομαι* 'be mindful of, provide for', *μύδων* 'ruler', Goth. *mitan*, etc. 'measure', IE \**med-*. Walde-P. 2.259 f. Walde-H. 2.56. Pedersen 2.580.

Br. *kaout* 'own, have' (11.11).

Br. *piaoua* (MBr. *biou*, *biaou* but without inflection), verbal form derived from the locution *piou euz?* 'to whom is (this)?', i.e. 'to whom does this belong?'. Likewise, W. *piaw* 'belong' and 'possess', Corn. *peu*, *bew* 'own'. Pedersen 2.200.

4. Goth. *gastaldan*, renders *κράομαι* and once *ἔχω* (*gastaldan* = *ἐξουαν*, Cor. 7.28), cf. *andstaldan* 'supply with', OE *stealdan* 'possess' : OE *gesteald* 'dwelling', *hagu-steald*, OHG *hagu-stalt*, etc. 'one living in the lord's house, unmarried person', fr. an extension of the root \**stel-* in OE *stellan*, OHG *stellen* 'put, place', etc. Walde-P. 2.646. Feist 50.

Goth. *aigan* (see 11.11), ON *eiga*, Dan. *eje*, Sw. *äga*, OE *agan*, ME, NE

*owe* (now obs. in this sense), OHG *eigan*; also OE *āgnian* 'get possession of, own' (= Goth. *ga-aiginōn* 'gain advantage over', OHG *eigenen* 'appropriate, make one's own', fr. Goth. *aigin*, etc. 'property'), ME *ohne* (rare), NE *own* : Skt. *īḥ-* 'own, rule, be master of', Av. *ištī-* 'possession, riches, power'. Walde-P. 1.105. Falk-Torp 184. Feist 20.

OHG *bisizzan*, MHG, NHG *besitzen*, Du. *bezitten* (Dan. *besidde*, Sw. *besitta* = OE *besittan* 'sit around, besiege, sit in session', rarely 'sit in possession of, possess', all starting fr. the notion of 'sit about' and undoubtedly influenced by Lat. *possidere*.

5. Lith. *turėti* 'have, own' (11.11). 6. ChSl. *pritižati*, *sūtežati* 'acquire, possess', perfect. of *težati* 'work, till' : *tegnati* 'pull, stretch', etc. (9.33).

SCR. *posjedovati*, Pol. *posiadać*, cf. SCR. *posjed*, Pol. *posiad* 'property', cpds. of the words for 'sit', probably in imitation of NHG *besitzen*, *besitz* (above, 4).

Boh. *držeti*, Pol. *dzierzeć*, lit. 'hold, keep', hence also 'own' : ChSl. *držati* 'hold', etc. (11.15).

Russ. *vladet'*, *obladat'* (*obū-v-*) 'own, rule, govern' : ChSl. *vlasti*, Lith. *valdyti*, Lett. *valditi* 'rule', Goth. *waldan* id., etc., fr. the root in Lat. *valēre* 'be strong'. Walde-P. 1.219.

Russ. *imeti* 'have', but also 'possess', as less commonly also the corresponding Slavic words for 'have', ChSl. *imēti*, etc. (11.11).

7. Skt. and Av. 'possess' usually = 'have' expressed by 'be' with predicate gen. (cf. 11.11).

Skt. *kṣi-* : Grk. *κέρημαι* (above, 1). Skt. *īḥ-* : Goth. *aigan*, etc. (above, 4).

Lat. *sūmere* 'take up', fr. \**sus-(e)mere*, cpd. of *sub-s-*, *sus* with *emere* orig. 'take' (attested in Festus; 'buy' secondary) : Ir. *em-* (in cpds., *air-fo-emim* 'take, receive', etc.), Lith. *imti* 'take', ChSl. *jęti*

'seize, take' (but 'take' usually cpds., see below), etc., *imēti* 'have' (11.11). Walde-P. 1.124 f. Ernout-M. 299 ff.; 1102. Pedersen 2.512. Berneker 426 f.

It. *prendere*, Fr. *prendre* (Sp. *prender* 'seize', fr. Lat. *prehendere* 'seize' (11.14).

Sp. *tomar* (cf. Cat. *tomar* 'stretch out the hands'), much disputed, perh. belonging to the group Fr. *tomber* 'fall', NE *tumble*, etc. REW 8975.

Rum. *lua*, fr. Lat. *levāre* 'lift' (10.22). Cf. Sp. *llevar* 'take away, carry' (10.61) and NG *paírwa* 'take' (above, 1). REW 5000.

3. Ir. *gaibim* 'take, seize', Nir. *ga-bhaim* but mostly replaced by the cpd. *tógaim* (for *tóghaim*, Mir. *tócbaim* 'lift', fr. \**to-ad-gab-*) : Lat. *habēre* 'have', etc. (11.11). Pedersen 2.531.

Ir. *air-fo-emim* : Lat. *emere*, *sūmere*

Sp. *tener* fr. Lat. *tenēre* 'hold' (11.15).

4. Br. *kaout* : *kavout* 'get, find', etc. See 11.16.

5. Goth. *haban*, etc., general Gmc. : Lat. *capere* 'seize, take', Goth. *hafjan*, ON *hefja*, etc. 'lift', Lett. *kampt* 'seize, grasp', IE \**kap-*. Walde-P. 1.342 ff. Walde-H. 1.159. Falk-Torp 386. Feist 229.

Goth. *aigan* renders Grk. *ἔχω* in expressing relationship ('have as father' Lk. 3.8, 'have to wife' Lk. 20.33, Mc. 12.23), but represents the general

Gmc. word for 'own', as ON *eiga*, etc. (11.12). Feist 20.

6. Lith. *turėti* = Lett. *turēt* 'hold, keep' (also 'have', dial. 'possess', cf. Mühl.-Endz. 4.270), OPruss. *turiti* 'have' : Lith. *tvirti* 'fence, inclose', *nulverti* 'seize', Lett. *tvirt* 'grasp, seize', ChSl. *za-tvoriti* 'close, inclose'. Walde-P. 1.751.

7. ChSl. *imēti*, etc., the Slavic words (but Russ. *imeti* rather 'possess' than 'have') : ChSl. *ima*, *jęti* 'take', etc., general Slavic (11.13).

8. Skt. and Av., see above, 1.

## 11.12 OWN, POSSESS

|      |                   |       |                      |       |                          |
|------|-------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| Grk. | ἐκέρημαι          | Goth. | gastaldan, aigan     | Lith. | turėti                   |
| NG   | ἀνέκει (ου, etc.) | ON    | eiga                 | Lett. | phrase = have            |
| Lat. | possidere, tenēre | Dan.  | eje, besidde         | ChSl. | pritižati, sūtežati      |
| It.  | possedere         | Sw.   | äga, besitta         | SCR.  | posjedovati (imati)      |
| Fr.  | posséder          | OE    | agan, agnian, steal- | Boh.  | držeti (imti)            |
| Sp.  | poseer            |       | dan                  | Pol.  | posiadać, dzierzeć       |
| Rum. | poseda            | ME    | owe (ohne)           |       | (mieć)                   |
| Ir.  | teclatim, selbaim | NE    | own, possess         | Russ. | vladet', obladat', imet' |
| Nir. | sealbhuighim      | Du.   | bezitten             | Skt.  | = 'have', kṣi-, īḥ-      |
| W.   | meddu             | OHG   | bisizzan, eigan      | Av.   | = 'have'                 |
| Br.  | piaoua            | MHG   | besitzen             |       |                          |
|      |                   | NHG   | besitzen             |       |                          |

In most cases any expression for 'have' may be used also for 'own, possess' if the context shows that the relations is one of enduring (or legal, etc.) nature, as opposed to the temporary associative notion of 'have', which is often only a weakening of the stronger 'hold, possess'. In Sanskrit and Avestan it is not possible to distinguish between 'have' and 'own' except by context (and so largely still in Breton and Lettic), where both notions are expressed by a phrase (cf. 11.11). Likewise, most of the modern European languages show a distinct preference for expressing ownership by a phrase, as N.E. *it's mine*, or Fr. *c'est à moi*, even where there are also distinctive verbs for 'own'.

The latter are often from the notion

of 'rule, have power over'. Several must have been used primarily with reference to lands or houses, as indicated by early usage or the cognates, so notably Lat. *possidere* with semantic borrowings in Gmc. and (through Gmc.) Slavic.

1. Grk. *ἐκέρημαι*, lit. 'have acquired', perf. of *κράομαι* 'get, obtain' : Skt. *kṣi-* 'possess, rule over', Av. *zši-* 'have might, rule, be able'. Walde-P. 1.504.

In NG 'own' is regularly expressed by a phrase with *ἀνέκει* 'it belongs' = class. Grk. *ἀνέκει* 'it comes to'.

2. Lat. *possidere*, legal term first used in connection with real estate (cf. *ut nunc possidetis eum fundum*, etc., Festus), cpd. of *sedere* 'sit', first part prob. *potis*, *pote* 'having power, powerful' (otherwise Sommer, Hdb. 266, *por-* as in

tie development fr. 'hook' to 'snatch, seize' as in Br. *kregi* (below, 3). Walde-P. 2.501. Boisacq, 81.

Grk. *δράσσομαι* 'grasp, clutch' : *δράξ* 'hand', *δραχμή* 'drachma' (orig. 'hand-ful'), outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.807. Boisacq 198 f.

NG *πιάνω*, new present formed to aor. *πίασα*, fr. Grk. *πιάω*, *πιάω* 'press' (9.342), late 'seize' (cf. Theocr. 4.35 *ταύρων . . . πιάσας τὰς ὀφθᾶς*, and so reg. in NT and pap.).

2. Lat. *prehendere*, *prēndere* (> Rum. *prinde* 'seize, effect, begin', etc.; It. *prendere*, Fr. *prendre* 'take') fr. *prae-*

take', Sw. *grabbä*, NE *grab* 'seize hastily', etc., IE \**ghrebh-*. Walde-P. 2.652 f. Berneker 344.

Lett. *k'ert*, prob. for \**kart* (in *aizkart* 'touch, stir') by a blend with *tuert* (above), etym. dub. Perh. : Russ.-ChSl. *črěnú* 'handle', W. *caru* id., Skt. *karna-* 'ear, handle'. Walde-P. 1.412. Mühl.-Endz. 2.369 f.

6. ChSl. *jęti* 'seize, take', see 11.13. ChSl. *chvatiti*, *chvatati*, SCR. *uchvatiti*,

Boh. *uchvatiti*, *chytiti*, Pol. *uchwyć*, Russ. *chvatat'*, etym.? Berneker 407, 414. Brückner 188.

Boh. *uchopiti*, Pol. *chopić*, etc., other Slavic words for 'snatch, clutch', prob. sound imitative for quick clutching motion. Berneker 182.

7. Skt. *grabh-*, *grah-*, Av., OPer. *grab-* : Lett. *grābt*, etc. (above, 5). Skt. *rahb-*, *labh-* prob. : Grk. *λαμβάνω* (11.13).

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4. Goth. *haban*, ON *hafa* (as *hafa ā hondum*), OE *habban* (*habban* be *honda*), OHG *haben*, MHG *haben*, also the regular Gmc. words for 'have' (11.11).

ON *halda*, OE *healdan*, also 'keep, guard, pasture cattle', Dan. *holde*, Sw. *hålla*, ME *holde*, NE *hold*, Du. *houden*, MHG, NHG *halten*, but OHG *haltan* 'keep, guard, observe, pasture', Goth. *halda* 'pasture', prob. the more orig. meaning : Skt. *kālaya-* 'drive', Grk. *κῆλλω* 'drive (a ship onto land), land', etc. Walde-P. 1.443. Falk-Torp 415. Feist 239 f.

5. Lith. *laikyti*, cf. OPruss. *laiku* 'they hold', *laikut* 'perform', caus. of Lith. *likti* 'be left, remain' ('hold' as 'cause to stay') : Grk. *λαίρω*, Lat. *lin-*

OS *tulgo* 'very', Grk. *δοιχός*, Skt. *dirgha-*, etc. 'long' (12.57). (Cf. NHG *gelangen* 'reach, attain' : *lang* 'long', and NE *long* for.) Walde-P. 1.813. Pedersen 1.106.

6. ChSl. *držati*, SCR. *držati*, Boh. *držeti* (Pol. *dzierzeć*, obs.), Russ. *deržat'* :

ON *þiggja*, OE *þigan* 'take, receive, accept' (Dan. *tigge*, Sw. *tigga* 'beg') : Lith. *tekti* 'suffice, fall to one's lot', Ir. *tecliam* 'own'. Walde-P. 1.715. Falk-Torp 1258.

ON *taka* 'seize', later 'take' replacing *nema* in this sense (> ME *take* 'seize, take', NE *take*), Dan. *tage*, Sw. *taga* 'take' : Goth. *tēkan* 'touch', outside connections dub., but primary sense apparently 'lay hands on'. Walde-P. 1.786. Falk-Torp 1241. NED s.v. *take* vb.

5. Lith. *imti*, OPruss. *imti* 'take', ChSl. *jęti* 'seize, take', but mostly cpds. *vūžeti*, *prijēti*, etc. for *λαμβάνω* 'take' (cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 293), as also in modern Slavic, SCR. *uzeti*, Boh.

6. ChSl. *vūžeti*, etc., above, 5. ChSl. *bratati* 'collect, take', Boh. *bráti*, Pol. *brać*, Russ. *brat'* 'take' : Lat. *ferre*, Grk. *φέρειν*, Skt. *bhṛ-*, etc. 'carry' (10.61).

7. For Indo-Iranian forms, see under 'seize' (11.14).

## 11.14 SEIZE, GRASP, TAKE HOLD OF

|      |                            |       |                          |       |                      |
|------|----------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | λαμβάνω, ἀρπάζω, δράσσομαι | Goth. | fahan, greipan           | Lith. | nulverti, griabti    |
| NG   | πείνω                      | ON    | taka, gripa (já)         | Lett. | tuert, grābt, k'ert  |
| Lat. | prehendere, capere         | Dan.  | gribe                    | ChSl. | jęti, chvatiti       |
| It.  | afferrare, agguantare      | Sw.   | gripa                    | SCR.  | uchvatiti, zgrabiti  |
| Fr.  | saisir                     | OE    | gripan, læccan, fōn      | Boh.  | uchvatiti, uchvatiti |
| Sp.  | asir, agarrar, coger       | ME    | take, seze, gripe, lache |       | chytiti              |
| Rum. | apuca, prinde              | NE    | seize, grasp             | Pol.  | uchwyć, pochopić     |
| Ir.  | gaibim                     | Du.   | gripen, vatten           | Russ. | chvatat'             |
| Nir. | beirim air, glacaim        | OHG   | fahjan, grifan           | Skt.  | grabh-, rahb-, labh- |
| W.   | gafaelu                    | MHG   | vāhen, vāzen, grifen     | Av.   | grab-                |
| Br.  | kregi                      | NHG   | (er)greifen, fassen      |       |                      |

Verbs for 'seize, grasp', besides the usual notion of 'seize with the hand', may come by extension from 'seize by a claw', 'by a hook', 'catch birds', 'over-take', etc.

Several of these, or their compounds, have come to be used for 'understand' (17.16).

1. Grk. *λαμβάνω* 'take, seize', see 11.13.

Grk. *ἀρπάζω* 'snatch away, carry off, seize' : *ἀρπαγή* 'rape, robbery, booty', *ἀρπαγή* 'hook for drawing buckets up, rake', *ἀρπη* 'sickle', a certain bird of prey', ChSl. *srǫpǫ* 'sickle', etc. Seman-

tic development fr. 'hook' to 'snatch, seize' as in Br. *kregi* (below, 3). Walde-P. 2.501. Boisacq, 81.

Grk. *δράσσομαι* 'grasp, clutch' : *δράξ* 'hand', *δραχμή* 'drachma' (orig. 'hand-ful'), outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.807. Boisacq 198 f.

NG *πιάνω*, new present formed to aor. *πίασα*, fr. Grk. *πιάω*, *πιάω* 'press' (9.342), late 'seize' (cf. Theocr. 4.35 *ταύρων . . . πιάσας τὰς ὀφθᾶς*, and so reg. in NT and pap.).

2. Lat. *prehendere*, *prēndere* (> Rum. *prinde* 'seize, effect, begin', etc.; It. *prendere*, Fr. *prendre* 'take') fr. *prae-*

take', Sw. *grabbä*, NE *grab* 'seize hastily', etc., IE \**ghrebh-*. Walde-P. 2.652 f. Berneker 344.

Lett. *k'ert*, prob. for \**kart* (in *aizkart* 'touch, stir') by a blend with *tuert* (above), etym. dub. Perh. : Russ.-ChSl. *črěnú* 'handle', W. *caru* id., Skt. *karna-* 'ear, handle'. Walde-P. 1.412. Mühl.-Endz. 2.369 f.

6. ChSl. *jęti* 'seize, take', see 11.13. ChSl. *chvatiti*, *chvatati*, SCR. *uchvatiti*,

Boh. *uchvatiti*, *chytiti*, Pol. *uchwyć*, Russ. *chvatat'*, etym.? Berneker 407, 414. Brückner 188.

Boh. *uchopiti*, Pol. *chopić*, etc., other Slavic words for 'snatch, clutch', prob. sound imitative for quick clutching motion. Berneker 182.

7. Skt. *grabh-*, *grah-*, Av., OPer. *grab-* : Lett. *grābt*, etc. (above, 5). Skt. *rahb-*, *labh-* prob. : Grk. *λαμβάνω* (11.13).

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also frequently and classical 'strive after, get', whence 'get with money, buy', prob.: Lat. *parere* 'give birth, bear' (perh. orig. 'produce'), Lith. *perėti* 'brood, hatch', etc. Walde-P. 2.41. Ernout-M. 734 f.

It. *ottenere*, Fr. *obtenir*, Sp. *obtener*, Rum. *obține*, all late borrowings fr. Lat. *obtinēre* 'get hold of, get possession of, acquire', cpd. of *tenēre* 'hold' (11.15).

Sp. *conseguir* (= It. *conseguire* 'reach'), fr. Lat. *cōsequū* (VLat. *-sequere*) 'follow up, reach'.

Rum. *căpăta* (= It. *capitare* 'arrive'), fr. VLat. *\*capitare*, deriv. (beside *capitare*) of *capere* 'take' (11.13). REW 1635.

3. Ir. *ad-cota* (3sg.), cpd. of *ad-* (pretonic for *en-*) *com-ta* fr. the IE root *\*stā-* 'stand'. Cf. Lat. *praestinare* 'buy', Arm. *stanam* 'acquire, earn'. Pedersen 2.638 f. Thurneysen, Gram. 351, 420.

Nlr. *faghaim* for *faghbhaim*: Ir. *fogabim*, *fogbaim* 'find', cpd. of *gaibim* 'take, seize' (11.14). Pedersen 2.528.

W. *caffael*, *cael*, Br. *kavout* (also 'find'): Ir. *gaibim* 'take, seize', perh. by a blend with the root of Lat. *capere*, etc. Walde-P. 1.345. Pedersen 1.187, 2.532.

4. Goth. *gastaldan* 'possess' (11.12), also 'get, acquire' (*gastaistald* = *ἐκτρέφω* Neh. 5.16).

ON *fā* 'get, seize', Dan. *faa*, Sw. *få*: Goth. *fahan* 'seize' (11.14).

ON *geta* (but not the chief use of the word, cf. Vigfusson and Fritznier s.v.), OE *begietan*, ME *gete*, NE *get*, OHG *bigezan*: Goth. *bigitan* 'find', OS *bigetan* 'seize', Lat. *prehendere* 'seize', etc. (11.14). Walde-P. 1.589. Falk-Torp 308. NED s.v. *get*, vb.

ME *obteine*, NE *obtain*, fr. Fr. *obtenir* (above, 2).

Du. *krijgen*, MHG (central) *krigen*, *erkrigen* 'strive for, acquire, get', hence NHG *kriegen* (now regarded as vulgar vs. *bekommen*, but everywhere heard), deriv. of MDu. *crijch*, MHG *kriec*, (central) *kric*, *krig* 'exertion, endeavor, enmity, conflict' (NHG *krieg* 'war'), outside connections dub. Weigand-H. 1.1151 f. Franck-v. W. 349 f. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 302.

Du. *bekomen*, NHG *bekommen*: MHG *bekommen* 'arrive at, reach' with gen. 'acquire, win', OHG *biqueman* 'come up to, reach, etc.' = Goth. *bigiman* 'come upon', cpd. of *qiman*, OHG *queman*, etc. 'come'.

5. Lith. *gauti*, Lett. *gūt*, *gaut* (Lett. mostly 'catch, try to get', but locally 'get'): Av. *gūnaōiti* 'promotes', *gaona-* 'profit'. Mühl-Endz. 1.687. Walde-P. 1.637.

Lett. *dabūt*, fr. Russ. *dobyť* (below).

6. SCR. *dobiti*, Boh. *dobyti*, Russ. *dobyť*, cpd. of *do-* 'until, up to' and *byti* 'be', with semantic development 'be up to' > 'reach, attain' > 'obtain', as in, and perh. influenced by, NHG *bekommen*. Boh. *dostati*, Pol. *dostać*, Russ. *dostať*, cpd. of *do-* and *stati* 'stand', semantic development as in preceding.

ChSl. *polučiti*, Russ. *polučit'* (SCR. *polučiti* 'attain, acquire'), cpd. of ChSl. *lučiti*, refl. *lučiti se* 'happen, must', in Supr. 'hit, touch' (in modern Slavic often also 'aim, throw'), prob.: Skt. *lok-* 'see, behold, look at', Grk. *λέωσα* 'see', etc., IE *\*leuk-*. Semantic development through 'reach, hit' fr. 'take aim, see'. Walde-P. 2.411. Berneker 742 f.

7. Skt. *āp-*, Av. *fra-ap-*: Lat. *adi-piscē* (above, 2).

| Grk. | ἔχω              | Goth. | (ga)fastan           | Lith. | išlaikyti   |
|------|------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-------------|
| NG   | ἔχω              | ON    | halda                | Let.  | patūrēt     |
| Lat. | tenēre           | Dan.  | behøde               | ChSl. | drāžati     |
| It.  | ritenere         | Sw.   | behålla              | SCR.  | (za)drāzi   |
| Fr.  | garder, retenir  | OE    | (ge)healdan          | Boh.  | drēzi       |
| Sp.  | retener, guardar | ME    | holde, kepe          | Pol.  | (za)trzymać |
| Rum. | ține             | NE    | keep, retain         | Russ. | deržat'     |
| Ir.  | congaibim        | Du.   | behouden             | Skt.  | dhr-        |
| Nlr. | conghaim         | OHG   | (gi)halten, bihalten | Av.   | (dar-)      |
| W.   | cadu             | MHG   | behalten             |       |             |
| Br.  | mirout           | NHG   | behalten             |       |             |

'Keep, retain' is for the most part expressed by words for 'hold' (11.15), or by compounds of these, e.g. Fr. *retenir* (> ME *releyne*, NE *retain*), NHG *behalten*, Lith. *išlaikyti*, etc. Or words for 'preserve (from harm), keep safe' (11.24) are also used in the weakened sense of 're-

tain', as Fr. *garder*, W. *cadu*, etc. (and so sometimes NE *preserve*), and to this group belongs NE *keep* in which 'retain' is now the leading sense. Thus all the words listed belong with those discussed in 11.15 or 11.24.

| Grk. | δίδωμι          | Goth. | giban  | Lith. | duoti    |
|------|-----------------|-------|--------|-------|----------|
| NG   | δίνω, δίδω      | ON    | gefa   | Let.  | duot     |
| Lat. | dare            | Dan.  | give   | ChSl. | dati     |
| It.  | dare, donāre    | Sw.   | giva   | SCR.  | dati     |
| Fr.  | donner          | OE    | giefan | Boh.  | dāti     |
| Sp.  | dar             | ME    | give   | Pol.  | dać      |
| Rum. | da              | NE    | give   | Russ. | dat'     |
| Ir.  | do-biur         | Du.   | geven  | Skt.  | dā-, rā- |
| Nlr. | tugaim, tabhram | OHG   | geban  | Av.   | dā-      |
| W.   | rhoi, rhoddi    | MHG   | geban  |       |          |
| Br.  | rei             | NHG   | geben  |       |          |

Except in Celtic and Germanic, the words for 'give' belong to an inherited group.

1. IE *\*dō-*. Walde-P. 1.814 ff. Ernout-M. 274 ff. Walde-H. 1.360 ff.

Grk. *δίδωμι*, aor. *έδωκα*, NG *δίδω* and *δίνω* (blend of *δίδω* and *δίνω*, latter formed to aor. *έδωσα*; Hatzidakis, Einl. 408, note 1); Lat. *dare* (> It. *dare*, Sp. *dar*, Rum. *da*; Fr. *donner*, It. *donare* fr. Lat. *dōnāre* 'present, give as a gift', denom. of *dōnum* 'gift'), perf. *dedi*, Osc. *deded*, Umbr. *dede* 'dedit', Umbr. *dirsa* 'det', etc.; Lith. *duoti*, Lett. *duot*; ChSl. *dati*, etc., general Slavic; Skt., Av. *dā-*; Arm. *tam*; Alb. *dhanë*;

Hitt. *dā-* 'take' (Sturtevant, Hitt. Gloss. 146 with refs.). Possibly here also W. *rhoi*, *rhoddi*, Br. *rei*, fr. *\*pro-d-*, cf. Ir. *do-rat* 'gave' (suppl. verb to *do-biur*, below) fr. *\*to-pro-d-* as also W. *dyrr* imperat. 'give!', etc. Pedersen 2.380, 473.

There are also forms pointing to an extension *\*dōu-*, as OLat. subj. *duim*, *duam*, Umbr. *purdovitu* 'porricito', Cyp. opt. *δωάτοι*, Lith. *dovana* 'gift', etc.

2. Ir. *do-biur* 'give, bring', Nlr. *do-bheirim*, but commonly dependent *tabhram*, cpd. of Ir. *berim* 'carry, bring' (10.61).

Nlr. *tugaim*, generalized fr. the pret.

3sg. *tug*, Ir. *duic*, *tuic*, *tuc* 'brought', fr.

*\*to-ucc-*, etym. dub. See under Ir. *ro-ucc-*, 10.61.

3. Goth. *giban*, etc., general Gmc., prob.: Lat. *habēre* 'have', Ir. *gaibim* 'take, seize' (11.13), despite the semantic polarity, for which there are some parallels. Thus Ir. *gaibim* 'take, seize' and ON *fā* 'seize, get' (11.14) are sometimes used in the sense of 'give', likewise ME *take* (NED s.v. 60), and Hitt. *dā-* 'take' = IE *\*dō-* 'give' (see above, 1). The

relation is perh. explained by the common notion of stretching out the hands, hence 'take' or 'hand over, give'. Walde-P. 1.344. Falk-Torp 312. Kretschmer, Glotta 19.207. See also refs. under Goth. *nīman* 'take' (11.13).

4. Skt. *rā-* (Av. *rā-* 'grant'): *rās* 'goods, riches', *rāyī-* 'gift, jewel', Lat. *rēs* 'thing' (early also 'property'). Walde-P. 2.343. Ernout-M. 861 f.

## 11.22 GIVE BACK, RETURN

| Grk. | ἀποδίδωμι            | Goth. | atgiban                 | Lith. | atiduoti, atgrāžinti |
|------|----------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| NG   | ἐπιστρέφω, ἀποδίδω   | ON    | gefa apt                | Let.  | atduot               |
| Lat. | reddere (restituere) | Dan.  | give tilbage            | ChSl. | vū-, vāz-, otā-dati  |
| It.  | restituere, rendere  | Sw.   | giva tillbaka, återgiva | SCR.  | vrātiti              |
| Fr.  | rendre, restituer    | OE    | aeġefan, eġiefan        | Boh.  | vrātiti              |
| Sp.  | restituir, devolver  | ME    | gife again, restore     | Pol.  | wrócić, oddać        |
| Rum. | înapoia              | NE    | give back, return       | Russ. | otdat', vozvraščat'  |
| Ir.  | aisicim              | Du.   | teruggeven              | Skt.  | prati-dā-            |
| Nlr. | tabhram, aisigim     | OHG   | argeban                 | Av.   | ....                 |
| W.   | rhoi                 | MHG   | widergeben              |       |                      |
| Br.  | rei                  | NHG   | zurückgeben             |       |                      |

For the most part 'give back' is expressed as in English by the words for 'give' with prefixes or adverbs meaning 'again, back, etc.', or by the terms equivalent to the English 'return'.

1. Words belonging with verbs for 'give' (11.21). Grk. *ἀποδίδωμι* (*ἀπο-* 'back', but also 'back again'), NG *ἀποδίδω*; Lat. *reddere* (whence after *prendere* 'take' VLat. *\*rendere* > It. *rendere*, Fr. *rendre*, Sp. *rendir*); Goth. *at-giban*, etc., all the native Gmc. words and phrases; Lith. *atiduoti*, Lett. *atduot*; ChSl. *vādati*, *vīzdati*, *otādati*, Pol. *oddąć*, Russ. *otdat'*; Skt. *prati-dā-*. In the modern Celtic languages there is usually no distinction between 'give' and 'give back'. So Nlr. *tabhram* (also with *tar n-ais* 'back'), W. *rhoi*, Br. *rei*.

2. Words belonging with verbs for 'turn' (10.13). NG *ἐπιστρέφω*, *γυρίζω*; Sp. *devolver*; NE *return*; Lith. *atgrāžinti* (cf. *gręžti* 'bore', Lett. *griezti* 'turn'); SCR. *vrātiti*, Boh. *vrātiti*, Pol. *wrócić*, Russ. *vozvraščat'* (ChSl. loanword).

3. Lat. *restituere*, 'replace, restore' (11.23), also 'return', as It. *restituere*, Fr. *restituer*, etc.

Rum. *înapoia*, fr. *înapoi* 'back, behind' (fr. *apoi* 'after, next').

4. Ir. *aisicim*, aiscim (K. Meyer, Contrib. 69. Laws, Gloss. 45 f.), Nlr. *aisigim* (McKenna), *aiseagaim* (Dinneen), deriv. (cpd.?) of *ais* 'back'.

5. ME, NE *restore*, also 'bring back to a previous (or original) condition', now the usual sense (11.23).

Words for 'restore' are from 'set in place', 'make straight', 'make firm', 'renew', 'raise, erect', 'make better', etc.

1. Grk. *ἀποκαθίστημι*, NG lit. *ἀποκαθίστω*, cpds. of *ἀπó*, in same use as in *ἀποδίδωμι* 'give back' (11.22), and *καθίστημι* 'set in order, arrange', NG *καθίστω* 'establish', cpd. of Grk. *ίστημι* 'make stand'.

Grk. *ἐπανορθόω*, NG *ἐπανορθώνω*, *ἐπι-δiorθώνω*, cpds. of Grk. *ὀρθόω* 'set straight, right' deriv. of *ὀρθός*, 'straight', NG *ὀρθώνω*, *ὀρθώ* 'erect, straighten'.

2. Lat. *restituere*, orig. 'replace', fr. *statuere* 'set up': *stāre* 'stand'. Ernout-M. 981.

Lat. *reficere*, fr. *facere* 'make, do'. Lat. *restaurāre*, beside older *instaurāre* 'restore, renew, repeat', prob. (as denom. of a *\*staurō-*): Grk. *σταυρός*, ON *staurr* 'stake', etc. Walde-P. 2.608. Ernout-M. 490 f. (no etym.).

Hence (lit. words) It. *restaurare*, Fr. *restaurer*, Sp. *restaurar*, Rum. *restaura*. REW 7249.

It. *ristabilire*, Fr. *rétablir*, Sp. *restablecer*, Fr. *établir*, Sp. *establecer*, Rum. *stabilii*, fr. Lat. *stabilire* 'make firm, fix, establish'. REW 8702.

3. Ir. *aisicim*, Nlr. *aisigim*, but mostly 'restore' = 'give back', see 11.22.

W. *adfer*, cpd. of *ad-* and the root seen in Ir. *berim* 'carry'. Morris Jones 332.

Br. *adsevel*, cpd. of *ad-* and *sevel* 'lift' (10.22).

4. Goth. *afra gasatjan* (*afra gasatjhs* *warþ* = *ἀποκατεστήθη* Mk. 8.25), lit. 'set again'.

Goth. *afra gabōtjan* (*afra gabōleiþ* = *ἀποκαθίστήθη* Mk. 9.12), lit. 'better again'.

ON *endrbæta*, *endrreisa*, cpds. of *endr* 'again' with *bæta* 'better, mend' (: Goth. *bōtjan*) and *reisa* 'raise, erect, build'.

Dan. *genoprette*, lit. 'erect again'. Sw. *återställa*, lit. 'set (up) again'.

OE *ge-ednīwian*, fr. *nīwe* 'new', with prefix *ed-* 're-'. OE *ge-edstapelian*, fr. *stapol* (*stapel*) 'foundation, fixed condition or position'.

ME, NE *restore* fr. OF *restorer*, Lat. *restaurāre* (above, 2).

Du. *weerherstellen*, NHG *wiederherstellen*, lit. 'set in place again'.

OHG *ir-* (or *ar-*) *sezzen* ('restore', Ofr., Tat.; NHG *ersetzen* 'make good, replace'), cpd. of *sezzen* 'set'.

MHG *widermachen*, lit. 'make again'.

5. Lith. *atstatyti*, lit. 'set (up) again'. Lith. *atitaisyti*, cpd. of *taisyti* 'mend, repair' (: *tiesus* 'straight', etc., 12.73).

Lett. *atjaunot*, lit. 'make young again, renew' (: *jauns* 'young').

Lett. *alkal sataisyti* (so in NT), lit. 'make, prepare again' (*alkal* 'again', 14.35).

6. ChSl. *ustrojiti* (*ustrojiti* = *ἀποκα-*

*ταστήσει* Mt. 17.11, *ἀποκαθίστή* Mk. 9.12), also 'prepare, bring into order', cpd. of *strojiti* 'prepare, arrange'.

ChSl. *utvoriti* (*utvoriti se* = *ἀποκατεστήθη* Mk. 8.25), cpd. of *tvoriti* 'make'.

ChSl. *utvrditi* (*utvrditi se* *ἀποκατεστήθη* Mt. 12.13, Mk. 3.5, Lk. 6.10), also 'make firm, strengthen', cpd. of *tvrditi* id. (: *tvrdū* 'firm', etc.).

SCR. *uspostaviti*, Russ. *vozstanovit'*, lit. 'make stand up again'.

SCR., Boh. *obnoviti*, Russ. *vozobnovit'* lit. 'renew' (ChSl. *novŭ*, etc. 'new').

## 11.24 PRESERVE, KEEP SAFE, SAVE

|      |                         |       |                              |
|------|-------------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| Grk. | φύλασσω, σώζω           | Goth. | baigran, (ga)fastan          |
| NG   | φύλαω, σώω (σώζω)       | ON    | bjarga                       |
| Lat. | (cōn)servāre, custōdīre | Dan.  | beware, bjærge               |
| It.  | conservare              | Sw.   | beara                        |
| Fr.  | garder, conserver       | OE    | beorgan, healdan             |
| Sp.  | guardar, conservar      | ME    | kepe, berwe, save, pre-serve |
| Rum. | păstra                  |       | servu                        |
| Ir.  | cōn-ōim, comēlaim       | NE    | preserve, save (keep)        |
| Nlr. | cōimhēadaim             | Du.   | bewaren, save (keep)         |
| W.   | cadw                    | OHG   | biwarōn, bergan, hal-tan     |
| Br.  | mirout                  |       | tan                          |

Words for 'preserve' are mostly connected with those for 'guard, watch, protect', etc. Some derivatives of words for 'safe' are used for 'keep safe, preserve' as well as for 'save, rescue' (11.25), and in some other words also the two groups overlap.

1. Grk. *φύλασσω*, NG *φύλαω*, properly 'watch over, guard' (and so mostly in Hom., but Il. 16.30 'cherish' wrath, and Od. 5.208 'keep' i.e. 'remain in' the house), hence also 'preserve', fr. *φύλαξ* 'guard, watchman', etym.? Walde-P. 2.192.

Grk. *σώζω*, aor. *έσωσα*, Hom. *έσώωσα*, NG *σώω*, used for 'save' both as 'keep safe, preserve' and 'rescue', fr. *σάος*, *σῶς* 'safe' (11.26).

2. Lat. *servāre*, whether or not a denom. of *servus* 'slave' in a supposed orig.

Boh. *znovu zříditi*, lit. 'establish, arrange anew' (*říditi*: ChSl. *řědŭ* 'arrangement').

Pol. *przywrócić*, lit. 'replace, put (back again)', cpd. of *wrócić* 'replace, give back' (11.22).

Pol. *naprawić*, lit. 'set right, repair', fr. *naprawa* 'betterment', cpd. of *prawy* 'right'.

7. Skt. *prati-sam-ā-dhā-* lit. 'put back together again', cpd. of *dhā-* 'place, put'.

sense 'guardian' (disputed, see 19.42), is clearly cognate with Av. *pasuš-haurva-* 'guarding the flock', *viš-haurva-* 'guarding the village', *nišhaurvaiti* 'watches over', IE *\*serw-*, extension of *\*ser-* in Av. *har-* 'give attention to, watch over', *haratar-* 'watcher'. Walde-P. 2.498 f. Ernout-M. 933.

Hence Lat. *cōnservāre*, with the literary borrowings, It. *conservare*, Fr. *conserver* (> NE *conserve*), Sp. *conservar*, also Fr. *préservir* (> ME, NE *preserve* now more common in this sense than the Fr.), etc.

Lat. *custōdīre*, orig. 'watch, guard' then, like Grk. *φύλασσω*, also 'preserve, maintain, keep', fr. *custōs*, *-ōdis* 'watchman, guard' etym.? Walde-P. 2.551. Ernout-M. 248 f. Walde-H. 1.319.

Fr. *garder*, Sp. *guardar*, also 'guard', fr.

feel', ChSl. *čuti*, etc. 'feel, notice': Grk. *κοῦω* 'notice', Lat. *cavēre* 'take care, watch over', OHG *scouwēn* 'regard', Skt. *kavi-* 'wise, seer', etc., IE *\*(s)kev-*. Walde-P. 1.370. Berneker 162 f.

Boh. *chovati*, Pol. *chować*, etym. dub.

## 11.25 SAVE, RESCUE

| Grk. | σάζω |
|------|------|
|------|------|



Words for 'safe' as 'free from danger or harm' are of diverse sources. Several mean literally 'without care, anxiety' (hence first of persons who feel 'safe'), or 'without danger', 'without harm'. Many are words that mean primarily 'whole' or 'well, in good health' (4.83). Most of these are used for 'unharmed', but hardly for 'safe' as 'free from danger'. Other semantic sources are 'strong'(?), 'protected', 'true, trustworthy', 'unconcealed'.

Several words of this group come to mean also or mainly 'sure, certain' (17.37).

1. Grk. *σῶς*, *σῶος*, fr. *σῶος* (cf. comp. *σῶστρος*) (cf. Cyp. *Σαφο-κλέης*), prob. fr. *\*twa-wo-*: Skt. *tāti*, *taviti* 'is strong, has power', Av. *tavah-* 'might, strength', etc. Walde-P. 1.706. Boisacq 852.

Grk. *ἀσφαλής*, lit. 'firm, solid, not liable to fall' neg. cpd.: *σφάλω* 'cause to fall, overthrow', etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.599, 678. Boisacq 927.

2. Lat. *tūtus*, pple. (beside *tuitus*) of *tueri* 'protect', also (poet.) 'look at, see', perh. fr. *tūath* 'left, north' (as orig. 'favorable'), Goth. *hiup* 'good', ON *þjóðr* 'mild, friendly', etc. Walde-P. 1.706. Otherwise Ernout-M. 1062 f. (as perh.: Skt. *taviti* 'is strong', etc., above, 1).

Lat. *salvus* (> It. *salvo*, Fr. *sauf*) 'whole, unharmed, safe': Skt. *sarva-* 'whole, all', Grk. *σῶος* 'whole', etc. Walde-P. 2.510 f. Ernout-M. 891.

Lat. *sēcūrus* (> It. *sicuro*, OFr. *sure*, Fr. *sûr*, Sp. *seguro*), lit. 'without care', neg. cpd. of *cūra* 'care, concern, trouble', hence, but only later, 'safe'. Ernout-M. 246.

Rum. *nevătămat*, lit. 'not injured', neg. of pple. of *vătăma* 'injure, wound' (11.28).

Rum. *leafăr*, orig. ? Tiktin 1570.

3. Ir. *slán*, also 'well, in good health' (4.83).

Nr. *sábhalla*, pple. of *sábhālam* 'save, rescue' (11.25).

W. Br. *diogel*, cpd. of prefixes *di-* (neg.), *o-* (= *go-*, cf. W. *di-o-ddef*: *go-ddef* 'suffer') and the root seen in W. *celu* 'hide', *di-gelu* 'cease hiding, expose'. Cf. W. *digel* 'unconcealed, open'. Hence 'safe' because 'not hidden'.

W. *dianaf*, neg. cpd. of *anaf* 'blemish, defect, wound': Ir. *anim* 'blemish, flaw', Grk. *δνομα* 'scold, blame', etc. Pedersen 2.61. Walde-P. 1.180.

Br. *salò*, fr. Lat. *salvus* (above, 2). Loth, Mots lat. 204.

4. Goth. *hails*, *gahails*, ON *heill*, OE *hāl*, OHG, MHG *heil*, all also 'well, whole' (4.83).

ON *úhætr* (usually impers. as in *ein-hverjum er úhætt* 'it is safe for someone'), lit. 'not dangerous', neg. cpd. of *hætr* 'dangerous' (*hætta* 'danger', 16.54).

Goth. *arniba* adv. (renders *ἀσφαλώς* Mk. 14.44): ON *ern* 'brisk, vigorous', OE *earnost* 'zeal, earnestness', etc. perh. fr. the root in Skt. *ṛṇoti*, *ṛṇvati* 'arises, moves', Grk. *δρῶμα* 'arouse, move', etc. Walde-P. 1.138. Feist 58.

OE *sicor*, ME *siker*, NE dial. *sicker*, OHG *sichur*, MHG, NHG *sicher*, MLG *seker* (> Dan. *sikker*, Sw. *säker*), Du. *zeker*, all fr. Lat. *sēcūrus* (above, 2). Falk-Torp 965. NED s.v. *sicker*.

Dan. *tryg*, Sw. *trygg*: ON *tryggir*, Goth. *triggus*, OE *triewe*, OHG *gi-triuwi*, etc. 'true, trustworthy' (16.66). Falk-Torp 1290.

Dan. *uskadt*, Sw. *oskadd*, *oskaddad*, neg. pple. of Dan. *skade*, Sw. *skada* 'harm, injure' (11.28).

OE *orsorg*, OHG *ursurgi* (Tat.), neg. cpd. of OE *sorg*, OHG *sorga* 'care' (16.14), a lit. rendering of Lat. *sēcūrus*, and (at least OE) used in both its orig. and later sense.

ME *sauf*, NE *safe* fr. Fr. *sauf* (above, 2).

ME *sūre* (NE obs. in this sense), fr. OFr. *sūre* (above, 2).

ME, NE *unharmed*, neg. pple. of *harm*, OE *hearmian* 'injure, harm' (11.28).

NE *secure* fr. Lat. *sēcūrus* (above, 2). Du. *veilig* = MLG *vēlich*, OFris. *fēlig*: ODu. *veile* id., OE *fæle* 'faithful, true, good', root connection dub. Walde-P. 2.70 (top). Franck-v. W. 727.

Du. *onbeschadigd*, neg. pple. of *beschadigen* 'injure, harm' (11.28).

MHG *unverseret*, NHG *unversehrt*, neg. pple. of MHG *verseren* 'wound, injure' (NHG *versehren*), cpd. of MHG *sēren* 'cause pain' (fr. MHG *sēre*, OHG *sēro* 'painful', etc.). Weigand-H. 2.1127, 1163.

5. Lith. *sveikas*, Lett. *vesels*, both also 'well' (4.83).

Lith. *čielas*, also 'whole', fr. Russ. *celij* (below).

Both these Lith. words (like OE *hāl*, ChSl. *celū*, etc.) are used for 'safe' as 'unharmed', but hardly as 'free from danger', which might be expressed by a phrase *be pavojaus* 'without danger'.

Lett. *druošs*, orig. 'brave, bold': Lith.

*drąsus* 'bold, brave', Lett. *dristēt*, *drikstēt*, Lith. *dristėti* 'dare'. Mühl.-Endz. 1.508.

6. ChSl. *súchranino* adv. (renders *ἀσφαλώς* Mk. 14.44): (sū)chraniti 'save, preserve' (11.24).

ChSl. *celū*, SCR. *cio*, Boh. *celý*, Pol. *cały* (and *ocalony* fr. *ocalić* 'save'), Russ. *celij*, all also 'whole, entire', ChSl. also 'well' (4.83).

SCR. *siguran*, Slov. *siguren*, like NG *σίγουρος* 'certain, safe', fr. Venet. *seguro* = It. *sicuro* (above, 2). Miklosich 296. G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 4.81.

SCR. *čítav*, prob.: Lith. *kietas* 'hard, firm'. Berneker 158.

Boh. *bezpečný*, Pol. *bezpieczny*, lit. 'without care' (Russ. *bezpečnyj* 'careless'), cpd. of *bez* 'without' and second member fr. Boh. *péče*, Pol. *piecza* 'care'.

Boh. *jistý*: ChSl. *istū* 'real, actual', *istina* 'truth', etc. Berneker 435.

Russ. *bezopasnyj*, cpd. of *bez* 'without, un-' and *opasnyj* 'dangerous' (cf. 16.54).

7. Skt. *kṣema-*, also 'comfortable, agreeable': *kṣi-* 'dwell, abide, inhabit'. Uhlenbeck 72.

Skt. *akṣata-*, neg. *a-* with pple. of *kṣan-* 'hurt, wound, break'. Uhlenbeck 69.

## 11.27 DESTROY

|      |                                 |       |                        |       |                               |
|------|---------------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| Grk. | φθείρω, ἀπολλύμι                | Goth. | fragistjan             | Lith. | (su-)naikinti, (su-)griauti   |
| NG   | καταστρέφω, χαλῶ                | ON    | spilla                 | Let.  | (iz-)puosti, iznēcinā         |
| Lat. | perdere, abolere, destrucere    | Dan.  | delægge                | ChSl. | (po-, iz-)gubiti, razoriti    |
| It.  | struere                         | Sw.   | förstöra               | SCR.  | razoriti, uništiti, poruštiti |
| Fr.  | struere                         | OE    | spillan, spildan       | Boh.  | (z)ničiti, (z)bořiti          |
| Sp.  | détruire                        | ME    | spille, destrui(e)     | Pol.  | (z)niszczyć, (z)burzyć        |
| Rum. | distrugere                      | NE    | destroy                | Russ. | uniščiti, razoriť             |
| Ir.  | do-lega (3sg.), mil-lim, collim | Du.   | vernietigen            | Skt.  | nācaya-, dhvamsaya-, kṣi-     |
| Nr.  | sciosaim                        | OHG   | firquistan, furliosian | Av.   | marak-                        |
| W.   | dinistriō, distryvio            | MHG   | zerstören, vernichten  |       |                               |
| Br.  | distruga                        | NHG   | zerstören, vernichten  |       |                               |

Grk. *φθείρω* (\*φθέρω): Skt. *kṣar-* 'flow' also 'melt away, perish', Av. *γṣar-* 'flow', cf. Grk. *φθора* 'destruction' and also (as remnant of orig. meaning) 'mixing' of colors in painting'. Walde-P. 1.700. Development fr. 'flow' prob. through 'melt away, dissolve' to 'perish' (as sometimes in Skt.), hence 'cause to perish, destroy', or possibly through 'mix' (> 'destroy the purity of, destroy'). Cf. Ir. *leg-* 'dissolve, melt', cpd. *dolega* 'destroys' (below, 3).

Grk. *ἀλλύμι* (poet.), in prose usually *ἀπολλύμι*, beside *ἀλέρω* 'destruction, death', *ὀλέω* 'kill', with no clear outside connections.

Grk. *καταλύνω*, among other uses also 'destroy' (so freq. in NT), cpd. of *λύω* 'loose, release' (11.34).

Grk. *ἀφανίζω*, orig. 'make unseen' (fr. *ἀφανής* 'unseen'), hence also 'destroy'. Loth, Mots lat. 161.

Br. *distruga*, likewise fr. Lat. *dēstruere* through an OFr. form.

4. Goth. *fragistjan*, *usgistan*, once simply *gistan*, OHG *firquistan*, *arguistan*, etym. dub., perh.: Lith. *gesti* 'be quenched, go out' and 'spoil', Grk. *σβέννυμι* 'quench', etc. Walde-P. 1.528, 668, 693. Feist 389.

ON *spilla*, OE *spillan*, ME *spille* 'destroy' and 'spoil' (sense obs. in NE *spill*), also OE *spildan*: OHG *spildan* 'waste', OS *spildian* 'ruin, spoil', prob. fr. the root in OHG *spaltan* 'split', etc. (9.27). Walde-P. 2.678. Falk-Torp 1121 f.

5. Lith. *(su)naikinti*, Lett. *iznēcināt*: Lith. *nykti* 'disappear', Lett. *nikt* 'be sickly, not thrive, perish', these prob.: Lett. *nica* 'downstream', ChSl. *nicī* 'bent over', Skt. *nica-* 'low', *ni* 'down', etc. Mühl.-Endz. 2.746, 747. Leskien, Ablaut 279.

Lith. *(su)griauti*: Lett. *g'raut* 'wreck, demolish', Lat. *in-gruere* 'break in, fall upon', *con-gruere* 'fall together, meet', Grk. (Hom.) *ἐκρῶσ* 'fell upon, assailed'. Walde-P. 1.647. Walde-H. 1.700.

Let. *(iz)puosti*, in the simplex properly 'lay waste', fr. *puosti* 'waste, deserted', loanword fr. ORuss. *pustū* id. Mühl.-Endz. 3.459 f.

6. ChSl. *pogubiti*, *izgubiti*, less usually also simplex *gubiti* = SCR. *gubiti* 'lose', Russ. *gubit'* 'spoil', etc., caus. to ChSl. *gybati*, etc. 'perish', prob. = *gybati*

Dan. *delægge*, orig. 'lay waste' (but now in this sense *lægge øde*), cpd. of *øde* 'waste, desert' and *lægge* 'lay'.

Sw. *förstöra*, fr. MLG *vorstoren*, parallel to NHG *zerstören* (below). Hellquist 1109.

ME *destrui(e)*, NE *destroy* fr. OFr. *dēstruire*.

Du. *vernietigen*, *vernieten*, MHG *vernichten*, *vernichten*, NHG *vernichten* (in MHG, MDu. also 'hold as naught; despise'), cpd. of Du. *niet*, MHG *nicht*, NHG *nicht* 'not'. Franck-v. W. 735. Weigand-H. 2.1157.

OHG *furliosian*, *fritiosian* 'lose' (11.33) also 'destroy' (both senses in Tat. and OFr.), perh. influenced by Lat. *perdere* 'destroy' and 'lose'.

MHG *zerstören*, *vernichten*, lit. 'scatter completely', cpd. of MHG *stören*, OHG *stören* 'scatter' (NHG *stören* 'disturb'): OE *styrian* 'move, stir', NE *stir*, etc. Walde-P. 1.750. Weigand-H. 2.979.

5. Lith. *(su)naikinti*, Lett. *iznēcināt*: Lith. *nykti* 'disappear', Lett. *nikt* 'be sickly, not thrive, perish', these prob.: Lett. *nica* 'downstream', ChSl. *nicī* 'bent over', Skt. *nica-* 'low', *ni* 'down', etc. Mühl.-Endz. 2.746, 747. Leskien, Ablaut 279.

Lith. *(su)griauti*: Lett. *g'raut* 'wreck, demolish', Lat. *in-gruere* 'break in, fall upon', *con-gruere* 'fall together, meet', Grk. (Hom.) *ἐκρῶσ* 'fell upon, assailed'. Walde-P. 1.647. Walde-H. 1.700.

Let. *(iz)puosti*, in the simplex properly 'lay waste', fr. *puosti* 'waste, deserted', loanword fr. ORuss. *pustū* id. Mühl.-Endz. 3.459 f.

6. ChSl. *pogubiti*, *izgubiti*, less usually also simplex *gubiti* = SCR. *gubiti* 'lose', Russ. *gubit'* 'spoil', etc., caus. to ChSl. *gybati*, etc. 'perish', prob. = *gybati*

'bend'. Berneker 373 f. Walde-P. 1.567 f.

ChSl. SCR. *razoriti*, Russ. *razorit'*, Boh. *(z)bořiti* (fr. *ob-oriť*, Gebauer 1.424), cpds. of Slavic *orit'* 'loosen, plunge down, demolish, etc.': Lith. *irti* 'go to pieces, fall in ruins', Skt. *arma-* 'ruins'. Walde-P. 1.143.

SCR. *uništiti*, Boh. *(z)ničiti*, Russ. *uniščiti*, fr. the words for 'nothing', SCR. *ništ*, Boh. *nic*, Russ. *ničto*. Cf. NHG *vernichten*.

SCR. *poruštiti*, Russ. *razrušit'*, cpds. of Slavic *rušiti* 'ruar asunder, loose': Lith. *rausti* 'dig up, grub up', etc., fr. *\*reu-* extension of IE *\*reu-* in Lat. *ruere* 'tear up, dig up', Skt. *ru-* 'strike to pieces', etc. Walde-P. 2.356.

Pol. *(z)niszczyć*, *ru. nizki* 'low': ChSl. *ništ* 'poor', *nizū* 'down', fr. *\*ni-* 'down' (cf. above, 5). Brückner 364.

Pol. *(z)burzyć*: Russ. *burit'* 'hurl, throw', *burja* 'storm', SCR. *buriti se* 'become angry', etc., outside connections disputed. Walde-P. 2.191. Berneker 103. Brückner 50.

7. Skt. *nācaya-*, caus. of *naç* 'be lost, perish': Av. *nas-* 'disappear', Lat. *ne-cäre* 'kill', etc., IE *\*nek-*. Walde-P. 2.326. So also Toch. A *nāks-*, caus. of *nāk-* 'disappear, perish' (SSS 445).

Skt. *dhvamsaya-*, caus. of *dhvams-* 'fall, go to pieces, perish', prob.: Grk. *θῶω* 'blow, storm, smoke', Lat. *furere* 'rage', etc. Walde-P. 1.843 f.

Skt. *kṣi-*: Grk. *φθίω* 'decay, wane, waste away', also trans. 'consume, destroy', Av. *xšyō* gen. of *\*xš-* 'vanishing, misery, distress'. Walde-P. 1.505 f.

Av. *marak-* 'destroy, kill': Skt. *mṛ-* 'hurt, injure', prob. fr. an extension of IE *\*mer-* in Skt. *mṛ-* 'crush', Grk. *μαρ-αίω* 'quench, make waste away', mid. 'waste away, decay, etc.'. Walde-P. 2.278.

|      |                    |       |                                  |       |                             |
|------|--------------------|-------|----------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|
| Grk. | βλάπτω, λυμάλωμαι  | Goth. | ga-skaþþjan, ga-sleiþ-jan        | Lith. | kenkti, iškadyti            |
| NG   | βλάπτω, λυμάλωμαι  | ON    | skeðja, skaða                    | Let.  | skādēt                      |
| Lat. | nocere, laedere    | Dan.  | skade (beskadige)                | ChSl. | vréditi, oštētiti           |
| It.  | far male, nuocere  | Sw.   | skada                            | SCR.  | oštētiti, (na-)škoditi      |
| Fr.  | faire mal, nuire   | OE    | hearmian, skeþþan                | Boh.  | ubližiti, (po-, u-)sko-diti |
| Sp.  | dañar              | ME    | harme, skathe, hurte             | Pol.  | (u-, za-)szkodzić           |
| Rum. | face rău, vătăma   | NE    | harm, injure, damage, hurt       | Russ. | vréditi                     |
| Ir.  | fofichim, bronnaim | Du.   | schaden, beschadigen, kuaad doen | Skt.  | hins-, riṣ-                 |
| Nr.  | deanaim ole, etc.  |       |                                  | Av.   | zyā-, iriṣ-                 |
| W.   | niveidio           |       |                                  |       |                             |
| Br.  | ober drouk, etc.   | OHG   | scadōn                           |       |                             |
|      |                    | MHG   | schaden, schadigen               |       |                             |
|      |                    | NHG   | beschädigen, schaden             |       |                             |

The majority of words for 'harm, injure' (and those for the corresponding nouns) were originally applied to living creatures, with reference to bodily (or sometimes mental) injury, coming from notions like 'strike, wound, hurt, cause grief', etc.,—and only secondarily applied to material things. An exception is Lat. *damnum* with its derivatives, like NE *damage*, mostly applied to material things.

1. Grk. *βλάπτω*, in Hom. mostly 'disable, hinder', later 'harm, injure', also beside sb. *βλάβη* 'harm, injury', also *π-* forms, as Cret. *βλοπία*, *καταβλάπεται*, etym. dub. Connection with Skt. *mṛ-* 'hurt, injure' (through *\*μαλ-*, IE *\*mḥk-*), as Boisacq 120, is impossible if the analysis of Skt. *mṛ-* preferred in 10.27 under Av. *marak-* 'destroy, kill' is the correct one. Walde-P. 2.297.

Grk. *λυμάλωμαι*, in earliest use a strong expression 'outrage, maltreat', later also 'cause damage, harm, spoil': *λύμη* 'outrage', *λύμα* 'dirt, filth', Lat. *lutum* 'mud', *polluere* 'pollute'. Walde-P. 2.406.

NG *ζημιώνω*, fr. Grk. *ζημιώω* mostly 'penalize, fine, punish', deriv. of *ζημία* 'loss, damage', esp. 'penalty, fine', in NG the usual noun for 'harm, damage' and financial 'loss' (11.74).

2. Lat. *nocere* with dat. 'do harm to'

(> It. *nuocere*, Fr. *nuire*, etc., REW 5938), caus. of *\*nek-* in Lat. *nez* 'violent death, murder', *neçare* 'kill', Grk. *νέκω*, *νεκρός* 'corpse', Av. *nasu-* 'corpse', Skt. *naç-* 'perish', caus. *nācaya-* (11.27). Walde-P. 2.326. Ernout-M. 669.

Lat. *laedere*, esp. 'wound, hurt' but also 'injure', etym. dub., but orig. sense 'strike, hit' implied by epds. *allidere*, *collidere*, etc. Ernout-M. 517. Walde-H. 1.749.

Lat. *damnum*, the regular noun for 'harm, injury' (> It. *danno*, OFr. *damp*, Sp. *daño*, Rum. *daună*; deriv. OFr. *damage*, Fr. *dommage*; REW 2468), also in early use 'loss, expense', prob. fr. *\*dap-no-*: Grk. *δάπτω* 'devour, rend, tear', *δαπάνη* 'expense', etc. Walde-P. 1.764. Ernout-M. 252 f. Walde-H. 1.322. Its deriv. *damnare* is 'doom, condemn' (> It. *dannare*, etc.), the orig. sense 'harm' being only rare and early, so that the use of Sp. *dañar* for 'harm' is not inherited but restored from the noun.

Rum. *vătăma* 'injure, wound', etym. dub. Puşcariu 1865.

In the Romance languages generally 'to harm' is most commonly expressed by phrases, as It. *far male*, Fr. *faire (du) mal*, Rum. *face rău*, all lit. 'do ill' (cf. 'bad' 16.62). Similarly, after French, Br. *ober drouk*, etc. and Du. *kuaad doen*.

pres. *jindāti* 'oppress, deprive of', pointing to an IE *\*gyā-* beside *\*gyā-* in words for 'might, power', as Grk. *βία*, etc. Walde-P. 1.667. Barth. 1700.

Skt. *riṣ-*, Av. *iriṣ-* 'be injured' and 'injure' (cf. Av. *raṣā-* 'injury', NPers. *rēš* 'wound'), etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.345 f. Uhlenbeck 250. Barth. 1485 f.

## 11.29 SPOIL (vb. trans.)

|      |                    |       |                 |
|------|--------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | διαφθείρω          | Goth. | frawarjan       |
| NG   | χαλῶ               | ON    | spilla          |
| Lat. | corrumpere         | Dan.  | fordærre        |
| It.  | guastare, sciupare | Sw.   | fördärva        |
| Fr.  | gâter              | OE    | spillan         |
| Sp.  | echar a perder     | ME    | spille, corrupt |
| Rum. | strica             | NE    | spoil, spoilt   |
| Ir.  | loitim             | Du.   | bederven        |
| Nlr. | loitim             | OHG   | faruwan         |
| W.   | difetha            | MHG   | verderben       |
| Br.  | uqasta             | NHG   | verderben       |

Words for 'seek' reflect such notions as 'go about, go after, track, look for'.

1. Grk. *ζηρέω* (Dor. *ζῆρέω*) fr. \**ḡiā-ro-*, beside *δίζημα* fr. \**ḡi-ḡi-*, also *ζῆλος* (Dor. *ζῆλος*) 'zeal, jealousy', prob. fr. an orig. sense 'exert oneself', or the like: Hom. *διώ* 'flee', *διώμαι* 'drive away', Skt. *ḍigati* 'flies, hovers', etc. Walde-P. 1.775.

NG pop. *γυρεύω*, deriv. of *γύρος* 'circle' and formerly (like *γυρίζω*) 'go about', but now 'seek' (cf. Fr. *chercher*, etc., below, 2).

2. Lat. *quaerere*, fr. \**quais-* (cf. pple. *quaestus* and desid. *quaessere*, *quaesere*), etym.? Ernout-M. 830 f.

Lat. *petere*, orig. 'direct oneself toward, attack, fall upon' then in weakened sense 'seek' (and later 'ask'): Grk. *πύριμαι* 'fly', *πίρω* 'fall', Skt. *pat-* 'fly, fall', etc. (10.23, 10.37). Walde-P. 2.19 f. Ernout-M. 763 f.

It. *cercare*, Fr. *chercher* (Rum. *cerca* now mostly 'try, taste'), fr. VLat. *cir-cāre* 'go about', fr. *circa* 'about'. REW 1938.

Sp., Port. *buscar*, deriv. of VLat. *\*būscā* 'firewood' (> OFr. *busche*, Fr. *bâche* 'stick of wood'), with semantic development through 'hunt for firewood'. REW 1420. Wartburg 1.650.

Rum. *căuta* fr. VLat. *\*cavitiare*, iter. formation to Lat. *cavēre* 'be on one's guard, take heed'. REW 1793. Pušcariu 325.

3. Ir. *sīrim*, perh. deriv. of *sīr* 'long' (cf. NHG *verlangen*, NE long for). Pedersen 2.628. Rejected by Bergin, Ériu 8.196, maintaining *sīrim* (with short vowel) for OIr.

Ir. *tarraim*, also 'ask, demand' (and so mostly in NIr.), etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.29. Stokes 17.327.

Ir. *loirgim*, lit. 'to track', fr. *lor* 'track, trace, footprint' (Walde-P. 2.439. Pedersen 1.104 f.).

Ir. *saigim*: Goth. *sōkjan*, etc. (below, 4).

W. *ceisio* 'seek, attempt', deriv. of *cais* 'attempt, quest', this fr. Lat. *quaesitō* 'inquiry, question'? Loth, Mots lat. 147.

Br. *klask*, *klaskout* (= W. *clasgu*, *casglu* 'gather'), perh. fr. a VLat. *\*quaesiculāre*, frequent. to *quaerere* (above). Henry 69. But doubted by Loth, Mots lat. 149 f.

4. Goth. *sōkjan*, ON *sækja* (but largely used in sense 'go get, fetch' and also 'pursue, attack', and so chiefly in NÍcel.), Dan. *søge*, Sw. *sōka*, OE *sēcan*, etc., general Gmc.: Grk. *ἡύομαι* 'go ahead, lead', Lat. *sāgīre* 'perceive acutely', Ir. *saigim* 'go after, seek'. Walde-P. 2.449. Feist 442. Pedersen 2.610.

NE *seek* is in colloquial speech mostly replaced by phrases, like *try to find*, *look for* or *hunt for*.

ON *leita* (with gen., or prep. *at* or *eptir*), Dan. *lede*, Sw. *leta* (after) = Goth. *wlaitōn* 'look about', OE *wlātian* 'gaze': OE *wlitan*, ON *lita* 'look', etc. Walde-P. 1.293. Falk-Torp 629.

5. Lith. *ieškoti*: ChSl., SCr. *iskati*, Boh. (old) *jiskati* (Pol. *iskać* old 'seek', now 'hunt lice, louse'), Russ. *iskať*, Skt. *iṣ-* 'seek, wish' (esp. with *anu-* 'seek after'), Av. *iš-* 'seek', OHG *eiscōn* 'inquire, ask, demand', OE *āscian* 'attempt, demand, ask', etc. (18.31). Walde-P. 1.12. Berner 432 f.

Lett. *meklēt*, etym. dub. Mühl.-Endz. 2.594.

6. ChSl. *iskati*, etc., above, 5. SCr. *tražiti*, lit. 'to track', deriv. of *trag* 'track, trace'.

Boh. *hledati* = ChSl. *gledati*, SCr. *gledati* 'look at', etc. (15.52). Berner 302.

Pol. *szukać*, fr. NHG *suchen*. Brückner 557.

7. Skt. *anu-iṣ-*, Av. *iš-*: Lith. *ieškoti*, etc. (above, 5).

## 11.32 FIND

|      |                           |       |                     |
|------|---------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | <i>εἰσέω</i>              | Goth. | <i>bigitan</i>      |
| NG   | <i>βρίσκω</i>             | ON    | <i>finna</i>        |
| Lat. | <i>invenire, reperire</i> | Dan.  | <i>finde, hitte</i> |
| It.  | <i>trovare</i>            | Sw.   | <i>finna, hitta</i> |
| Fr.  | <i>trouver</i>            | OE    | <i>findan</i>       |
| Sp.  | <i>hallar, encontrar</i>  | ME    | <i>finde</i>        |
| Rum. | <i>găsi, afla</i>         | NE    | <i>find</i>         |
| Ir.  | <i>fogabaim, foricim</i>  | Du.   | <i>vinden</i>       |
| Nlr. | <i>dogheibhim</i>         | OHG   | <i>findan</i>       |
| W.   | <i>caffael, cael</i>      | MHG   | <i>vinden</i>       |
| Br.  | <i>kavout</i>             | NHG   | <i>finden</i>       |

Words for 'find' reflect such notions as 'seize, get', 'come upon, go after', 'see, know' (through 'come to recognize'). Some originated in the language of the chase through 'stir up' or 'scent' (game).

1. Grk. *εἰρίσκω*, NG *βρίσκω*: OIr. pret. *fiar* 'found', *frith* 'was found', Arm. *gerem* 'capture, seize', root *\*uer-*. Walde-P. 1.280. Thurneysen, Gram. 428, 471.

2. Lat. *invenire*, lit. 'come upon, meet', whence the usual sense 'find, discover', cpd. of *venire* 'come'. Ernout-M. 1084.

Lat. *reperire* 'find out, discover' (but often synonymous with *invenire*) and 'obtain', cpd. of *parere* (older *parire*) 'give birth to' for orig. 'get' (cf. *parare* 'prepare, get', 11.16). Ernout-M. 734.

Fr. *trouver* (> It. *trovare*), Prov. *trobar*, *trovar* ('find'), hence also 'compose poetry', etym. much disputed, but best fr. Lat. *turbare* 'disturb' through use as a hunters' and fishermen's term, as actually attested in Sard. *turbare* 'stir up game' and 'frighten fish into a place where the water is poisoned'. REW 8992 (with refs., esp. Schuchardt, Wagner). Iordan-Orr, Intro. to Romance Linguistics 54.

Sp. *hallar*, Port. *achar*, Rum. *afla*, fr. Lat. *apflāre* 'breath upon', through use as a hunters' term, 'scent' (cf. Fr. *flairer*, etc.) game, hence 'track', 'find'. REW 261.

Sp. *encontrar* ('meet, happen on' and so 'find' without searching, in contrast to *hallar*) fr. Cat. *encontrar*, deriv. of *encontra* 'against' (Lat. *in+contra*), like OFr. *encontrer* (> NE *encounter*). REW 4361.

Rum. *găsi*, etym. unknown. Tiktin 664.

3. Ir. *fogabaim*, Nlr. *dogheibhim* (also in Nlr. 'get', esp. in orig. dependent form *faghaim* 11.16), cpds. of *fo-* 'under' and *gaibim* 'take, seize' (11.14). Pedersen 1.265.

W. *caffael*, *cael*, Br. *kavout*, also 'get', see 11.16.

4. Goth. *bigitan* = OE *begietan*, ON *geta*, etc. 'get, obtain' (11.16).

ON, Sw. *finna*, Dan. *finde*, OE *findan*, etc., general Gmc. = Goth. *finþan* 'learn, find out': OE *fundian*, OHG *fundōn* 'try, examine', OE *fundian*, OHG *fundan* 'strive after, go forward, tend to', etc., prob. fr. the root in Skt. *panthā*, ChSl. *paťi* 'road, way', etc. (10.71). Walde-P. 2.27. Falk-Torp 218.

Dan. *hitta*, Sw. *hitta* = ON *hitta* 'meet with, hit upon, hit' (> late OE *hyttan*, ME *hitte*, NE *hit*): W. *cwyddo* 'fall'. Walde-P. 1.364. Falk-Torp 407.

5. Lith. *rasti* (pres. *randu*), Lett. *atrast* (strictly 'find again' but usual for the simple *rast*), prob.: ChSl. *ob-rěsti* (pret. *ob-rěti*) 'find', *sū-rěsti* 'meet', fr. parallel root forms in *-d* and *-t*, these perh. *\*urē-d-*, *urē-t-* as extensions of the

*forlōren* > NE *forlorn*, ME *lese*, Du. *verliezen*, OHG *farliosan*, MHG *verliesen*, NHG *verlieren*: Goth. *laus* 'empty, vain', *lausjan* 'release, rescue', ON *lauss* 'free, loose', etc. (NE *loose*), fr. the root in Grk. *lūō* 'loose, release', etc. (11.34). Walde-P. 2.408. Feist 163.

ON *týna* (Norw. *tyne* 'injure, spoil') = OE *tiēnan* 'vex, annoy', deriv. of ON *tjōn* 'harm, injury', OE *tēona* 'harm, injustice', etc., perh.: Skt. *du-* 'burn, torment', Grk. *δαίω* 'kindle', etc. (In any case the Norse meaning 'lose' fr. 'injure, harm' as often.) Walde-P. 1.768. Falk-Torp 1309.

ON *tapa*, Dan. *tabe*, Sw. *tappa*, prob. fr. the root of Lat. *damnum* (*\*dap-no-*) 'harm, injury' (11.28). Walde-P. 1.765. Falk-Torp 1239 f.

Sw. *forlora* = Dan. (old) *forlore*, re-formations fr. Dan. *forlōren* 'lost' (now 'false') fr. MLG *vorlōren* pple. of *vorlōren*: Goth. *fraliusan*, etc. (above). Falk-Torp 258 f. Hellquist 260.

ME, NE *lose*, fr. OE *losian* 'perish, be lost', also Northumb. twice trans. 'destroy, ruin', but trans. use not regular until 13th cent.; deriv. of *los* 'loss', fr. the root in Goth. *fraliusan*, etc. (above). NED s.v.

5. Lith. *pamesti*, Lett. *pamest* (but the latter mostly 'throw away') perfect.

## 11.34 RELEASE

|            |                            |       |                               |       |                      |
|------------|----------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk.       | (ἀπο)λύω, ἀφίμω, ἀπαλλάσσω | Goth. | <i>fralētan</i> , (ga)lausjan | Lith. | <i>paleisti</i>      |
| NG         | ἀπολύω, ἀπαλλάσσω          | ON    | <i>lāta laust</i>             | Let.  | <i>atlaist</i>       |
| Lat.       | <i>dimittēre, ēmittere</i> | Dan.  | <i>lōslade, slippē</i> (lōs)  | ChSl. | (otā)pustiti, rěšti  |
| Fr.        | <i>solvere</i>             | Sw.   | <i>(lōs)slappa, lösgiva</i>   | SCr.  | pustiti              |
| It.        | (ri)lasciare               | OE    | <i>forlitan</i>               | Boh.  | (pro)pustiti         |
| (re)lâcher |                            | ME    | <i>lete go, relese</i>        | Pol.  | puscić               |
| Sp.        | <i>soltar</i>              | NE    | <i>release, let go</i>        | Russ. | pustit'              |
| Rum.       | <i>lâsa</i>                | Du.   | <i>loslaten</i>               | Skt.  | muc-, sṛj-muc-, sṛj- |
| Nlr.       | <i>leicim</i>              | OHG   | <i>furlazzan, lösen</i>       | Av.   | harəz-, zā-          |
| W.         | <i>seccim</i>              | MHG   | <i>verlazzen, lösen</i>       |       |                      |
| Br.        | <i>leuskel</i>             | NHG   | <i>entlassen, loslassen</i>   |       |                      |

of *χάος* 'abyss, chasm'. Hatzidakis, *Met.* 1.104.

2. Lat. *amittere*, in earliest use 'dismiss', then 'lose', cpd. of *mittere* 'let go, throw, send' (10.63).

Lat. *perdere* 'destroy' (11.27) and *'lose'* (> Romance words for 'lose'). Ernout-M. 277. REW 6403.

3. In older Irish 'lose' is usually expressed by a phrase with *at-baill* 'perishes, dies', e.g. *at-baill a digid*, lit. 'perishes his right' = 'he loses his right' (Laws 1.118. 4, 9), and more often with the conjunct. form used independently *éipild aad ini dlipis* 'perishes from him that which is due (him)' = 'he loses what is due him' (ibid. 1.10).

Nlr. *caillim*, W. *colli*, Br. *koll*: Ir. *collim* 'destroy' (11.27).

4. Goth. *fraliusan*, OE *forlōsan* (pple.

Words for 'release' reflect such notions as 'loose' (in lit. sense 'unbind'), 'loosen', 'let go, send forth, let slip', etc. There is frequent connection and some overlapping in use with words for 'leave' (12.18) and 'let, permit' (19.47).

1. Grk. ἀπολύω, cpd. of ἀπό 'away, from' and λύω 'loose, unbind', the latter sometimes also 'release': Lat. *luere* 'expiate, pay a debt', *solvere* (fr. *\*sel-ure*) 'loose, unbind, release, solve', Skt. *lu-* 'cut off', etc. Walde-P. 2.408. Ernout-M. 954. Walde-H. 1.834.

Grk. ἀφίμω 'send forth, let go, release', cpd. of ἡμι 'let go, throw' (10.25).

Grk. ἀπαλλάσσω, cpd. of ἀλλάσσω 'change' (12.93).

2. Lat. *dimittēre*, *ēmittere*, cpds. of *dī-* (dis-) 'apart' and *-ē* (ez) 'from' with *mittere* 'let go, throw, send' (10.63).

It. (ri)lasciare, Rum. *lâsa*, also 'leave, let' (as Fr. *laisser*), fr. Lat. *lazāre* 'loosen, relax', deriv. of *lazus* 'slack, loose'. REW 4955.

Fr. (re)lâcher, deriv. of *lâche* 'loose, slack' = It. *lascio*, fr. *\*lascus* = Lat. *lazus* with cons. transposition. REW 4918.

Sp. *soltar*, deriv. of *suello* 'loose, free', pple. of *solver* 'loosen, untie', Lat. *solvere*. REW 8081.

3. Ir. *leicim*, also 'let, leave': Grk. λέπω, Lat. *linguere* 'leave', etc. (12.18). Walde 2.396 f.

Nlr. *seccim* = Mlr. *seccim* 'scatter, strew, separate': Lith. *skelti* 'split', ON *skilja* 'divide, separate' (cf. *skilja* *eptir* 'leave', 12.18), etc. Walde-P. 2.592.

W. *gollung*, with secondary pref. *go-*, fr. *Mw ellung* id. = Ir. *inloing* 'claims' (i.e. 'puts in'), fr. IE *\*leg-* 'lie', in Mlr. *laigid* 'lies down', Goth. *ligan*, etc. 'lie'. Walde-P. 2.424. Pedersen 2.570.

Br. *leuskel*, beside adj. *laesk* 'loose,

slack', connected in some way with Lat. *lazus* or *\*lascus*. Loth, Mots lat. 180 f.

4. Goth. *fra-lētan*, *af-lētan*, ON *lāta laust*, Dan. *lōslade*, OE *forlitan*, Du. *loslaten*, OHG *furlazzan*, NHG *entlassen*, *loslassen*, cpds. of Goth. *lētan*, etc. 'let, leave' (12.18).

Goth. (ga)lausjan, OHG *lösen*, MHG *lösen*, NHG *lösen* (but now mostly in secondary applications), fr. Goth. *laus* 'empty, vain', OHG *lōs* 'free', these fr. the root of Goth. *liusan* in *fraliusan* 'lose' (11.33), etc.

Dan. *slippe*, Sw. *släppa*: ON *slappa* (str. vb.) 'slip, escape', *slappa* (wk. vb.) 'let slip, drop', further relations (as with NE *slip*, etc., 10.42) uncertain. Walde-P. 2.433. Falk-Torp 1064.

Sw. *lösvisa* cpd. of *lös* 'loose, free' and *giva* 'give' (11.21).

ME *relese*, NE *release* fr. OFr. *relaisser*: It. *rilasciare*, etc. (above, 2).

5. Lith. *paleisti*, Lett. *atlaist*, cpds. of Lith. *leisti*, Lett. *laist* 'let loose, let', fr. a root with diphthong IE *\*leid-*, beside *\*led-* in Goth. *lētan* 'leave, let', etc. Walde-P. 2.395.

6. ChSl. *pustiti*, *otāpustiti*, iter. *pustiti*, etc., general Slavic, derivs. of *pustiti* 'empty, waste' = OPruss. *pausito* 'wild', perh.: Grk. *παύω* 'stop, cease' (?). Walde-P. 2.1 f. Semantic relation similar to that between NE sb. *desert*, fr. Lat. *dē-sertus* 'abandoned, left waste' and vb. *desert* 'abandon, forsake' also sometimes 'relinquish, give up' (cf. NED).

ChSl. *rěšiti* (not in Gospels, but freq. in Supr. = *lūō* 'loose, release'; SCr. *riješiti* 'solve, dispose of, acquit', Russ. *rešit'* 'solve, decide', etym.? Walde-P. 2.346, 347. Miklosich 277.

7. Skt. *muc-*: Lith. *mukti* 'slip away', Lett. *mukt'* 'strip oneself of, slip off', with s- Lith. *smukti* 'slide', ChSl. *smykati* se 'crawl'. Walde-P. 2.254. Cf. the se-

'wealth' (also *rayi-*). Av. *rāyō* (gen. sg.) 'wealth', *rayi-* 'splendor', Skt. *rā-* 'give'. Walde-P. 2.343. Ernout-M. 861 f.

Lat. *fortūnae*, pl. of *fortūna* 'chance, luck, fortune' (16.17), in sense of 'gifts of (good) fortune'.

Lat. *possessio*nēs, orig. generic but in actual use 'landed property' (cf. *possessio*nēs appellatur agri lae patentes, publici privatiq[ue], etc., Festus), sg. *possessio* prop. 'acquisition, act of taking possession': *possidere* 'possess' (11.12).

It. *proprietā*, Fr. *propriété*, Sp. *propiedad* (*propriedad*) fr. Lat. *proprietas*, -tātis 'peculiarity, natural quality' (fr. *proprius* 'one's own, proper', fr. *prope* 'near'), in late use 'ownership, property'. But now Fr. *propriété* in the sense 'property' is mostly used of 'real estate, landed property', etc.

It. *beni*, Fr. *biens* (less usually *bien* sg.), Sp. *bienes*, used like Lat. *bona* but formed fr. the adv. It. *bene*, Fr., Sp. *bien* 'well' (Lat. *bene*).

Rum. *haberes* (less usually sg. *haber*), Sp. *avere*, fr. the vbs. Sp. *haber*, Rum. *avea* 'have' (11.11).

3. Ir. *selb*, esp. 'landed property' or 'cattle' (cf. Laws, Gloss. 652), Nlr. *sealb*, cpd. of s- (= so- 'well'), second part: Nlr. *ealbh* 'flock, herd', W. *elw* 'profit', referring orig. to property in cattle. Cf. *dealb* 'poor, destitute', fr. parallel cpd. with d- (= do- 'ill'). Loth. RC 45.187 f.

W. *meddiant*: *meddu* 'possess, be able' (11.12).

Br. *mad* (pl. *madou*) = mat 'good, well', prob. influenced by Fr. *bien* (s), though not necessarily.

4. Goth. *ahts*, OE *æht*, ME *aght*, *aght*, etc. (Sc. *aucht*), OHG *eht* (= Av. *išti-*): Goth. *aigin*, also 'property', but ON *eign*, OHG *eigan*, MHG *eigen* esp. 'property in land, estate' and particularly 'inherited estates', fr. the root of

Goth. *aigan*, etc. 'own' (11.12). Here also Dan. *ejendom*, Sw. *egendom* (infl. of MLG *ēgendom*), Du. *eigendom*, NHG *eigentum*. Walde-P. 1.105. Falk-Torp 184 f.

Goth. *faihu* 'property, money', ON *fē*, OE *feoh* 'cattle, property, money': OHG *fihu* 'cattle', Lat. *pecu* 'cattle', *pecunia* 'property, riches, wealth', esp. *publici privatiq[ue]*, etc., Festus), sg. *pasu-* 'cattle', etc. (3.15). Walde-P. 2.16 f. Ernout-M. 746 f.

ON *gōz* (= *gōðs*), Dan., Sw. *gods* (old gen. sg.), OE *gōd* (neut. sg. and pl.), ME *godes* (NE goods, but no longer generic), Du. *goed*, OHG, MHG *guot*, NHG *gut*, fr. the adjs. ON *gōðr*, etc. 'good' (16.71). Falk-Torp 337.

Dan. *besiddelse*, Sw. *besittningar*, Du. *bezit*, NHG *besitz*: Dan. *besidde*, etc. 'possess' (11.12).

OE *sealt*, also 'tribute, money': Goth. *skatts* 'money', ON *skatt* 'tribute' (NÍcel. 'tax'), OFris. *sket* 'money, cattle', OS *skat* 'money, wealth', OHG *skaz* 'money, coin', NHG *schatz* 'treasure', outside connections and orig. meaning dub. Falk-Torp 988. Feist 429.

ME *catel* fr. ONFr. *catel*, and ME *chatel* fr. OFr. *chatel*, both fr. Lat. *capitāle*, neut. of the adj. *capitālis* 'head, chief-' used in medieval times for 'principal sum of money, property, etc.'. NED s.v. *chatel*.

ME *possessio*nēs, NE *possessions*, pl. of *possession* 'act of possession' then 'piece of property' (but in the sg. usually in the abstract sense, the chief use in the modern Romance languages), fr. OFr.

European languages there are distinctive words for 'wealth', most of them derived from the adjectives for 'rich' (11.51); but sometimes conversely 'rich' from 'wealth'; and there are also certain of the words for 'property' which are most often used with the implication of 'wealth' and so are also entered here in second place, e.g. NHG *vermögen*.

1. Grk. *πλοῦτος* (δ, but in NG declined as neut. *σ*-stem, hence) NG pop. *πλούτη* : *πολύς* 'much, many', *πλείος*, Att. *πλέως* 'full', etc. Walde-P. 1.16 f. Falk-Torp 530. Feist 63.

Dan. *formue*, Du. *vermogen*, NHG *vermögen*, see 'property' (11.41).

Sw. *förmögenhet*, deriv. of *förmögen* 'powerful, wealthy', fr. MLG *vormogen* (de) pple. of *vormogen* 'be able' = Du. *vermogen*, etc. 'be able' as sb. 'power, wealth' (above).

OE *wela*, ME *wela* (NE *weal*), OHG *wolo*, *welo*, etc., with deriv. suffix ME *welthe* (not found in OE), NE *wealth*, OHG *welida* : OE *wel(l)*, OHG *wola*, *wela* adv. 'well', etc.

ME *richesse* fr. OFr. *richesse*; then conceived as pl. form in ME, NE *riches*.

Du. *rijkdom* (MLG *rikedom* > late ON *rikdömr*, Dan. *rigdom*, Sw. *rike-*

*dom*), OHG *richidum*, *rihtum*, MHG *richtum*, NHG *reichtum*, orig. and in the earlier language mostly 'power, domin-

*ion* (OE *ricedōm* only in this sense), fr. OHG *richi*, OE *rice*, ON *rikr*, etc. 'mighty', later 'rich' (11.51).

5. Lith. *bagotystė*, Lett. *bagātība*, ChSl. *bagatstvo*, etc., fr. the Baltic and Slavic words for 'rich' Lith. *bagotas*, Lett. *bagats*, ChSl. *bagatŭ* (11.51).

6. Skt. *dhana-*, *vasu-*, *rāi-*, Av. *išti-*, see 'property' (11.41).

Av. *šaēta-*, etym. dub. Barth. 1704 f.

4. Goth. *gabei* : *giban* 'give' (11.21).

W. *gōlud* : Ir. *folad* 'substance', fr. a

cpd. of W. *gwo-*, Ir. *fo-* (IE \**upo-*), and a

deriv. of the root in Skt. *lota-* 'booty',

Goth. *laun*, OHG *lōn* 'pay, reward', etc.

(1.78). Walde-P. 2.380. Pedersen 1.54.

W. *cyfoeth*, also (and orig.) 'dominion,

power', cf. OCorn. *chefuidoc* 'omnipoten-

tes' : Ir. *cumachte* 'power', *con-icem*

'can', etc. Pedersen 1.124.

Br. *pinvidigez*, fr. *pinvidig* 'rich' (11.51).

4. Goth. *gabei* : *giban* 'give' (11.21).

Nr. *airgead*, W. *arian* (*ariant*), Br.

*archant* 'silver' (9.65) and 'money'.

4. Goth. *skatts* (also *ðnārion*, *μῆ*),

OE *sealt* 'property, money, coin', OHG

*scaz* 'money, coin' (also as in Goth. the

name of certain coins), see under 'property',

OE *sealt* (11.41).

Goth. *faihu* (renders *ἀργύριον* Mk.

14.11), ON *fē*, OE *feoh*, ME *fe*, all

'property, money', see 11.41.

ON *baugr* 'ring' and, from the use of

spiral-formed rings as a medium of pay-

ment, also 'money', esp. in cpds. as

*baug-gildi* 'wergeld', etc. Vigfusson s.v.

ON *peningr*, Sw. *penning* 'coin', esp.

a definite coin 'a penny', pl. ON *penin-*

*gar*, Dan. *penge*, Sw. *pengar* 'money' : OE

*pening*, *pending*, etc., OHG *pfennig*

'penny, small coin', orig. dub. Falk-

Torp 821. Weigand-H. 2.407 f. NED

s.v. *penny*. Hence borrowed Lith. *pinig-*

*as*, *piningas* 'coin', pl. 'money', ChSl.

\**pēnēgŭ*, *pēnēzī* 'denarius' (whence *pēn-*

*ēnēzīnikŭ* 'money-changer, banker' Jn. 2.14,

Lk. 19.23). Stender-Petersen 385.

ME *mon(e)* in both senses 'coin,

money', NE *money*, fr. OFr. *monieie*,

*mon(n)ie* 'coin', cf. Fr. *monnaie* (11.44).

OHG, MHG *gelt*, NHG, Du. *geld*, orig.

'payment, compensation', cf. OE *gild*

'payment, tribute, substitute, offering',

ON *gjaldr* 'tribute, payment', Goth. *gild*

'tax, tribute' : OHG *gellan* 'replace,

pay', Goth. *fra-*, *us-gildan* 'repay', out-

side connections dub. Walde-P. 1.632.

Feist 161.

5. Lith. *pinigai*, pl. of *pinigas* 'coin',

fr. the Gmc., cf. above, 4.

Lett. *nauda*, cf. Lith. *naula* 'use, profit',

fr. the Gmc., cf. ON *naut*, OE *nēal*

'cattle, oxen' (3.20). Muhl-Endz.

2.695 f.

6. ChSl. *sŭrebro*, *sŭrebro* 'silver' (9.65)

reg. renders also Grk. *ἀργύριον* as

'money'.

SCR. *novac* 'coin, money', esp. in lat-

ter sense pl. *novci*, fr. *nov* 'new', orig. re-

ferring to the 'new coinage' as contrasted

to the old, then extended. Rječnik

Akad. 8.243 f.

Boh. *peníze*, Pol. *pieniądze* : ChSl.

*pēnēzī* 'denarius', fr. the Gmc., see

above, 4.

Russ. *den'gi*, pl. of *den'ga* 'a copper

coin' (> Pol. *dziega*), loanword fr. a

wide-spread oriental group of terms for

'money' or various coins, as Kasan.

ON *aubr* (also *aubrē*, cpd. with sec-

ond member deriv. of of 'excess, multi-

tude'), OE *ead*, OHG in *al-ōd* 'free pos-

session' (hence MLat. *alodium*), OS *ōd*

'possession' : ON *aubna* 'fortune, fate',

*aubinn*, OE *ēaden* 'granted by fate',

Goth. *audags* 'μακάριος', etc., perh. of

mythological origin, with reference to

the weaving of the goddess of fate, fr.

the root in Lith. *austi* 'weave', ON *vǫð*

'piece of cloth', etc. Walde-P. 1.16 f.

Falk-Torp 530. Feist 63.

Dan. *formue*, Du. *vermogen*, NHG

*vermögen*, see 'property' (11.41).

Sw. *förmögenhet*, deriv. of *förmögen*

'powerful, wealthy', fr. MLG *vormo-*

*gen* (de) pple. of *vormogen* 'be able' = Du.

*vermogen*, etc. 'be able' as sb. 'power,

wealth' (above).

OE *wela*, ME *wela* (NE *weal*), OHG

*wolo*, *welo*, etc., with deriv. suffix ME

*welthe* (not found in OE), NE *wealth*,

OHG *welida* : OE *wel(l)*, OHG *wola*,

*wela* adv. 'well', etc.

ME *richesse* fr. OFr. *richesse*; then

conceived as pl. form in ME, NE *riches*.

Du. *rijkdom* (MLG *rikedom* > late

ON *rikdömr*, Dan. *rigdom*, Sw. *rike-*

*dom*), OHG *richidum*, *rihtum*, MHG

*richtum*, NHG *reichtum*, orig. and in the

earlier language mostly 'power, domin-

ion' (OE *ricedōm* only in this sense), fr.

OHG *richi*, OE *rice*, ON *rikr*, etc. 'mighty',

later 'rich' (11.51).

5. Lith. *bagotystė*, Lett. *bagātība*,

ChSl. *bagatstvo*, etc., fr. the Baltic and

Slavic words for 'rich' Lith. *bagotas*,

Lett. *bagats*, ChSl. *bagatŭ* (11.51).

6. Skt. *dhana-*, *vasu-*, *rāi-*, Av. *išti-*,

see 'property' (11.41).

Av. *šaēta-*, etym. dub. Barth. 1704 f.

4. Goth. *gabei* : *giban* 'give' (11.21).

Nr. *airgead*, W. *arian* (*ariant*), Br.

*archant* 'silver' (9.65) and 'money'.

4. Goth. *skatts* (also *ðnārion*, *μῆ*),

OE *sealt* 'property, money, coin', OHG

*scaz* 'money, coin' (also as in Goth. the

name of certain coins), see under 'property',

OE *sealt* (11.41).

Goth. *faihu* (renders *ἀργύριον* Mk.

14.11), ON *fē*, OE *feoh*, ME *fe*, all

'property, money', see 11.41.

ON *baugr* 'ring' and, from the use of

spiral-formed rings as a medium of pay-

ment, also 'money', esp. in cpds. as

*baug-gildi* 'wergeld', etc. Vigfusson s.v.

ON *peningr*, Sw. *penning* 'coin', esp.

a definite coin 'a penny', pl. ON *penin-*

*gar*, Dan. *penge*, Sw. *pengar* 'money' : OE

*pening*, *pending*, etc., OHG *pfennig*

'penny, small coin', orig. dub. Falk-

Torp 821. Weigand-H. 2.407 f. NED

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Lk. 19.23). Stender-Petersen 385.

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money', NE *money*, fr. OFr. *monieie*,

*mon(n)ie* 'coin', cf. Fr. *monnaie* (11.44).

OHG, MHG *gelt*, NHG, Du. *geld*, orig.

'payment, compensation', cf. OE *gild*

'payment, tribute, substitute, offering',

ON *gjaldr* 'tribute, payment', Goth. *gild*

'tax, tribute' : OHG *gellan* 'replace,

pay', Goth. *fra-*, *us-gildan* 'repay', out-

side connections dub. Walde-P. 1.632.

Feist 161.

5. Lith. *pinigai*, pl. of *pinigas* 'coin',

fr. the Gmc., cf. above, 4.

Lett. *nauda*, cf. Lith. *naula* 'use, profit',

fr. the Gmc., cf. ON *naut*, OE *nēal*

'cattle, oxen' (3.20). Muhl-Endz.

2.695 f.

## 11.43 MONEY

|      |                         |       |                      |       |           |
|------|-------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-----------|
| Grk. | ἀργύριον, χρήματα       | Goth. | skatts, faihu        | Lith. | pinigai   |
| NG   | χρήματα, παράδες, λεγρή | ON    | fē, peningar (baugr) | Let.  | nauda     |
| Lat. | pecunia, aēs, argen-    | Dan.  | penge                | ChSl. | strebro   |
| It.  | lunum                   | Sw.   | pengar               | SCR.  | novac     |
| Fr.  | denaro                  | OE    | feoh, sceatt         | Boh.  | novac     |
| Rum. | argenti                 | ME    | mon(e), fe           | Pol.  | pieniądze |
| Sp.  | dinero                  | NE    | money                | Russ. | den'gi    |
| Nir. | bani, parale            | Du.   | geld                 | Skt.  | (dhana-)  |
| W.   | airgead                 | OHG   | scaz, gelt           | Av.   | (šaēta-)  |
| Br.  | arian                   | MHG   | gelt, schaz          |       |           |
|      | archant                 | NHG   | geld                 |       |           |

The chief standard of value in the IE period and in the history of the IE-speaking peoples before the introduction of actual 'money' based on coinage was cattle (in the old wide sense 'live-stock'). This is amply attested for the several peoples by direct references and is also reflected in the interchange of 'cattle' with 'property' or 'money' in an inherited IE group and some others (3.15). Cf. Schrader, Reallex. 1.371 ff., and, especially for Celtic, Vendryes, RC 42.381 ff.

Among other standards of value preceding 'money' proper were horses, furs (ORuss. *kuna* 'martin skin, money, a small coin', whence Russ. *kunec* 'merchant'; cf. Berneker 644), linen (whence

Slavic verb for 'pay', 11.65), articles of jewelry (Skt. *niška-* in RV, cf. Zimmer, Altind. Leben 259; Ir. *sēt*, see below), certain utensils (Grk. *λέβης* 'bronze

kettle', in Crete name of a coin, *πέλεκυς*

'axe' in Cyprus name of a coin). The im-

mediate precursor of coined money officially standardized and stamped was the

use of precious metals in rings (cf. ON

*baugr*, below, 4), bars (cf. Grk. *ὀβολός*

'spit, nail' and name of a small coin), or

other forms.

Of the words for 'money', some are

specialized to 'money'. More frequent

is generalization from 'coin' or the

names of particular coins, the latter in

part derived from the name of the metal

used, especially 'silver'. In one group

'money' is from 'payment'.

1. Grk. *ἀργύριος* 'silver' (9.65), also

'money' (Aesch.+) as esp. the deriv.

*ἀργύριον* (both forms as 'money' in

Cretan Law-Code).

Grk. *χρήματα* 'property' (11.41), also

and in NG reg. 'money'.

NG pop. *παράδες*, pl. of *παράς*, fr.

Turk. *para*, the small Turkish coin.

NG pop. *λεφτά*, pl. of *λεφτόν* 'centime'.

2. Lat. *pecūnia*, earlier 'wealth in

cattle', then 'wealth, money' whence

also 'coin' esp. in late Lat. '





Fr. *ladre* 'leper' and 'miser', fr. the biblical *Lazarus*. REW 4958.

Rum. *sgtrcit*, sb. use of adj. for 'stingy'.

3. Ir. *díbech*, also as adj. 'churlish, niggardly' (Nir. *díbeach* 'grudging' as sb. 'niggard'), fr. *díbe* 'a denying, refusing, churlishness, stinginess', vbl. n. of *do-béim*, cpd. of *benim* 'strike, slay'. K. Meyer, Contrib. 633-34.

Nir. *sprionnlog* (also *spriánlog*, *spriónnlog*, etc.), etym.?

W. *cybydd*, fr. Lat. *cupidus*. Loth, Mots lat. 155.

Br. *piz*, sb. use of adj. for 'stingy'.

4. Goth. and ON sbs. for 'miser' lacking. Presumably expressed by phrases analogous to Lat. *homō avarus*.

Dan. *gnier* = Sw. *gnidare* (but not the usual word), fr. Dan. *gnie*, Sw. *gnida*, Norw. *gni* 'be stingy, pinch and spare'. For the modern feeling the word appears as 'one who rubs his money' (cf. Dan. *gnide*, Sw. *gnida* 'rub'). The connection is probably rather through the notion of 'tormenting and afflicting (oneself)' to save rather than directly from 'rub'. Falk-Torp 334 f.

Sw. *griugbuk*, lit. 'stingy-belly', where *buk* 'belly' is used for 'person' in pejorative sense. Hellquist 110.

OE *gūtere*, fr. *gūtsian* 'covet, desire' (: MHG *gū(e)sen* 'be greedy'); MHG *gūte-gere* fr. *gūte* 'avaricious'; NHG *geizhals* lit. 'greedy-neck' : OHG *gūl* 'avarice', *gūtag* 'avaricious', etc.

ME *nigarde*, NE *niggard*, cf. ME *nigarde* 'stingy'.

NE *miser*, formerly also 'miserable'

and 'a miserable, wretched person', fr. Lat. *miser* 'miserable, wretched'.

Du. *gierigaard*, fr. *gierig* 'stingy', with pejorative suffix *-aard* (fr. Fr. *-ard*). Franck-v. W. 198.

Du. *erek*, sb. form fr. MDu. *vrec* 'covetous, greedy, evil' = OHG *freh* 'covetous, greedy', ON *frekr*, Goth. *-frikis* in *faihu-frikis* 'avaricious', etc. Franck-v. W. 762.

MHG *viltz*, NHG *filz* 'felt', in MHG also 'an uncouth person' and 'miser', NHG 'miser', with reference to one clad in felt or in felt slippers (as the miser was often pictured). Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v.

5. Lith. *gabas* (also *gobas*) : *gabšius*, *gabšus* 'avaricious'.

Lith. *godišius* : *godingas*, *godus* 'avaricious'.

Lith. *šykštulis*, Lett. *sikstulis*, fr. Lith. *šykštus*, Lett. *siksts* 'stingy'.

Lett. *mantrausis*, lit. 'money-raker', cpd. of *manla* 'property' and deriv. of *raust* 'rake, poke together (the fire, etc.)'.

6. SCR. *škrtac*, fr. *škrt* 'stingy'. SCR. *tvrdica*, fr. *tvrd* 'stingy'.

Boh. *lakomec*, fr. *lakomý* 'avaricious'. Boh. *skrbec*, *skrblik*, beside vb. *skrbiti* 'be niggardly' : ChSl. *skraběti* 'be sad', *skraběti* 'grief', etc. (16.32). Brückner 493.

Boh. *držgreše*, lit. 'pinch-penny', cpd. of *držeti* 'hold' and *greše* dim. of *groš* fr. older NHG *grosch* = *groschen*.

Boh. *skupec*, Pol. *skąpiec*, Russ. *skupec*, fr. Boh. *skoupý*, Pol. *skąpy*, Russ. *skupoj* 'stingy'.

Russ. *skrjaga*, etym.?

7. Skt. *krpana-*, sb. use of adj. for 'stingy'.

NE *miser*, formerly also 'miserable'

## 11.56 STEAL

|      |                |       |                 |       |             |
|------|----------------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------------|
| Gk.  | κλέπτω         | Goth. | hlifan, stilan  | Lith. | vogti       |
| NG   | κλέβω, κλέφω   | ON    | stela           | Let.  | zagt        |
| Lat. | fūrari         | Dan.  | stjæle          | ChSl. | krasti      |
| It.  | rubare         | Sw.   | stjåla          | Boh.  | krásti      |
| Fr.  | voler          | OE    | stelan, stalian | Pol.  | krasć       |
| Sp.  | hurtar, robar  | ME    | stele           | Russ. | krasť       |
| Rum. | fura           | NE    | steal           | Skt.  | vorovat'    |
| Ir.  | galaim         | Du.   | stelen          | Skt.  | mus- (cur-) |
| Nir. | goidim         | OHG   | stelan          | Av.   | larap-      |
| W.   | duym, lladrata | MHG   | stelen          |       |             |
| Br.  | laerez         | NHG   | stehlen         |       |             |

Some of the words for 'steal' rest on notions like 'hide, carry off, collect'. Some seem to have first denoted various rascally actions, specialized to 'steal'.

For an important IE group, see under 'thief' (11.57).

1. Grk. κλέπτω, NG κλέβω, κλέφω, Lat. *clepere* (rare and arch.), Goth. *hlifan*, fr. \**klep-*, prob. an extension of \**kel-* in Lat. *oc-culere*, Ir. *celim*, OE *helan*, etc. 'hide'. Walde-P. 1.497. Ernout-M. 196. Walde-H. 1.232. Feist 263.

2. Lat. *fūrari*, also *fūrare* (> Rum. *fura*; It. *furare* obs. or poet., OFr. *furier*), fr. *fūr* 'thief' (11.57).

It. *rubare*, Sp. *robar*, fr. the Gmc., OHG *raubōn*, Goth. *biraubōn*, etc. 'rob, plunder'. REW 7092.

Fr. *voler* (as 'steal' since 16th cent.) = *voler* 'fly', through its trans. use 'make fly', then as slang term for 'steal, rob'. REW 9431. Gamillscheg 896. Dict. gén. s.v.

Sp. *hurtar*, deriv. of *hurto* 'theft', fr. Lat. *fūrtum* : *fūrari* (above). REW 3606.

3. Ir. *galaim*, Nir. *goidim* : Lith. *godas* 'avarice', *godus* 'avaricious' (11.54). Walde-P. 1.532. Pedersen 1.160.

W. *duym*, lit. 'carry, bring' (10.62).

W. *lladrata*, Br. *laerez*, fr. W. *lleidr* (pl. *lladron*), Br. *laer* 'thief' (11.57).

4. Goth. *hlifan*, above, 1.

Goth. *stilan*, OE *stelan*, etc., general Gmc., outside connections dub. Walde-P. 2.636. Falk-Torp 1170. Feist 453 f.

5. Lith. *vogti* : Lat. *vagārī* 'roam, wander', ON *vakka* 'wander about', Skt. *vañg-* 'go, limp'. Walde-P. 1.218. Semantic development prob. through 'be a vagabond', perh. first in sb. *vagis* as 'vagabond, thief'.

Lett. *zagt* : Lith. *žagti* 'pollute, defile', refl. 'pollute oneself'. Development through 'commit a foul action', then specialized to 'steal'? Mühl-Endz. 4.680.

6. ChSl. *krasti*, etc. general Slavic, prob. : Lett. *krāt* 'collect, heap up', with labial extension Lett. *krāpti*, Lith. *kropiti* 'deceive', root \**krā(u)-* in Lith. *krauti* 'heap up, load', etc. Walde-P. 1.477. Berner 605. Brückner 264 f.

Russ. *vorovat'*, fr. vor 'thief' (11.57).

7. Skt. *muṣ-*, prob. : Frank. (Lex Sal.) *chreo-mōsido* 'corpse-robbery', and fr. an extension of IE \**mew-* in Lat. *movēre* 'set in motion, move', Skt. *miu-* 'shove, press', etc. Walde-P. 2.253.

Skt. *cur-*, etym.?

Av. *tarap-* (*trafya-*) : Skt. *trp-* in *paṣu-trp-* 'cattle-stealing', root connection? Walde-P. 1.737. Barth. 643.

## 11.61 LEND

|      |                           |       |                         |       |                      |
|------|---------------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Gk.  | δανείζω, κίχρημι          | Goth. | leiḥuan                 | Lith. | skolinti             |
| NG   | δανείω                    | ON    | lā, lāna                | Let.  | aiduoti, tapināt     |
| Lat. | mālum dare                | Dan.  | laane                   | ChSl. | vā zajimū dajati     |
| It.  | (im)prestare              | Sw.   | låna                    | SCR.  | pozajimiti, posuditi |
| Fr.  | prêter                    | OE    | lānan, lēon             | Boh.  | pōzajiti             |
| Sp.  | prestar                   | ME    | len(d)e, lane           | Pol.  | pożyczyci            |
| Rum. | împrumuta, da cu împrumut | NE    | lend, loan              | Russ. | ssuditi', odoliti'   |
| Ir.  | airleicim, oidim          | Du.   | leenen                  | Skt.  | ṛnam dā-             |
| Nir. | airleagaim                | OHG   | lihan, lehanōn          | Av.   | (*namahya-)          |
| W.   | echwynna, benthycio       | MHG   | lihen, lehenen          |       |                      |
| Br.  | presta                    | NHG   | leihen, borgen (leihen) |       |                      |

Words for 'lend' are partly derivatives of nouns for 'loan' or 'debt', these of various sources, and partly from more general notions of 'furnish, provide, give', 'exchange', 'leave', etc.

1. Grk. δανείζω, fr. δανός 'loan, debt', prob. fr. IE \**da-* weak grade of \**dā(i)-* in Grk. δαίνομαι 'distribute', etc. Walde-P. 1.763. Boisacq 166.

Grk. κίχρημι, aor. ἐχρησα : χρῆ 'needs, must' (9.94), χρεός 'debt' (11.64), etc. For frequent use as 'lend', cf. refs. in LS 2001 (esp. Schwyzer, Dial. Graec. Ex. 324 for early technical use) and Moulton-Milligan 344.

2. Lat. usually phrase *mālum* (argentum, frumentum, etc.) *dare* lit. 'give (silver, grain, etc.) loaned'; *māluus* : *mālare* 'change, exchange' (12.93) Ernout-M. 648.

It. *prestare*, *imprestare*, OFr. *prester*, Fr. *prêter*, Sp. *prestar*, fr. Lat. *praestāre* 'be at the disposition of, be responsible for, fulfill, furnish', with adv. *praestō* 'at hand', orig. much disputed, but perh. simply fr. *prae* 'in front of' and *stāre* 'stand', with divergent semantic development from that seen in *prae-stāre* 'surpass'. Ernout-M. 805, 982. REW 6725.

Rum. *împrumuta*, also 'borrow' = Fr. *emprunter* 'borrow', etc. (11.62). Also differentiated by *da* 'give' or *lua* 'take' with *cu împrumut* 'by way of loan'.

3. Ir. *airleicim*, Nir. *airleagaim*, cpd. of *leicim* 'leave, let' (12.18) with *air-* 'pre-, pro-'. Pedersen 2.563.

Ir. *oidim*, with sb. *oin* 'loan', etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.204. Pedersen 1.65, 2.587.

W. *echwynna*, also 'borrow', fr. sb. *echwyn* 'loan', this prob. fr. *cunnu*, *cynnu* 'raise'. Evans W. Dict. s.v. Or more specifically for 'lend' *rhoi echwyn* 'give a loan'.

W. *benthycio* (with *i* 'to' = 'lend', with *gan* 'from' = 'borrow'), fr. *benthycio* 'a loan', older *benffycio* fr. Lat. *beneficium* 'favor'. Loth, Mots lat. 138. Or more specifically for 'lend' *rhoi benthycio* 'give a loan'.

4. Goth. *leiḥuan*, ON *lā, OE lēon*, ME *lene*, *lende*, NE *lend*, OHG *lihan*, MHG *lihen*, NHG *leihen* : Lat. *līquere*, Grk. *λείπω* 'leave'. Walde-P. 2.397. Falk-Torp 613 f. Feist 327.

ON *lāna* (> ME *lane*, NE *loan*), Dan. *laane*, Sw. *låna*, OE *lānan*, OHG *lehanōn*, MHG *lēhenen*, NHG *lehenen*, fr. the sbs. ON *lān*, OE *lēn*, OHG *lēhan*, etc. 'a loan' : Goth. *leiḥuan*, etc. (above).

Falk-Torp 613 f.

MHG, NHG *borgen* 'borrow' (11.62), also 'lend'.

5. Lith. *skolinti*, *skolyti*, fr. *skola* 'debt' : *skeletī* 'owe', etc. (11.63).

Lith. *žyčyti* (Kurschat, NT, now replaced by preceding), fr. WhRuss. *zyčić* (cf. Pol. *pożyczac*, below). Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 158.

Lett. *aiduoti*, cpd. of *duot* 'give'.

Lett. *tapināt*, also 'borrow' caus. to *tapt* 'become, reach, arrive at' : Lith. *tapiti* 'become' (9.92). Mühl-Endz. 4.133 f.

6. ChSl. *vū zajimū dajati* (Lk. 6.34, etc.) lit. 'give in loan', SCR. *po-(u)-zajimiti* 'lend, borrow' : ChSl. *zajeti* 'borrow' (11.62).

SCR. *posuditi* (also 'borrow'), Russ. *ssuditi* : SCR. *suditi*, Pol. *sądzić*, ChSl. *sądzi* 'judge', deriv. of ChSl. *sądziti* 'judgment, decision' (sq-dū : Skt. *sam-dhā-* 'union, agreement', etc. Walde-P. 1.827), but with independent semantic development 'make a decision, arrangement, agreement', specialized to 'lend', as with a still different specialization

Skt. *kuṣṭha-*, the technical term for 'lending of money at interest', but not appearing in verbal phrases, etym.? Uhlenbeck 61.

Av. \**namahya-* (cf. adj. *namahant-* 'lending') fr. *namah-* 'a loan', prob. : Grk. *νέμω* 'divide, distribute', Goth. *niman* 'take', etc. (11.13). Walde-P. 2.330. Barth. 1069 f.

## 11.62 BORROW

|      |                            |       |                            |       |                          |
|------|----------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| Gk.  | δανείζομαι                 | Goth. | leiḥuan sis                | Lith. | skolinti                 |
| NG   | δανείζομαι                 | ON    | þiggja at lāni             | Let.  | aim'eml, tapināt         |
| Lat. | mālum sūmere, mā-tuari     | Dan.  | laane                      | ChSl. | zajeti                   |
| It.  | prendere in prestito       | Sw.   | låna                       | SCR.  | posuditi, pozajimiti     |
| Fr.  | emprunter                  | OE    | borgan                     | Boh.  | vypřijeti se, dlužiti se |
| Sp.  | tomar prestado             | ME    | borwe                      | Pol.  | pożyczyci                |
| Rum. | împrumuta, lua cu împrumut | Du.   | borgen                     | Russ. | zanzaj                   |
| Ir.  | ...                        | OHG   | uehslōn                    | Skt.  | ṛnam kr-                 |
| Nir. | ...                        | MHG   | entlehenen, borgen         | Av.   | ...                      |
| W.   | faghaim ar iasacht         | NHG   | borgen, leihen, entlehenen |       |                          |
| Br.  | echwynna, benthycio        |       |                            |       |                          |
|      | emprasta                   |       |                            |       |                          |

The majority of the words for 'borrow' are akin to those for 'lend', already discussed (11.61). The verb may be in the same form, the difference in application being shown by construction (e.g. with 'to' = 'lend', but with 'from' = 'borrow'), or in a differentiated form (e.g. mid. or refl., or with prefix for 'borrow'). Thus Grk. δανείζομαι, mid. of δανείζω 'lend'; Lat. *mātuari* fr. *mātuus*

'lent, borrowed' (in *mātuus dare* 'lend', etc.); W. *benthycio*, *echwynna* 'borrow, lend'; Br. *emprasta* (or *amprasta*), a blend of *presta* 'lend' and Fr. *emprunter*; Goth. *leiḥuan sis* refl. (with *af*); Dan. *laane*, Sw. *låna* 'lend, borrow'; NHG *leihen* 'lend, borrow'; MHG *entlehenen*, NHG *entlehenen* fr. MHG *lehenen* 'lend', etc.; Lith. *skolinti* 'lend, borrow'; Lett. *tapināt* 'lend, borrow'; SCR. *posuditi*, Pol.

## 11.57 THIEF

|      |                  |       |                |                  |                       |
|------|------------------|-------|----------------|------------------|-----------------------|
| Gk.  | κλέπτω, φάω      | Goth. | hlifus, hlifus | Lith.            | vogtis                |
| NG   | κλέφω            | ON    | þjǫfr          | Let.             | zagtis                |
| Lat. | fūr              | Dan.  | tyv            | ChSl.            | talť                  |
| It.  | ladro            | Sw.   | tyf            | SCR.             | talť, kradějivac      |
| Fr.  | voleur (larron)  | OE    | þeof           | Boh.             | zloděj, kradce        |
| Sp.  | ladrón, hurtador | ME    | theef          | Pol.             | złodziej              |
| Rum. | hoț              | NE    | thief          | Russ.            | vor (talť)            |
| Ir.  | laid, merlech    | Du.   | dief           | Skt.             | stena-, cāura-, moṣa- |
| Nir. | gadaiḥthe        | OHG   | diob           | ka-, tāyu-, etc. |                       |
| W.   | lleidr           | MHG   | diep           |                  |                       |
| Br.  | laer             | NHG   | dieb           |                  |                       |

Several of the words for 'thief' are derived from those for 'steal', as in part conversely. But more often there is no connection, as in the Gmc. group (NE *steal*, but *thief*). Several of the words for 'thief' were originally more general terms for 'evildoer, rascal, bandit, robber', etc.

1. IE group based on \*(s)dei-. Walde-P. 2.610.

Ir. *laid*; ChSl. *talť*, etc.; Skt. *tāyu-* (RV), also *stāyu-*, Av. *tāyu-*, Skt. *stena-*; cf. ChSl. *taj* 'secretly', *tajiti* 'hide', Grk. *τηράσμαι* 'be in want, bereft of', Hitt. *lāyēzi* 'steals' (Sturtevant, Hitt. Gloss. 157).

2. Grk. κλέπτω, NG κλέφω : κλέπτω 'steal' (11.56).

Grk. φάω (Hdt. +), as 'one who carries off' : Grk. φέρω, Lat. *ferre* 'carry'. Walde-P. 2.154 ff.

3. Lat. *fūr*, either cognate with or loanword fr. Grk. φάω. Ernout-M. 403. Walde-H. 1.569.

It. *ladro*, Fr. *larron*, Sp. *ladrón*, fr. Lat. *latrō* 'mercenary soldier' (so in Plaut., class. also), 'bandit, highwayman', loanword fr. Grk. λάρων 'pay, wage', λαρής 'hired servant', etc. Ernout-M. 527. Walde-H. 1.771. REW 4931.

Fr. *voleur*, fr. *voler* 'steal' (11.56).

Sp. *hurtador*, fr. *hurtar* 'steal' (11.56).

Rum. *hoț*, also 'robber, rascal' and

prob. orig. a general abusive term, but source unknown. Tikin 739.

4. Ir. *laid*, see above, 1.

Ir. *merlech*, fr. *merl* 'theft', etym. dub. (: *mairinn* 'betray'). Pedersen 2.55.

Nir. *gadaiḥthe*, fr. *gadaim* 'steal' (11.56).

W. *lleidr*, Br. *laer*, fr. Lat. *latrō*. Loth, Mots lat. 181.

5. Goth. *þiufus*, OE *þeof*, OHG *diob*, etc., general Gmc. : Goth. *þiuljō* 'secretly', and so perh. as 'cowering, crouching' : Lith. *tupeiti* 'cower, squat', Lett. *tupt* 'squat'. Walde-P. 1.714. Falk-Torp 1310 f. Feist 497.

Goth. *hlifus* : *hlifan* 'steal' (11.56).

6. Lith. *vogtis* : *vagius*, *vogti* 'steal' (11.56).

Lett. *zagtis* : *zagt* 'steal' (11.56).

7. ChSl. *talť*, SCR. *talť*, Russ. *talť* (obs.), see above, 1.

SCR. *kradějivac*, Boh. *kradce*, fr. Slavic *krasti* 'steal' (11.56).

Boh. *zloděj*, Pol. *złodziej* = Russ. *zlodej* 'villain, rascal, wretch', ChSl. *zulo-děj* 'evildoer' (*zūlā* 'evil' and *děti* 'put, place'). Berner 193. Brückner 654.

3. Ir. *fach*, Nlr. *fiacha*, prob. : Lat. *vicēs* 'change, return, recompense', OHG *gajafa* 'exchange (of gifts)', ON *wehsal* 'change, exchange', etc., fr. the root in Grk. *εἶω* 'yield, give way', etc. Walde-P. 1.235. Pedersen 1.174.

W. *dyled*, Br. *dle* : Ir. *dliged* 'law, right', *dligim* 'have a right to, claim upon', Br. *dléout* 'owe', etc. (11.63), Goth. *duigs* 'debt' (loanword fr. Celtic?), ChSl. *dlügā*, etc. id. (prob. loanword fr. Gmc.). Walde-P. 1.868. Pedersen 1.100, 2.506 f. Vendryes, RC 40.428 ff. (: Lat. *indulgere*, but cf. Walde-H. 1.695). Feist 128. Berneker 244. Stender-Petersen 319.

4. Goth. *duigs*, see above, 3.  
ON *skuld*, Sw. *skuld* (but Dan. *skyld* 'guilt'), OE *scyld*, OHG *sculd*, *sculda*,

|      |                  |       |             |       |            |
|------|------------------|-------|-------------|-------|------------|
| Grk. | ἀποδοῖμι, ἀπορίω | Goth. | -gildan     | Lith. | mokėti     |
| NG   | πληρώνω          | ON    | gilda       | Let.  | maksāt     |
| Lat. | pendere, solvere | Dan.  | betale      | ChSl. | vizdati    |
| It.  | pagare           | Sw.   | betala      | Boh.  | platiti    |
| Fr.  | payer            | OE    | gildan      | Pol.  | (za)placić |
| Sp.  | pagar            | ME    | paie, yelde | Russ. | (za)platiť |
| Rum. | plăti            | NE    | pay         | Skt.  | dā-        |
| Ir.  | direnim, asrenim | Du.   | betalen     | Av.   | ē-         |
| Nlr. | diolaam          | OHG   | gellan      |       |            |
| W.   | talū             | MHG   | gellen      |       |            |
| Br.  | paea             | NHG   | (be)zahlen  |       |            |

## 11.65 PAY (vb.)

'Pay' may be expressed simply as 'give' or 'give back', as 'weigh out' or 'count out', or with primary reference to the debt or the creditor as 'release, discharge, fulfil, recompense, appease', etc. According to their source they would originally differ in construction, namely 'pay an amount to a person' if the source is 'give' or the like, but 'pay a debt or a person' if the source is 'fulfil, appease', etc. But as consciousness of the original meaning was lost, the words of the latter type came also to be used with the amount paid as the direct object, e.g.

Grk. ἀπορίω (no less than ἀποδοῖμι), Lat. *solvere*, Fr. *payer*, NE *pay*, etc.

1. Grk. ἀποδοῖμι 'give back, return' (11.22) is the most common term for 'pay'.

Grk. ἀπορίω 'requite, repay', then 'pay' (as a penalty) and simply 'pay' (as a payment), less commonly in this sense ἐκρίνω, cpds. of κρίνω 'requite, atone for, repay' (rarely 'pay' money) : Skt. *ci-* (*cayate*) 'hate, punish', Av. *ci-* 'atone for, pay' (see below, 7); common meaning of this root 'requite' in good or bad sense (cf. the derivs. Grk.

|      |                    |       |                         |       |                      |
|------|--------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | λόγος, λογισμός    | Goth. | raþjō                   | Lith. | sąskaita             |
| NG   | λογισμός           | ON    | tal, tala, reikningr    | Let.  | rēk'ins, rēk'ināšana |
| Lat. | ratio              | Dan.  | regnskab, regning       | ChSl. | (slovo)              |
| It.  | conto              | Sw.   | räkning                 | Scr.  | račun                |
| Fr.  | compte             | OE    | gerād, riht             | Boh.  | učet                 |
| Sp.  | cuenta             | ME    | (a)count, re(c)k(i)ning | Pol.  | rachunek             |
| Rum. | socoteală, cont    | ing   |                         | Russ. | šet                  |
| Ir.  | airem, comairem    | NE    | account, reckoning      | Skt.  | ganaṇa-              |
| Nlr. | comhaireamh, cunn- | Du.   | rekening                | Av.   | ....                 |
| W.   | tas                | OHG   | reda                    |       |                      |
| Br.  | cyfrif             | MHG   | rech(e)nunge            |       |                      |
|      | kont               | NHG   | rechnung                |       |                      |

Some of the words for 'account' are related to those for 'number' or 'count', while others are based on a more general notion of 'reason, right' or the like.

1. Grk. λόγος (also 'reason, word', etc.) : λέγω 'gather, recount, say', etc., Lat. *legere* 'gather, select, read', etc. Walde-P. 1.422. From same source also λογισμός : λογίζομαι 'count, reckon', and Byz., NG λογαριασμός : Byz. λογαριάω 'calculate', fr. λογάρω dim. of λόγος.

2. Lat. *ratio* : *reor*, *rēri*, *ratus* 'reckon, judge', etc., Goth. *raþjō* 'number, count', OHG *reda*, *radia* 'account, speech, tale', etc., fr. IE \**rē-*, \**ra-*, prob. related ultimately to the root of Grk. ἀραρίσκω 'join together, fit', Lat. *artus* 'joint', etc. Walde-P. 1.73 f. Ernout-M. 860 f. Feist 394.

It. *conto*, Fr. *compte*, Sp. *cuenta* (fr. *cuento*), Rum. *cont* (lit. loanword) fr. late Lat. *computus* 'computation', fr. *computare* 'reckon', cpd. of *putare* 'reckon, consider, think'. Ernout-M. 828. REW 2109.

Rum. *socoteală*, fr. *socoti* 'heed, pay attention to', fr. the Slavic, cf. Bulg. dial. *sokoti* 'guard'. Tiktin 1451 ff.

3. Ir. *airem*, *comairem* 'number, reckoning, account' (cf. Laws, Gloss. 37), Nlr. *comhaireamh*, W. *cyfrif*, cpds. fr. *rim-*, W. *rhyf* 'number' (13.12), vb. Ir. *airmin* 'count' (*ad-rim-*, Pedersen 2.602).

Nlr. *cunntas*, fr. ME *counte*.

Br. *cont*, fr. OFr. *conte*, *cunte*.

4. Goth. *raþjō*, OHG *reda* (*radia*, *redia*) : Lat. *ratio* (above, 2).

ON *tal*, *tala* (also 'number, tale, talk') : OE (*ge*)*tal* 'tale, number, series', OHG *zala* id., NHG *zahl* 'number', etc. (13.12). Walde-P. 1.808. Falk-Torp 1243.

ON (late) *reikningr*, Dan. *regning*, Sw. *räkning*, fr. MLG *rekeninge* = Du. *rekening*, etc. (below).

Dan. *regnskab*, fr. *regne* 'reckon, calculate', fr. MLG *rekenen* (below).

OE *gerād* (also *gerādegode*; cf. Gospels, Mt. 18.23, 24, where Lindisf. *reht*, *rehtnis*) : adj. *gerād* 'well arranged, skilled', Goth. *garaiþs* 'appointed', MGH *gereit* 'ready', etc. (14.29).

OE *riht* 'right, justice, law' (21.11), also (esp. Northumbrian) 'account', as likewise *rehtnis*.

ME *account*, *count*, NE *account*, fr. OFr. *a-comte*, *a-cunte*, *comte*, *cunte* (above, 2).

ME *re(c)k(i)ning*, NE *reckoning*, Du. *rekening* (MLG *rekeninge*), MHG *rech(e)nunge*, NHG *rechnung* (OHG *rechenunga* 'arrangement'), fr. OE *gerecenian*, MLG *rekenen*, OHG *rehanōn*, etc. 'calculate', fr. the same root as OE *riht*, etc. (above).

NED s.v. *reckoning*. Weigand-H. 2.546.

5. Lith. *sąskaita* (neolog.; *rokundas* now obs.), fr. *suskaityti* 'count', cpd. of *skaityti* 'read' (18.52) and 'count'.

Let. *rēk'ins* (*rēk'ens*, *rēk'enin's*), fr. MLG *rekinge*, *rekening* (above); Lett. *rēk'ināšana* fr. *rēkindā* 'reckon, consider,

τιμή 'reward' or 'penalty', ποινή 'penalty', Av. *kaēna* 'penalty', ChSl. *čēna* 'reward'. Walde-P. 1.509.

Grk. *τέλειω* 'finish, fulfil' (fr. *τέλος* 'end, fulfilment', 14.26), also sometimes 'pay' (Hom. -).)

Grk. *πληρώω* 'fill, fulfil' (: *πλήρης* 'full'), also 'make good, supply' (with *χρεία* 'need', etc. Thuc.), and in late times 'pay' (pap.), hence NG *πληρώνω*.

2. Lat. *pendere*, orig. 'hang' (trans.) whence 'weigh' and 'pay' (from the weighing out of silver in payment), trans. to the intr. *pendere* 'hang, be hanging'. Ernout-M. 750 ff.

Lat. *solvere*, 'loose, release' (11.34), then in legal terminology 'acquit oneself of, discharge' (*debitum*, *rem*, *votum*, etc.), 'pay'. Ernout-M. 954.

It. *pagare*, Fr. *payer* (> Br. *paea*, ME *paie*, NE *pay*), Sp. *pagar*, fr. Lat. *pācare* 'pacify' (through 'appease' and esp. 'appease with pay'). REW 6132.

Rum. *plăti*, fr. Slavic (below, 6).

3. Ir. *direnim*, *asrenim* cpds. of *renim* 'sell' (11.82). Pedersen 2.596 f.

Nlr. *diolaam* (also 'sell' and 'betray') beside *dioghlaam* 'betray', fr. Ir. *diagalim* 'avenge' : Ir. *diagal*, W. dial. 'vengeance', cpd. of Ir. *gal* 'valor'. Pedersen 1.101.

Macbain 134. Development of 'pay' through 'atone for, pay the penalty' (cf. Grk. ἀπορίω, above, 1), and of 'sell' through 'betray' (as Judas betrayed Christ for thirty pieces of silver)?

W. *talū*, with *tal* 'payment, recompense, reward', prob. also Ir. *-tal* in *tuarastal* 'wages' (11.78), *taile* gl. *salarii*, MBr. *talvout* 'be worth, reward', etc., outside connections? (Stokes, 130 : Lat. *tollere* 'lift', etc.; rejected by Walde-P. 1.739).

Br. *paea*, fr. Fr. *payer* (above).

4. Goth. *-gildan* (only cpds. *fragildan*, *usgildan* 'repay'), ON *gjalda*, OE *gieldan*,

agieldan, ME *yelde*, OHG *gellan*, MHG *gellen*, etc., outside connections? (Stokes, 130 : Lat. *tollere* 'lift', etc.; rejected by Walde-P. 1.739).

5. Lith. *vizdati* 'give back' (11.22), in Gospels reg. for ἀποδοῖμι also when it means 'pay, repay'.

Scr. *platiti*, etc., general Slavic (but not in old ChSl.), deriv. of word for linen (ChSl. *platū*, *platino*, 6.23). According to the chronicle of Helmold the Slavs used linen cloth as the standard of value in trade. Brückner 420. Schrader, Reallex. 1.325.

7. Skt. *dā-* 'give' (11.21) also the usual word for 'pay'.

Av. *ci-* 'atone for' and so 'pay' (e.g. *čikayaf* Vd. 13.10; cf. Barth. 103 s.v. *aftā-* and 464) : Grk. *τίω* 'atone for', etc. (above, 1).

6. ChSl. *slowo* 'word' (18.26), reg. = Grk. λόγος 'word' is used also in the Gospels where λόγος is 'account', as Mt. 12.36 (both senses in same verse), 18.23, etc.

Scr. *račun*, fr. It. *razione* (now 'ra-

tion'), Lat. *ratio* (above, 2). Miklosich 271.

Boh. *učet*, Russ. *šet* cpds. : ChSl. *čita*, *čisti* 'count, read', etc. (18.52).

Pol. *rachunek*, fr. *rachować*, fr. NHG *rechnen*. Brückner 451.

7. Skt. *gaṇana-* : *gaṇaya-* 'count, enumerate, calculate', *gaṇa-* 'host, multitude'.

Fr. *gage*, OFr. also *wage*, fr. Gmc., Goth. *wadi*, etc. (below, 4). REW 9474.

Gamillscheg 451.

Sp. *prenda*, fr. *prender* 'take'. Diez 646.

Rum. *amanet*, through NG *amaneti* 'pawn, pledge', fr. Turk. *amanet* 'security'. Lokotsch 66. Tiktin 56.

Rum. *zalog*, fr. Slavic, ChSl. *zalogū*, etc. (below, 6).

3. Ir. *gell* (cf. Thurneysen, Z. celt. Ph. 15.266 ff.), Nlr. *geall* (hence vb. *gell-* 'promise, pledge'), fr. \**ghislo-* : Ir. *giall*, W. *gwysl* 'hostage', Br. *gouesl* 'pledge, security', ON *gisl*, etc. 'hostage' (\**ghislo-*), root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.554. Pedersen 2.537.

W. *adneu* : Ir. *aithne* *ge. depositum*, abstract of *aith-no* 'entrust', perh. : Lat. *ad-nuere* 'nod to, assent'. Pedersen 1.441, 2.586.

4. Goth. *wadi*, ON *veð*, OE *wedd*, ME *wed(de)*, OHG *weti(i)* (NHG *wette* 'bet', cf. NE *wager* orig. 'pledge' : *wage*, Fr.

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4. Goth. *wadi*, ON *veð*, OE *wedd*, ME *wed(de)*, OHG *weti(i)* (NHG *wette* 'bet', cf. NE *wager* orig. 'pledge' : *wage*, Fr.

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Rum. *zalog*, fr. Slavic, ChSl. *zalogū*, etc. (below, 6).

3. Ir. *gell* (cf. Thurneysen, Z. celt. Ph. 15.266 ff.), Nlr. *geall* (hence vb. *gell-* 'promise, pledge'), fr. \**ghislo-* : Ir. *giall*, W. *gwysl* 'hostage', Br. *gouesl* 'pledge, security', ON *gisl*, etc. 'hostage' (\**ghislo-*), root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.554. Pedersen 2.537.

W. *adneu* : Ir. *aithne* *ge. depositum*, abstract of *aith-no* 'entrust', perh. : Lat. *ad-nuere* 'nod to, assent'. Pedersen 1.441, 2.586.

4. Goth. *wadi*, ON *veð*, OE *wedd*, ME *wed(de)*, OHG *weti(i)* (NHG *wette* 'bet', cf. NE *wager* orig. 'pledge' : *wage*, Fr.

5. Lith. *vizdati* 'give back' (11.22), in Gospels reg. for ἀποδοῖμι also when it means 'pay, repay'.

Scr. *platiti*, etc., general Slavic (but not in old ChSl.), deriv. of word for linen (ChSl. *platū*, *platino*, 6.23). According to the chronicle of Helmold the Slavs used linen cloth as the standard of value in trade. Brückner 420. Schrader, Reallex. 1.325.

7. Skt. *dā-* 'give' (11.21) also the usual word for 'pay'.

Av. *ci-* 'atone for' and so 'pay' (e.g. *čikayaf* Vd. 13.10; cf. Barth. 103 s.v. *aftā-* and 464) : Grk. *τίω* 'atone for', etc. (above, 1).

6. ChSl. *slowo* 'word' (18.26), reg. = Grk. λόγος 'word' is used also in the Gospels where λόγος is 'account', as Mt. 12.36 (both senses in same verse), 18.23, etc.

Scr. *račun*, fr. It. *razione* (now 'ra-

tion'), Lat. *ratio* (above, 2). Miklosich 271.

Boh. *učet*, Russ. *šet* cpds. : ChSl. *čita*, *čisti* 'count, read', etc. (18.52).

Pol. *rachunek*, fr. *rachować*, fr. NHG *rechnen*. Brückner 451.

7. Skt. *gaṇana-* : *gaṇaya-* 'count, enumerate, calculate', *gaṇa-* 'host, multitude'.

Fr. *gage*, OFr. also *wage*, fr. Gmc., Goth. *wadi*, etc. (below, 4). REW 9474.

Gamillscheg 451.

Sp. *prenda*, fr. *prender* 'take'. Diez 646.

Rum. *amanet*, through NG *amaneti* 'pawn, pledge', fr. Turk.



*mýto*, Pol. *myto*, etc. 'toll', fr. Gmc., Goth. *mūta*, etc. (above, 4). Stender-Petersen 324.

SCR. *porez*, lit. 'assessment': *porezati* 'cut up, separate, divide' (*rezati* 'cut' 9.22). Miklosich 278.

Boh. *berně*, Pol. *pobór*: Boh. *bráti*, Pol. *brać* 'take' (11.13). Berneker 51, 75 f.

Boh. *poplatek*, also *plat* (but this mostly 'pay, payment'): *platiti* 'pay' (11.65).

Russ. *nalog*, cpd. of *na* 'on' and deriv. of root in Slavic *ložiti* 'lay' (cf. *zalog* 'pledge', 11.67). Semantic borrowing fr.

the Romance group (It. *imposta*, etc.) possible.

7. Skt. *kara*, perh. (like *kara* 'ray', but with independent semantic development), fr. *kar*-, *kir*- 'pour out, scatter' (as what is 'poured out' to the ruler). Uhlenbeck 45.

Skt. *bali*-, etym.? Uhlenbeck 188. Skt. *gulka*- (in RV 'price', later 'tax'), etym.? Uhlenbeck 313.

OPers. *bāji*-, as orig. 'assessment' or more prob. 'contribution': Av. *baj*- 'assign as a share', Skt. *bhaj*- 'divide, share, furnish', etc. Barth. 953.

## 11.71 INCOME

|      |                   |       |      |                                       |       |                     |
|------|-------------------|-------|------|---------------------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | ἐσοδος            | Goth. | ON   | taka, tekja                           | Lith. | pajamos             |
| NG   | ἐσοδος, ἔσοδος    | Dan.  | Dan. | indtagt, indkomst                     | ChSl. | ienākšana, ienākums |
| Lat. | fructus, redditus | Sw.   | OE   | indtagt, indkomst                     | SCR.  | dohod(ak), prihod   |
| It.  | rendita           | OE    | ME   | rente                                 | Boh.  | dōchod, přijem      |
| Fr.  | rente             | ME    | NE   | income                                | Pol.  | dōchod              |
| Sp.  | renta             | Du.   | Du.  | inkomst                               | Russ. | dōchod              |
| Rum. | venit             | OHG   | MHG  | rente, gulle, gelt                    | Skt.  | āya-, āgama-        |
| Ir.  | leacht isteach    | NHG   | NHG  | einkommen, einkünfte, einnahme, rente | Av.   | ....                |
| Nir. | leacht isteach    |       |      |                                       |       |                     |
| W.   | cyllid, incum     |       |      |                                       |       |                     |
| Br.  | leve              |       |      |                                       |       |                     |

Most of the words for 'income' (from property of any sort, more comprehensive than 'interest' on money, though sometimes specialized in this direction, and than produce of land) meant literally what 'comes in' or 'comes back' or is 'taken in'. From the older period of several languages quotable examples for financial 'income' seem to be lacking.

1. Grk. *πρόσδος* 'approach' and 'income', cpd. of *πρός* 'to, toward' and a form of IE *\*sed-* in the sense shown by Grk. *ὁδός* 'way, road', ChSl. *choditi* 'go', etc. (10.47, 10.71).

NG *ἐσοδος*, new formation to *εἰσοδος* 'entrance' (*εἰσοδος*, like *πρόσ-odos*, above), the latter also sometimes 'income' in late times. Hence also NG *ἔσοδος* (mostly in pl.).

2. Lat. *fructus* 'use, enjoyment', 'products' (in widest sense) and often 'income': *fructus* 'fruit', *frui* 'enjoy', Goth. *brūkjan* 'use', etc. Walde-P. 2.208. Ernout-M. 393 f. Walde-H. 1.552.

Lat. *vectigal* 'tax, public revenues' (11.69), also used for private 'income'.

Lat. *reditus* (*u*-stem), a 'return' in lit. sense, later as commercial term 'return, revenue, income', deriv. of *red-ire* 'come back'. In this sense often written *red-ditus* (late inscr., Cassiod.) showing association with ppl. of *reddere* 'give back, return'. Replaced in VLat. by *rendita* fr. ppl. of VLat. *\*rendere* = *reddere* (11.22), hence It. *rendita*, Fr. *rente*, Sp. *renta*. REW 7141.

Rum. *venit*, fr. *veni* 'come'.

3. Nir. *teacht isteach*, lit. 'coming in' (*teacht* : *tigim* 'come', 10.48; *isteach* 'in, within', orig. 'into the house'), prob. semantic borrowing of NE *income*.

W. *cyllid*, orig.? Loth, Mots lat. 147. W. *incum*, fr. NE *income*.

Br. *leve*, fr. OFr. *levée*, fr. *lever* 'raise, lift' (10.22). Henry 185.

4. ON *taka*, late *tekja* (pl. *tekjur*, reg. in Nícel.), Dan. *indtagt*, fr. ON *taka*, Dan. *tage* 'take' (11.13).

Dan. *indkomst* (usually pl. *inkomster*), Sw. *inkomst*, NE *income*, Du. *inkomst*, NHG (pl.) *einkünfte*, more usually *einkommen*, all orig. 'in-come'. Also NHG *einnahme*, fr. *einnahmen* 'take in'.

ME, MHG, NHG *rente* (NE *rent* now obs. in this sense) fr. OFr. *rente* (above, 2). NED s.v. *rent*, sb. 1.

MHG *gülle*, *gelt*, lit. 'payment', but frequently also 'income' (cf. Lexer): OHG *gellan*, etc. 'pay' (11.81).

5. Lith. *pajamos* (pl.; now definitely established, Senn, Sprachl.), fr. *paimti* 'take in', cpd. of *imti* 'take' (11.13).

Lett. *ienākšana*, *ienākums*, fr. *ie-nākt* 'come in'.

6. ChSl. *dohodā* (only late), SCR. *dohod(ak)*, *prihod*, Boh. *důchod*, Pol. *dochód*, Russ. *dochod*, cpds. of Slavic *do* 'to', *pri* 'at', and *choditi* 'go'.

Boh. *přijem* 'reception, receipt', and 'income' (so esp. pl. *příjmy*), fr. *přijati*, *přijmouti* 'accept, receive', cpd. of *jati* = ChSl. *jeti* 'take' (11.13).

7. Skt. *āya*-, *āgama*-, fr. *ā-i*-, *ā-gam*- 'come to, approach'.

## 11.72 EXPENSE, COST

|      |                            |       |      |                         |       |                               |
|------|----------------------------|-------|------|-------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| Grk. | ἀνάλωμα, δαπάνη            | Goth. | ON   | manwīpa                 | Lith. | išlaidos, kaistas             |
| NG   | ἔξοδο (ἐκδοσις)            | Let.  | Dan. | kostnadr, kost          | Let.  | izdevumi, maksa               |
| Lat. | sumptus, impensum, impensa | Sw.   | OE   | (om)kostnad, udgift     | ChSl. | dovolā                        |
| It.  | spesa, costo               | OE    | OE   | andfengas, dagwinn      | Boh.  | trōsak, rashod                |
| Fr.  | frais, dépense, coût       | ME    | ME   | expence, cost           | Pol.  | výdaj, náklad, výloha, útrata |
| Sp.  | gasto, coste               | NE    | NE   | expence, cost, outlay   | Russ. | raschod, izderžka             |
| Rum. | cheltuială                 | Du.   | Du.  | kosten                  | Skt.  | vyaya-                        |
| Ir.  | ....                       | OHG   | OHG  | giſuori, chosta         | Av.   | ....                          |
| Nir. | costas                     | MHG   | MHG  | kost(e)                 |       |                               |
| W.   | cost, traul                | NHG   | NHG  | spesen, ausgabe, kouten |       |                               |
| Br.  | miz, dispijn, koust        |       |      |                         |       |                               |

Words for 'expense, cost' are partly from verbs for 'spend', 'pay', or 'cost' as originally 'stand at' (a price), and partly 'what goes out' or 'what is given out'. A few meant originally 'waste', hence 'excessive expense', then simply 'expense'.

Some of the words are used only as plural collectives (Fr. *frais*, NHG *spesen*, *kosten*) and many of the others, though listed in the singular, frequently so (NE *costs*, *expenses*, It. *spese*, Sp. *gastos*, NHG *ausgaben*, etc.).

1. Grk. *ἀνάλωμα*, deriv. of *ἀναλίσκω*

(fut. *ἀναλώσω* etc.) 'use up, spend', cpd. of *ἀνα*- 'up, again' and *ἀλίσκω* mostly in mid. *ἀλίσκομαι* 'be seized' (dial. *φαλίσκομαι*, *φαλόντος*): Lat. *vellere* 'pluck, tear out', Goth. *wilwan* 'seize, rob', etc. Walde-P. 1.305. Boisacq 45.

Grk. *δαπάνη*: *δάνω* 'rend, devour', Skt. *dāpaya* 'divides', etc., extension of the root *\*dā(i)-* in Grk. *δαίνομαι* 'divide, share'. Walde-P. 1.764. Boisacq 166.

NG *ἔξοδο*, usually pl. *ἐξόδα*, fr. *ἐξέρω* 'exit, issue' also frequently (inscr., Polyb. and Byz.) 'outgoing of money, expenditure', cpd. of *ἐξ* 'out' and *ὁδός* 'way'.

2. Lat. *sumptus*, fr. *sūmere* 'take, take up' (11.13) and 'spend'.

Lat. *impensum*, *impensa*, fr. *impendere* 'expend', cpd. of *pendere* 'pay' (11.65). Similarly late Lat. *expē(n)sa* > It. *spesa*, OFr. *espoise*, in learned form > Anglo-Fr. *expense* > ME, NE *expence*, *expense*; also MLat. *dispensa* or *-um* > Fr. *dépense*. Ernout-M. 751 f. NED s.v. *expense*. Wartburg 3.97.

It. *costo*, Sp. *coste* (*costo*, *costa*), OFr. *cost*, *coust* (> Br. *koust*, ME, NE *cost*) back-formations fr. vbs. It. *constare*, Sp. *costar*, OFr. *coster* 'cost', fr. Lat. *cōnstāre* 'stand fast, be settled, agreed', then in commerce (already in Plaut.) 'stand at (with abl. of price), cost'. Ernout-M. 982. REW 2170.

Hence also the loanwords in Gmc. and through Gmc. in Celtic and Slavic; also NG *kóstr* 'cost, price', but not in such common use as the vb. *κοστίζω*, e.g. *πόσο κοστίζει* 'how much does it cost, what is the price?'

Fr. *frais* (pl.), OFr. sg. *fret*, *frail*, pl. *fras*, fr. Lat. *fractum* 'broken'. Cf. OFr. *fret* 'damage by breaking', hence 'damage, expense', REW 3468. Wartburg 3.755 f.

Sp. *gasto*, also and orig. 'waste', fr. *gastar* 'waste, spend', this fr. Gmc., OHG *wuostan*, etc. 'lay waste'. REW 9168.

Rum. *cheltuială*, fr. *cheltui* 'spend, expend', fr. Hung. *költ* 'spend'. Tiktin 334.

3. Nir. *costas*, W. *cost*, fr. ME, NE *cost*.

W. *traul*, also and orig. 'wear, waste', perh. fr. a form of the root *\*ter-* 'rub' in Grk. *τεῖρα*, Lat. *terere*. Lloyd-Jones, Bull. of Celt. Stud. 2.292. G. S. Lane, Language 7.283.

Br. *miz* (and pl. *mizow*), fr. OFr. *mise* (*misse*, *mize*), lit. 'action of placing' (Fr. *mise*), but frequently found in sense of

'expense' (through notion of 'sum of money put out' for a thing), cf. Godefroy. G. S. Lane, Language 13.26.

Br. *dispijn*, fr. Lat. *dispendium* (cf. above, 2). Loth, Mots lat. 161.

4. Goth. *manwīpa* (renders *δαπάνη* Lk. 14.28, but more precisely *ἐτοιμασία* 'preparation' Eph. 6.15), fr. *manuius* 'ready', *manwjan* 'prepare'. Feist 345.

ON *kostnadr*, Dan. *omkostning* (also *be-*), Sw. (*om*)*kostnad*, fr. ON (late in this sense) *kostr*, older Dan., Sw. *kost* fr. MLG *kost(e)* = Du. *kosten*, OHG *chosta*, MHG *kost(e)*, NHG *kosten* (sg. *kost* obs.), derivs. of the vbs. MLG, MHG *kosten*, etc., fr. VLat. *costāre*, Lat. *cōnstāre* (above, 2). Falk-Torp 569. Weigand-H. 1.1127 f.

Dan. *udgift*, Sw. *utgift*, fr. MLG *ūtgift* 'what is given out', hence used like NHG *ausgabe*.

OE *andfengas* (Lk. 14.28 renders *sumptus*), pl. of *andfeng* 'assuming, reception, etc.': *fōn* (*feng*) 'take, seize'.

Semantic borrowing fr. Lat.? OE *dag-wine* 'day's pay' also glosses Lat. *expensa* and *impensum*.

ME, NE *cost*, fr. OFr. *cost*, (above, 2). ME, NE *expence*, *expense*, fr. Anglo-Fr. *expense* (above, 2).

NE *oulay*, sb. fr. *lay out*.

OHG *giſuori* (renders *sumptus* Tat. 67.12), usually 'what is advantageous or fitting' (as *giſuori* Otr. etc.): OS *gifori* 'use, advantage', ON *fari* 'opportunity', etc., fr. the root in OHG *fuoran*, etc. 'bring, lead'. Falk-Torp 291.

NHG *spesen*, fr. It. *spese*, pl. of *spesa* (above, 2). Weigand-H. 2.912.

NHG *ausgabe*, mostly in pl. *ausgaben*, lit. 'what is given out'.

5. Lith. *išlaidos*, pl. of *išlaida* 'out-let', fr. *išleisti*, intens. *išlaidyti* 'let out' and 'give out, spend'.

Lith. *kaistas*, fr. Pol. *koszt* (below).

Lett. *maksa* (so Lk. 14.28; this sense

not given by Mühl-Endz., but cf. Ulmann-Brasche s.v. *kosten*), lit. 'payment, pay', fr. Liv. or Esth. *maks* 'pay'. Mühl-Endz. 2.554 f.

Lett. *izdevumi* (so Drawneek), pl. of *izdevums* 'expenditure' fr. *iz* 'out' and *devums* 'giving, gift' (: *duot* 'give'), semantic borrowing of NHG *ausgabe(n)*.

6. ChSl. *dovolā* (for *δαπάνη* Lk. 14.28, otherwise *ἀντάρκεια* 'sufficiency'): *do-vīlāti* 'suffice'. 'Cost' fr. 'sufficient amount'. Meillet, Études 224.

SCR. *trōsak*, fr. *trōšiti* 'spend, consume' = ChSl. *trōšiti* id.: Boh., Pol. *trocha* 'a bit', root connection? Brückner 576. Miklosich 362.

SCR. *rashod*, Russ. *raschod*, cpd. of *ras-*, *raz-*, 'dis-' and *choditi* : *choditi* 'go, come' (opp. to SCR. *prihod*, *dohod*, etc. 'income', 11.75).

Boh. *výdaj*, *vydání*, Pol. *wydatek*, fr. *vy-dati*, *wy-dac* 'give out, spend'.

Boh. *náklad* (also 'load'), fr. *na-klasti* 'put on' (*klasti*, 12.12). Berneker 507.

Boh. *výloha*, fr. *vy-* 'out' and the root of *lehnouti* 'lie down', ChSl. *legā*, *lešti* (12.14), hence like NE *outlay*.

Boh. *utrata* = Russ. *utrata* 'loss', cf. Boh. *stratiti* 'lose' fr. the root in ChSl. *tratiti* 'consume' (11.33).

Pol. *koszt*, fr. MHG *kost*. Brückner 260. Berneker 586.

Russ. *izderžka*, fr. *izderžat* 'spend, consume', cpd. of *deržat* 'hold, keep'.

7. Skt. *vyaya*-, lit. 'disappearance, loss' (as adj. 'passing away, liable to change'), fr. *vi-* 'disperse, be lost, perish', cpd. of *i-* 'go' (cf. Uhlenbeck 298 s.v. *vyayati*).

## 11.73 PROFIT

|      |                        |       |      |                               |       |                 |
|------|------------------------|-------|------|-------------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | κέρδος                 | Goth. | ON   | gawaurki                      | Lith. | pėlnas          |
| NG   | κέρδος                 | Let.  | Dan. | abati, agōði                  | Let.  | pel'n'a         |
| Lat. | lucrum                 | Sw.   | OE   | gewinst, fortjeneste, udbytte | ChSl. | pribytkū        |
| It.  | profito, guadagno      | Sw.   | OE   | vinst, fortjānst              | Boh.  | zisk, výdělek   |
| Fr.  | profit, gain           | ME    | ME   | (ge)strōn                     | Pol.  | zysek           |
| Sp.  | ganancia               | NE    | NE   | profit, gain                  | Russ. | pribyl'         |
| Rum. | profit, câștig, folos  | Du.   | Du.  | winst, gevin                  | Skt.  | lābha-, prāpta- |
| Ir.  | lorbe, sochar, somaine | OHG   | OHG  | giſtriūni, giwin              | Av.   | jōyā-           |
| Nir. | tairbhe, sochar        | NHG   | NHG  | gevin                         |       |                 |
| W.   | elw, ennill            |       |      |                               |       |                 |
| Br.  | gounid                 |       |      |                               |       |                 |

'Profit' is understood here as a commercial term, but most of the words listed are also used for 'gain, profit' in the wider sense. They are mostly from verbs for 'gain, earn, win' or the like. But in one case the underlying notion is 'skill' or 'craftiness'.

1. Grk. *κέρδος*, sense of 'profit' fr. 'skill' or (as first pejorative in feeling) 'craftiness', shown in pl. *κέρδεα* 'cunning arts, wiles' and *κεράλειος* 'crafty, wily': Ir. *cerd* 'art, handicraft', W. *cerdd* 'art, poetry, music'. Walde-P. 1.423.

2. Lat. *lucrum* (prob. fr. *\*lu-llo-m*) : Ir. *lōg*, 'price', Goth. *laun*, etc. 'reward, wages', Grk. *ἀρο-λαίω* 'enjoy', *λεία* 'booty', ChSl. *loviti* 'hunt', etc. Walde-P. 2.379 f. Ernout-M. 564. Walde-H. 1.826.

Fr. *profit* (> It. *profitto*, Rum. *profit*), fr. Lat. *profectus* 'progress, increase, growth, success', fr. *proficere* 'advance, derive advantage, profit'. REW 6769.

It. *guadagno*, Fr. *gain*, fr. vbs. It. *guadagnare*, Fr. *gagner* (OFr. *gaaigner*) 'gain, earn', fr. a Gmc. (Langob. or

Frank.) *\*waidenjan* : OHG *weidenen* 'hunt, pasture', ON *veiða* 'hunt', etc. REW 9483. Gamillscheeg 451.

Sp. *ganancia*, fr. *ganar* 'win, gain', orig. dub., perh. fr. a Goth. form belonging with OE *ginnan*, *gānian*, etc.

'yawn, gape' (4.52), with semantic development through 'open the mouth for, snap at'. Cf. the equally radical change in OE (Lindisf.) *giwin* 'ask for' : OHG *giwen* 'yawn' (Sievers, Anglia 16.98 f.).

Diez 155, 175. REW 3637a.

Rum. *câștig*, fr. *câștiga* 'earn, win', dial. also 'be concerned about something, give attention to something', fr. Lat. *castigare* 'punish, chastise, correct'. REW 1746.

7. Skt. *āya*-, *āgama*-, fr. *ā-i*-, *ā-gam*- 'come to, approach'.

ME, NE *profit*, fr. OFr. *profit* (above).

Late ME *gayne*, NE *gain*, fr. OFr. *gain* (above).

Du. *winst*, (ge)win, OHG *giwin*, MHG *gevin* (earlier also 'battle, exertion' then 'acquisition by battle, earnings, gain'), NHG *gewinn*, fr. Du. *winnen* 'gain, earn', OHG *giwinnan* 'acquire by battle, effort, etc.', NHG *gewinnen* 'gain, earn, etc.'. Weigand-H. 1.719.

5. Lith. *pėlnas*, Lett. *pel'n'a*, beside Lith. *pelynti*, Lett. *pelnīt* 'gain, earn' : ChSl. *plēnū* 'booty', Skt. *paṇa*- 'gaming, wager'. Walde-P. 2.51. Mühl-Endz. 3.197.

6. ChSl. *pribytkū*, SCR. *dobit(ak)* : Bulg. *dobitak*, Boh. *dobytek* 'cattle', etc., SCR. *bilak*, Boh., Russ. *byt* 'being', fr. the root in ChSl. *byti* 'be' (cf. SCR. *dobyti* 'get', 11.16). Berneker 113 f.

Boh. *zisk*, Pol. *zysk*, fr. *ziskati*, *zyskać* 'gain', cpds. of *z-* and Boh. (old) *jiskati*, Pol. *iskać* 'seek' (old, now 'louse'), ChSl. *iskati* 'seek', etc. (11.31). Berneker 433.

Boh. *výdělek* ('earnings', also 'profit'), fr. *výdělati* 'earn (11.79), make, work'.

4. Goth. *gawaurki* (renders *κέρδος* Ph. 1.21, 3.7, also *παγαυαρία*, *πορισμός* 'occupation, providing') : *gawaurkjan* 'per-

## 11.76 RENT, LEASE (From Another)

|      |                       |       |                    |       |              |
|------|-----------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|--------------|
| Grk. | μισθώμας              | Goth. | ...                | Lith. | pasamdyti    |
| NG   | ἐνοικιάζω             | ON    | leiga              | Lett. | irēt, nuomāi |
| Lat. | condūcere             | Dan.  | leje               | ChSl. | (najeti)     |
| It.  | prendere a pigione    | Sw.   | hyra               | SCR.  | najmiti      |
| Fr.  | louer                 | OE    | (hȳrian)           | Boh.  | najmouti     |
| Sp.  | alquilar, arrendar    | ME    | hire               | Pol.  | najac        |
| Rum. | închiria              | NE    | rent, lease (hire) | Russ. | nanjat'      |
| Ir.  | (gaibim ar fochruic)  | Du.   | huren              |       |              |
| NIr. | gabhaim ar thuarastal | OHG   | (gi)mieten         |       |              |
| W.   | cyflogi, rhentu       | MHG   | mieten             |       |              |
| Br.  | feurmi                | NHG   | mieten             |       |              |

1. Grk. μισθώμας, mid. of μισθός 'lease' (11.75).

NG ἐνοικιάζω, also 'lease' (11.75).

2. Lat. *condūcere*, lit. 'lead, bring together', then 'hire' (laborers, servants, etc.) and extended to objects 'rent', cpd. of *dūcere* 'lead'. Ernout-M. 286.

It. *prendere a pigione* 'take on rent', cf. *dare a pigione* 'lease' (11.75).

Fr. *louer*, Sp. *alquilar*, *arrendar*, Rum. *închiria*, all also 'lease' (11.75).

3. Ir. *gaibim ar fochruic* (quotable?), lit. 'take on pay, wages' (cf. *tabrainm ar fochruic* 'lease', 11.75).

NIr. *gabhaim ar thuarastal*, lit. 'take on wages' (*thuarastal* 'wages, salary', 11.78).

W. *cyflogi*, less usually uncompound *llogi*, fr. Lat. *locāre* 'lease' (11.75). Loth. Mots lat. 182.

W. *rhentu*, also 'lease' (11.75).

Br. *feurmi*, also 'lease' (11.75).

4. ON *leiga*, Dan. *leje* 'rent, hire' (but Sw. *lega* mostly of persons): ON *ljā*,

Goth. *leihtuan* 'lend', etc. (11.61). Falk-Torp 632.

OE *hȳrian* 'hire' a person, in 13th. cent. also 'hire' a ship, a mare, ME *hire* (also a house, etc.), NE *hire* (still mostly persons, but also a horse, carriage, etc.), Du. *huren*, Sw. *hyra* 'hire' and 'rent', see under 'hire' (11.77).

NE *rent*, *lease*, both also 'lease' (11.75).

OHG (*gi*)*mieten*, MHG *mieten*, earlier (and so mostly in OHG) 'pay, bribe, take into one's pay', fr. OHG *miala*, *miete* (NHG *miete*) 'pay' (11.78).

5. Lith. *pasamdyti*, cpd. of *samdyti* 'lease' (11.75).

Lett. *irēt*, fr. MLG *hüren* 'hire' (11.77). Mühl.-Endz. 1.837.

Lett. *nuomāi*, fr. *nuoma* (sb.) 'rent': *nemī* (dial. beside *n'emī*) 'take' (11.13). Mühl.-Endz. 2.818, 815.

6. SCR. *najmiti*, etc., general Slavic words (but ChSl. *najeti* in Gospels only of hiring persons), cpds. of ChSl. *jeti*, etc. 'take, seize' (11.13).

## 11.77 HIRE (vb., a Person)

|      |                       |       |                       |       |                  |
|------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | μισθώμας              | Goth. | ...                   | Lith. | pasamdyti        |
| NG   | μισθώω                | ON    | leiga                 | Lett. | derēt            |
| Lat. | condūcere             | Dan.  | hyre, leie            | ChSl. | najeti           |
| It.  | prendere a servizio   | Sw.   | hyra, lega            | SCR.  | najmiti          |
|      | fissare               | OE    | hȳrian                | Boh.  | najmouti         |
| Fr.  | louer, engager        | ME    | hire                  | Pol.  | najac            |
| Sp.  | alquilar              | NE    | hire                  | Russ. | nanjat', rjadit' |
| Rum. | tocmi                 | Du.   | huren                 |       |                  |
| Ir.  | (gaibim ar faichill)  | OHG   | (gi)mieten (gileiten) |       |                  |
| NIr. | fostuighim            | MHG   | mieten, dīngen        |       |                  |
| W.   | cyflogi, llogi, hurio | NHG   | mieten, dīngen        |       |                  |
| Br.  | gopra                 |       |                       |       |                  |

Verbs for 'hire' with reference to persons, are mostly used also in the sense 'rent' of objects, and have been already discussed (11.76). A few, which are used entirely in the former sense or belong here primarily, are discussed here.

1. NG *μισθώω*, in form fr. Grk. *μισθώω* 'lease' (11.75), but semantically as if a new deriv. of *μισθός* 'wages', and used mostly for 'hire' (persons).

2. It. *prendere a servizio* (used of hiring servants, etc.), lit. 'take in service'.

It. *fissare*, lit. 'fix', hence also 'come to an agreement, engage, hire', fr. VLat. *\*fizāre*, fr. *fixus* pple. of *figere* 'fix, fasten'. REW 3335.

Fr. *engager*, fr. *gage(s)* 'wages' (11.78).

Rum. *tocmi*, lit. 'bring to order, agree, stipulate', fr. Slavic, ChSl. *tukūmiti* 'compare, liken'. Tiktin 1619.

3. Ir. *gaibim ar faichill* (quotable ?), lit. 'take on wages'; cf. *ocus nī fuil ar cur na ar faichill* 'and (if) he is not on placement or hire' (Laws 3.384 1.17), with *foichell* 'wages, pay' (11.78).

NIr. *fostuighim*, lit. 'fasten, hold, secure' (cf. *fosta* 'prop, buttress'), hence also 'engage, hire'.

W. *hurio*, fr. NE *hire*.

Br. *gopra*, fr. *gopr* 'wages, pay', (11.78).

4. OE (*ā*)*hȳrian*, ME, NE *hire*, MLG *hüren* (> Dan. *hyre*, Sw. *hyra*), Du. *huren* (MHG *hüren* 'hire' a horse and wagon, NHG *heuren* 'hire' esp. sailors), all primarily 'hire', but several also 'rent' (11.76) or even 'lease' (11.75), etym.? NED s.v. *hire*, vb. Falk-Torp 445. Weigand-H. 1.859.

OHG *gileiten*, lit. 'lead', but twice 'hire' in Tat. 109.1 after Lat. *condūcere*.

OHG, MHG *dingen* 'negotiate' (esp. in a court), settle by agreement' (fr. OHG *dinc* 'legal negotiation'), then esp. 'take into one's service on agreed terms, engage', in NHG 'hire' (formerly a horse, carriage, etc., now persons, esp. workmen; *mieten* still 'hire' of personal servants). Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 109, 349).

5. Lett. *derēt*, lit. 'come to an agreement': Lith. *derėti* 'bargain', etc. Mühl.-Endz. 1.456.

6. Russ. *rjadit'*: *rjad* 'row, range, order', ChSl. *redū* 'order', etc.

## 11.78 WAGES, PAY

|      |                        |       |                       |       |                  |
|------|------------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | μισθός                 | Goth. | mizdō, laun           | Lith. | alga             |
| NG   | μισθός                 | ON    | leiga, kaup, laun     | Lett. | alga             |
| Lat. | mercēs                 | Dan.  | løn, betalning        | ChSl. | mizda            |
| It.  | paga, salario, soldo   | Sw.   | lön, betalning        | SCR.  | plāca            |
| Fr.  | salair, gages, paye    | OE    | mēd, meord, lēan      | Boh.  | mzda, plat       |
| Sp.  | suelto, paga, alquilar | ME    | hire, wage(s), pay    | Pol.  | placa            |
| Rum. | leață, plată           | NE    | wages, pay            | Russ. | plata, žalovan'e |
| Ir.  | fochric, foichell,     | Du.   | loon, betalning       | Skt.  | vetana-, bhṛti-  |
|      | tuarastal              | OHG   | mizda, lön            | Av.   | zamanā-, dātra-  |
| NIr. | tuarastal, pād         | MHG   | miete, lön, sold      |       |                  |
| W.   | cyflog, hur            | NHG   | lohn, sold, bezahlung |       |                  |
| Br.  | gopr                   |       |                       |       |                  |

Many of the words for 'wages, pay' (for work done), including an inherited group, rest on the more generic notion of 'reward'. Others are simply 'pay', derivatives of the verbs for 'pay'. Some are from notions like 'pledge, bargain, price', etc.

Besides the generic terms there are others of more restricted scope. Thus NG μερο-κάματο 'day's work' and 'day's wages', similarly Sp. *journal*, SCR. *nadnica* (cf. It. *mesata* 'month's wages', etc.). For 'soldier's pay', Lat. *stipendium*, whence NE *stipend* formerly 'soldier's pay', but now applied to the pay of clergymen, professors, etc. (cf. NED) where *salary* would be U.S. usage, similarly It. *stipendio*, etc.; cf. also below, It. *salario*, etc. and It. *soldo*, etc.

The application to particular classes is highly idiomatic. For example the pay of a university professor is *stipend* in England (cf. NED) but *salary* in U.S., *traitement* in France, *stipendio* in Italy, *gehalt* in Germany, etc. Such special terms (for the great variety in French, cf. Vendryes, Le langage 263) are omitted in the following, except so far as they have become more generic.

1. IE *\*mizdho-* in words for 'reward' and 'wages, pay', root connection? Walde-P. 2.301. Feist 364 f.

Grk. *μισθός*; Goth. *mizdō*, OE *meord*, and *mēd* (NE *meed* poet. 'reward'), OHG *mizda*, MHG *miete* (NHG mostly

'rent'), OS *mēda*; ChSl. *mizda*, Boh. *mzda* (Russ. *mzda* 'reward, profit', Pol. obs.); Skt. *mīdha-* 'contest', Av. *mīdā-* 'reward' (always in religious sense), NPers. *muzal* 'reward, wages'.

2. Lat. *mercēs*, *-ēdis*, also 'price paid for merchandise': *merx*, *-ctē* 'merchandise', *mercāri* 'trade', outside connections? Walde-P. 2.283. Ernout-M. 611. Walde-H. 2.78 f.

It., Sp. *paga*, Fr. *paye*, fr. It. *pagare*, etc. 'pay' (11.65).

Fr. *gages* ('wages' of a domestic), pl. of *gage* 'pledge' (11.67).

It., Sp. *salario*, Anglo-Fr. *salair* (> ME *salair*, NE *salary*), Fr. *salair* (> Rum. *salariu*, re-formed after Lat.), all book words but used in part for 'wages' with varied application (Fr. *salair* now 'wages' of a workman), fr. Lat. (post-Aug.) *salārium* 'stipend, allowance', orig. the soldier's 'salt-money', fr. *sāl* 'salt'. Ernout-M. 887. Gamillscheg 780.

It. *soldo* (> MHG *solt*, NHG *sold*), Sp. *suelto* 'soldier's pay', but also more generic (esp. Sp.), fr. late Lat. *sol(i)dus)*, name of a coin then 'soldier's pay' (whence the Eur. words for 'soldier').

Sp. *alquilar* ('wages' and 'rent'), see vb. *alquilar* 'rent', 11.75.

Rum. *leață*, fr. Turk. (Arab.) *ulufe* (pl.) 'wages'. Tiktin 897. Berneker 683. Lokotsch 2132.

Rum. *plătă*, fr. Slavic, below, 6.

## 11.79 EARN

|      |                  |       |                     |       |                     |
|------|------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | κτάομαι, ἔρνομαι | Goth. | ...                 | Lith. | pelnyti, uždirbti   |
| NG   | κερδίζω          | ON    | vinna               | Lett. | pelnīt              |
| Lat. | merēre           | Dan.  | fortjene            | ChSl. | ...                 |
| It.  | guadagnare       | Sw.   | fortjēna            | SCR.  | zaraditi            |
| Fr.  | gagner           | OE    | (ge)earnian         | Boh.  | vydělati            |
| Sp.  | ganar            | ME    | erne, arne          | Pol.  | zapracować, zarobić |
| Rum. | cistiga          | NE    | earn                | Russ. | zarabotat'          |
| Ir.  | saothruighim     | Du.   | verdienen           |       |                     |
| NIr. | ennill           | OHG   | ferdienon, (g)arnēn |       |                     |
| W.   | gounit           | MHG   | verdienēn, arnen    |       |                     |
| Br.  | gounit           | NHG   | verdienēn           |       |                     |

NIr. *pād*, *pāgh*, fr. NE *pay*.

W. *cyflog*, fr. *cyflogi* 'rent, hire' (11.76).

W. *hur*, fr. ME *hur* (below).

4. Goth. *mizdō*, etc., above, 1.

Goth. *laun*, ON *laun*, Dan. *løn*, Sw. *lön*, OE *lohn*, Du. *lohn*, OHG, MHG *lön*, NHG *lohn*, all in older periods mostly 'reward', prob.: Ir. *lōg*, *lūag* 'price, reward' (11.87), Lat. *lucrum* 'gain, profit' (11.73), Grk. *λεία* 'booty', etc. Walde-P. 2.379. Falk-Torp 681. Feist 325.

ON *leiga*: *leiga* 'rent, hire' (11.76).

ON *kaup* (also 'bargain'), fr. *kaupa* 'buy' (11.81).

Dan. *betaling*, Sw. *betaling*, Du. *betaling*, NHG *bezahlung*: Dan. *betale*, etc. 'pay' (11.65).

ME, NE *hire* (the labourer is worthy of

his hire in NT, but now obs. or dial.): vb. *hire* (11.77).

ME *wage(s)*, NE *wages*, fr. OFr. *wage*, *guage* 'pledge, wage' (Fr. *gages*, above, 2).

ME, NE *pay*: vb. *pay* (11.65).

MHG *solt*, NHG *sold*, fr. It. *soldo* (above, 2).

5. Lith., Lett. *alga* (OPruss. gen. sg. *ālgas*): Grk. *ἀλγή* 'produce, gain', Skt. *argha-*, Av. *arajah-* 'value, price' (11.87), Skt. *arh-*, Av. *araj-* 'be worth'. Walde-P. 1.91.

6. ChSl. *mizda*, Boh. *mzda*, above, 1. SCR. *plāca*, Boh. *plat*, Pol. *placa*, Russ. *plata*: SCR. *platiiti*, etc. 'pay' (11.65).

Russ. *žalovan'e*: *žalovat'* 'grant, bestow'.

7. Skt. *vetana-*, etym.? Uhlenbeck 295.

Skt. *bhṛti-* (also 'support, maintenance, food'), fr. *bhr-* 'bear, carry'. Uhlenbeck 205.

Av. *zamanā-*, etym.? Barth. 1690 f.

Av. *dātra-*, prob. as orig. 'fixed sum', fr. *dā-* = Skt. *dā-* 'put, place' (cf. Skt. *dhana-* 'property, wealth, money' fr. same root). Barth. 733. Otherwise (: Skt. *dātra-* 'share, property', fr. *dā-* 'give') Walde-P. 1.715.

'Earn' in the sense of 'get by labor' (NE *earn wages*, *earn one's bread*, etc.) is in many languages merely covered by the more generic 'get' or 'gain'. This is

probably the case also where no words are entered in the list. Where there are more distinctive terms, they are mostly based on the notion of labor or service.

Even where there are such, the use of 'get' or the like may be the more colloquial, e.g. NE *how much do you get a day?*

1. Grk. *μισθοφορέω* and *μισθοπαρέω*, cpds. of *μισθός* 'wages' with *φορέω* 'carry, bear' or *ἄρνημαι* 'win, gain', are used for 'receive wages, work for wages', but not with other object of the amount earned.

Grk. *κτάομαι* 'get, obtain' (11.16) or *ἄρνημαι* 'win, gain' would cover 'get by labor, earn'.

NG *κερδίζω*, or *κερδαίνω*, fr. *κέρδος* 'gain, profit' (11.73), is 'gain' by business or by labor.

NG *βγάζω*, aor. *ἔβγαλα* (fr. Grk. *ἐκβάλλω*) 'take out', etc., also 'earn', as *βγάζω τὸ ψωμί μου* 'I earn my bread'.

2. Lat. *merēre* 'deserve, gain, earn': Grk. *μέρος* 'share', *μείρομαι* 'receive one's share', etc. Walde-P. 2.690. Ernout-M. 609 f. Walde-H. 2.75 f.

It. *guadagnare*, Fr. *gagner*, Sp. *ganar*, Rum. *cistiga*, all 'gain' and 'earn', see sb. 'gain, profit' (11.73).

3. NIr. *saothruigim* 'labor' and 'earn', fr. *saoth-* beside *saothar* 'labor' (9.12) and *ruigim* = *rigim* 'reach, attain', Ir. *rigim* 'stretch out, extend' (: Lat. *regere* 'direct, rule', etc.; Pedersen 2.593 ff.).

4. OE *ferdianon* (Notker), *irthonon* (Otr.), MHG, NHG, Du. *verdienēn*, and (prob. semantic borrowing), Dan. *fortjene*, Sw. *fortjāna*, cpds. of OHG *diēnōn*, etc. 'serve', deriv. of words for 'slave', OHG *deo*, Goth. *þius*, etc. (19.42). Weigand-H. 2.1143, 1.355.

5. Lith. *pelnyti*, Lett. *pelnīt*, see Lith. *pelnas* 'gain, profit' (11.73).

Lith. *uždirbti*, lit. 'work out', cpd. of *dirbti* 'work' (9.13).

6. SCR. *zaraditi*, Boh. *vydělati*, Pol. *zapracować*, *zarobić*, Russ. *zarabotat'*, all cpds. of vbs. for 'work', SCR. *raditi*, etc. (9.13).

W. *ennill* 'gain, earn', fr. sb. *ennill* 'gain' (11.73).

Br. *gounit* 'gain, earn', fr. sb. *gounid* 'gain' (11.73).

4. ON *vinna* 'work' (9.13), 'gain, win', also 'earn'.

OE (*ge*)*earnian*, ME *erne*, *arne*, NE *earn*, OHG *arnēn*, *garnēn*, MHG *arnen* ('earn' and 'reap'): Goth. *asans* 'harvest', Goth. *asneis*, OHG *asni* 'hiring' (*μισθαρός*, Jn. 10.12, 13), OE *esne* 'servant', root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.77, 161. Feist 59. NED s.v. *earn*, vb.1.

OHG *ferdienon* (Notker), *irthonon* (Otr.), MHG, NHG, Du. *verdienēn*, and (prob. semantic borrowing), Dan. *fortjene*, Sw. *fortjāna*, cpds. of OHG *diēnōn*, etc. 'serve', deriv. of words for 'slave', OHG *deo*, Goth. *þius*, etc. (19.42). Weigand-H. 2.1143, 1.355.

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Lith. *uždirbti*, lit. 'work out', cpd. of *dirbti* 'work' (9.13).

6. SCR. *zaraditi*, Boh. *vydělati*, Pol. *zapracować*, *zarobić*, Russ. *zarabotat'*, all cpds. of vbs. for 'work', SCR. *raditi*, etc. (9.13).

There are two main lines of development in the history of words for 'buy' and 'sell'. Either they are derived from some notion common to both, as 'trade', 'price', 'tradesman', 'market place', with differentiation into 'buy' or 'sell', which are therefore often expressed by cognate forms. Or, conversely, words for 'take, obtain' and 'give', by absorbing the notion of trade from the situation, are specialized to 'take in trade, buy' and 'give in trade, sell'.

1. IE *k<sup>u</sup>rei-*, *k<sup>u</sup>ri-*. Walde-P. 1.523 f.

Grk. aor. *ἐπράμην* (reg. aor. for 'buy' Hom.+ and in dialects); Ir. *crenim*, W. *prymu*, Br. *prena* 'buy'; ORuss. *krinuti*, *krenuti* 'buy' (Berneker 633); Skt. *kri-* 'buy', *vi-kri-* 'sell', NPers. *zaridan* 'buy' (no Av. form quotable). Cf. O.Lith.

Grk. aor. *ἐπράμην* (reg. aor. for 'buy' Hom.+ and in dialects); Ir. *crenim*, W. *prymu*, Br. *prena* 'buy'; ORuss. *krinuti*, *krenuti* 'buy' (Berneker 633); Skt. *kri-* 'buy', *vi-kri-* 'sell', NPers. *zaridan* 'buy' (no Av. form quotable). Cf. O

'merchant', fr. *neguša* 'traffic, haggle, bargain', fr. Lat. *negōtiārī* (above). Tiktin 1048.

3. Ir. (?), Nlr. usually a phrase ('there is trade') with sbs. for 'trade', either *tracht* (also 'treatment, course', etc.; fr. Lat. *tractus*) or *ceannaidheacht* (fr. *ceannuighim* 'buy'). Cf. also *diol agus ceannacht* 'selling and buying' (Z. celt. Ph. 9.140.2).

W. *masnachu*, fr. *masnach* 'business, trade', orig.?

Br. *prena ha gwerza* 'buy and sell' = 'trade' (Vallée s.v. *trafiqwer*).

Br. *kenwerza*, cpd. of *ken* 'cum' (cf. Ernault s.v.) and *gwerza* 'sell'.

4. Goth. *kaupōn*, ON *kaupa*, OE *cēpian*, OHG *koufen*, etc., see 11.81, 11.82.

ON *manga*, OE *mangian*, ME *mange*, OS *mangōn*, fr. Lat. *mangō* 'dealer, monger' (who adorns his wares to give them an appearance of greater value), beside *mangōnium* 'displaying of wares', prob. loanword based on Grk. *μάγγανον* 'means of charming or bewitching'. Walde-P. 2.233. Ernout-M. 588. Walde-H. 2.28 f. NED s.v. *mong*, vb.<sup>1</sup>

ME *marchaunde*, fr. OFr. *marcheander* (Fr. *marchander* 'haggle, bargain'), fr. *marchand* 'merchant' (11.84). NED s.v. NE *trade* orig. (early NE) 'tread (a path), traverse (the sea), lead (one's life)', etc., then (like Grk. *ἐμπορεύομαι*, above) 'resort to a place for the sake of business, carry on trade', fr. sb. *trade*, orig. 'course, way, path', fr. MLG *trade*

'track' = OHG *trata* 'track, trace, way', etc. : OE *treðan*, NE *tread*, etc. NED s.v.

Du. *handelen*, NHG *handeln* (> Dan. *handle*, Sw. *handla*), in this sense specialization of more general 'treat', orig. 'handle, touch with the hands', MHG *handeln*, OHG *hantalon*, fr. *hanī* 'hand'. Weigand-H. 1.806. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 240. Falk-Torp 378.

5. Lith. *pirkliauti*, beside *pirklys* 'merchant', fr. *pirkti* 'buy' (11.81).

Lith. *prekiauti*, fr. *prekė* 'wares, merchandise' (formerly 'trade' and 'price'; see 11.87), this also : *pirkti* 'buy'.

Lett. *tirguot*, fr. *tirgus* 'market place' (11.85).

6. ChSl. *kuplja dējati* (renders *πραγματεύεσθαι* Lk. 19.13), also *kuplja súvoriti* (*διαπραγματεύεσθαι* Lk. 19.15), lit. 'make trade', with *kuplja* fr. *kupiti* 'buy' (11.81).

Scr. *trgovati*, Russ. *torgovat'*, fr. SCR. *trg*, Russ. *torg* 'market place' (11.85).

Boh. *kupěti*, Pol. *kupczyk*, fr. Boh. *kupec*, Pol. *kupiec* 'merchant': ChSl. *kupiti* 'buy'.

Boh. *obchoditi* or *obchod vesti* (with *vesti* 'lead, carry on') fr. *obchod* 'commerce, business', cpd. of *ob* 'around, about' and *chod* 'passage, gait' (: *choditi* 'go, walk', etc.).

Pol. *handlować*, fr. NHG *handeln*. Brückner 168.

7. Skt. *vāṇijyam kr-*, lit. 'make, do trade', with *vāṇijya* 'trade, traffic', fr. *vāṇij-* 'merchant' (11.84).

## 11.84 MERCHANT, TRADESMAN

|      |                         |       |                             |       |                   |
|------|-------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk. | ἐμπόρος, κάπηλος        | Goth. | .....                       | Lith. | pirklys (kupėjus) |
| NG   | ἐμπόρος                 | ON    | kaupmaðr                    | Lett. | tirguotajs        |
| Lat. | mercātor, negotiātor    | Dan.  | købmænd                     | ChSl. | kuplet            |
| It.  | mercante, commerciante  | Sw.   | köpmann, handlare           | SCR.  | trgovac           |
| Fr.  | marchand, commerçant    | OE    | mangere, cnapman            | Boh.  | kupec, obchodník  |
| Sp.  | mercader, comerciante   | ME    | marchaund, chapman          | Pol.  | kupec, tolgovec   |
| Rum. | negustor, comerciant    | NE    | merchant, tradesman, trader | Russ. | kupec, tolgovec   |
| Ir.  | cennaiqe                | Du.   | koopman                     | Skt.  | .....             |
| Nlr. | cennaiqe                | OHG   | koufman                     | Av.   | .....             |
| W.   | cennaiqe                | MHG   | koufman                     |       |                   |
|      | masnachydd, marsi-andur | NHG   | kaufmann, händler           |       |                   |
| Br.  | mar'chadour             |       |                             |       |                   |

Most of the words for 'merchant, tradesman' are connected with those for 'trade', 'buy', or 'market place', discussed elsewhere.

1. Grk. ἐμπόρος 'traveler', then 'merchant', esp. one who trades on a large scale, usually but not necessarily by sea, with ἐμπορία and ἐμπορεία, becoming the usual generic sb. and vb. for 'trade', all : πόρος 'passage, ford', πορεία 'convey', περάω 'traverse', OE *faran* 'go, travel', etc. Cf. the use of the same root in words for 'sell' or 'buy', Grk. πείρωμι, Lith. *pirkti*, etc. (11.81). Walde-P. 2.39. Boisacq 248.

Grk. κάπηλος, the 'local retail dealer, shopkeeper' (also 'tavern-keeper'), etym.? Boisacq 408.

On the distinction between ἐμπόρος and κάπηλος, see now M. I. Finkelstein, Cl. Ph. 30.320 ff.

Grk. πραγματευτής 'merchant' (Plut. +, Byz.), but NG 'small tradesman' or 'pedler', fr. πραγματεύομαι 'trade' (11.83).

2. Lat. *mercātor*, fr. *mercārī* 'trade' (11.83).

Lat. *negōtiātor*, fr. *negōtiārī* 'trade' (11.83), whence also Rum. *negustor* through vb. *neguša*. Tiktin 1048.

It. *mercante*, older *mercaltante*, Fr. *marchant*, (Cat. >) Sp. *mercader*, derivs. of It. *mercato*, Fr. *marché*, Sp. *mercado*, etc. 'market' (11.85). REW 5516.

It. *commerciant*, Fr. *commerçant*, Sp., Rum. *comerciant*, fr. It. *commerciant*, etc. 'trade' (11.83).

3. Ir. *cennaiqe*, Nlr. *ceannaidhe* beside Ir. *cennach* 'purchase' and 'redeeming' (K. Meyer, Contrib. 343), cf. also *cendaige*, *cendaihe* 'bequest', also 'head-money' (so translated by Atkinson, Laws 1.185), all apparently fr. Ir. *cend*, Nlr. *ceann* 'head'. 'Purchase (price)' perh. as 'sum paid per capita'? On suffix cf. Pedersen 2.23.

W. *masnachydd*, fr. *masnachu* 'trade' (11.83).

W. *marshandur*, lit. 'merchant-man', *marshand*, fr. ME *marcha(u)nd*.

Br. *mar'chadour*, fr. *mar'chad* 'market' (11.85).

4. ON *kaupmaðr*, Dan. *købmænd*, Sw. *köpmann*, OE *cēpman*, ME *chapman*, Du. *koopman*, OHG *koufman*, NHG *kaufmann*, fr. ON *kaupa*, OE *cēapan*, OHG *koufen*, etc. 'trade' (11.83), with words for 'man'.

Sw. *handlare*, NHG *händler*, fr. Sw. *handla*, NHG *handeln* 'trade' (11.83).

ME *marcha(u)nd*, NE *merchant*, fr. Fr. *marchant* (above, 2).

NE *trader*, *tradesman*, fr. vb. *trade* (11.83).

5. Lith. *pirklys*, fr. *pirkti* 'buy' (11.81).

Lith. *prekiautojas*, fr. *prekiauti* 'trade'

(11.83), and *prekijas*, fr. *prekė* 'merchandise', both neologisms, given by NSB s.v. *kupėjus*.

Lith. *tirguotajs* (formerly the usual word), fr. Pol. *kupiec* (below).

Lett. *tirguotajs*, also *tirguonis*, fr. *tirguot* 'trade' (11.83).

6. ChSl. *kupěti*, Boh., Russ. *kupec*, Pol. *kupec*, fr. ChSl. *kupiti*, etc. 'buy' (11.81).

SCR. *trgovac*, Russ. *torgovec*, fr. SCR. *trgovati*, Russ. *torgovat'* 'trade' (11.83).

Boh. *obchodník*, fr. *obchoditi* 'trade' (11.83).

7. Skt. *vāṇij-* (also *vāṇij-*, *vāṇija-*, etc.), perh. fr. \**vāṇij-* : OE *waru* 'wares', *weorþ* 'worth, price', etc., but doubtful. Uhlenbeck 268. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. 1.192.

OE *cēapstōw*, cpd. of *cēap* : *cēapian* 'trade' (11.83), and *stōw* 'place'.

5. Lith. *turgus*, Lett. *tirgus*, fr. Slavic (below, 7).

Lith. *rinka* (beside *rinkė* 'ring') fr. MHG *rinc* 'ring, circle', with sense of market place through Slavic influence (Pol. *rynek*, etc., below).

6. ChSl. *trǫgū*, SCR. *trg*, Boh. *trh*, Pol. *targ*, Russ. *torg* (now arch.), with their

|      |                 |       |                  |       |                             |
|------|-----------------|-------|------------------|-------|-----------------------------|
| Grk. | ἀγορά           | Goth. | garuns, maþl     | Lith. | turgus, rinka               |
| NG   | παῖς, ἀγορά     | ON    | torg, mark(n)aðr | Lett. | tirgus                      |
| Lat. | forum, mercātus | Dan.  | butik, marked    | ChSl. | trǫgū, tržište, kuplja      |
| It.  | mercato         | Sw.   | torg, marknad    | SCR.  | trg, tržište                |
| Fr.  | marché          | OE    | cēapstōw, marcet | Boh.  | trh, tržište                |
| Sp.  | mercado         | ME    | market           | Pol.  | targ, rynek                 |
| Rum. | țîrg            | NE    | market           | Russ. | bazar, rynok (torg)         |
| Ir.  | cēle, marchad   | Du.   | markt            | Skt.  | paṇyavithi-, āraṇa-, vīraṇa |
| Nlr. | marchad         | OHG   | marc(h)at        | Av.   | .....                       |
| W.   | marchnad        | MHG   | mark(e)t         |       |                             |
| Br.  | march'ad        | NHG   | markt            |       |                             |

Words for 'market place' are partly connected with words for 'trade', and partly specialized from 'meeting place' or 'open place'. The spread of loanwords is extensive.

1. Grk. ἀγορά, orig. (and so only in Hom.) 'assembly, place of assembly' : ἀγείρω 'gather, assemble'.

NG *παῖς*, fr. Turk. *pazar*, this fr. Pers. *bāzār* 'market' (etym.? Horn 166). The Persian word has been the source of a general Eur. borrowing, used more or less generally for 'market' as Russ. *bazar*, or with restricted use as NE *bazaar*, Fr., Sp. *bazar*, It. *baz(z)ar*. Lokotsch 278.

2. Lat. *forum*, orig. prob. 'inclosure about a house, court' (cf. its old use for 'forecourt before a tomb'), then in general 'public place, open market place' : ChSl. *dvorǫ* 'court' and the words for 'door', Lat. *forēs*, Grk. *θύρα*, etc. (7.22). Ernout-M. 378, 383. Adversely Walde, IF 39.75 ff., Walde-H. 1.537 f.

3. Ir. *cēle* 'market, fair, gathering' (K. Meyer, Contrib. 356), Nlr. *cēde* 'an assembly, a fair' (Dinneen 183), etym.?

Mr. *marcad*, *magad*, Nlr. *margadh*, W. *marchnad*, Br. *mar'chad*, fr. Lat. *mercātus*, mostly through Norse forms (below, 4). Pedersen 1.199. Loth, Mots lat. 185. Marstrand, Bidrag 61, 154.

4. Goth. *garuns* (also *þūm* 'street', Mt. 6.2) : *garinn* 'run together'.

Goth. *maþl* = OE *maepel* 'assembly' (and 'speech'), etc., prob. : Goth. *gamōt-jan* 'meet', OE *gemōt* 'meeting', etc. Walde-P. 2.304. Feist 349 f.

ON, Sw. *torg*, Dan. *torg*, fr. Russ. *torg* (below, 6). Falk-Torp 1275. Heilquist 1205.

Lat. *mercātus* 'trade' and 'market place' (> It. *mercato*, Fr. *marché*, Sp. *mercado*) : *mercārī* 'trade' (11.83). REW 5516.

Rum. *țîrg*, fr. Slavic, ChSl. *trǫgū*, etc. (below, 6).

3. Ir. *cēle* 'market, fair, gathering' (K. Meyer, Contrib. 356), Nlr. *cēde* 'an assembly, a fair' (Dinneen 183), etym.?

Mr. *marcad*, *magad*, Nlr. *margadh*, W. *marchnad*, Br. *mar'chad*, fr. Lat. *mercātus*, mostly through Norse forms (below, 4). Pedersen 1.199. Loth, Mots lat. 185. Marstrand, Bidrag 61, 154.

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ON, Sw. *torg*, Dan. *torg*, fr. Russ. *torg* (below, 6). Falk-Torp 1275. Heilquist 1205.

1. In Grk. there was no generic term in common use (πωλητήριον : πωλέω 'sell')

being rare, and ἐργαστήριον mostly 'workshop', but rather specific words. Thus with suffix -εῖον words for the place where particular articles were made (and sold), as ἀροστοεῖον 'bake-shop', καπηλείον 'huckster's shop, tavern' (κάπηλος 'huckster, tavern keeper'), and cpds. in -πώλιον or -πωλείον, as κρεοπώλιον 'butcher's shop', ἀρτοπώλιον 'baker's shop'.

NG pop. *μαγαζί*, fr. Turk. *magaza*, this fr. Arab. *maḥzan* 'storehouse, barn'. Cf. Fr. *magasin*, etc. below.

NG *καράστημα*, class. Grk. 'state, condition', now esp. 'shop, store'. Cf. the

occasional use of NE *establishment* for a 'business house'.

2. Lat. *taberna*, orig. 'hut (of boards)' then 'booth, shop, workshop' and esp. 'inn, tavern' (in this sense in Romance, It. *taverna*, Fr. *taverne*, etc.), prob. fr. \**traberna* : *trabs* 'beam', Ir. *treb* 'dwell-ing', etc. Walde-P. 1.757. Ernout-M. 1011, 1050 (suggesting also possibility of Etruscan origin).

It. *bottega*, Fr. *boutique* (Sp. *bodega* 'wine shop, storehouse', botica 'drug store'), fr. Grk. ἀποθήκη 'storehouse' (ἀπορίθμη 'put away'). REW 531.

It. *negozio* 'trade, business', also 'place of business, shop', fr. Lat. *negōtium* 'business, affair' (cf. *negōtiārī* 'trade', 11.83).

It. *magazzino* (but chiefly 'storehouse, warehouse'), Fr. *magasin* (> Rum. *magazin*, Russ. *magazin*; also NE *magazine* in *pouder-magazine*, but mostly through 'storehouse of information' to current use), fr. Arab. *maḥzan* id. Lokotsch, 1362. REW 5240a. Berneker 2.3.

Sp. *tienda*, fr. VLat. \**tenda* 'tent' (7.14). REW 8639.

Rum. *prăvălie*, fr. Slavic, cf. Bulg. *prorǫjia* 'shop' (Bogorov, Fr.-Bulg. Dict. s.v. *boutique*), SCR. *pravlenije* 'manufacture' (: *pravit* 'make').

3. Nlr. *siopa*, W. *siop*, fr. ME *shoppe*, NE *shop*.

W. *maelfa*, cpd. of *mael* 'gain, profit' and *ma* 'place'.

Br. *stal*, fr. OFr. *estal* (Fr. *étal* 'table in a market place where goods are exposed' (now esp. of butchers, fish-mongers), Gmc. loanword, cf. OE *steall*, OHG *stal*, etc. 'stall' (3.19).

4. ON *būð*, esp. 'temporary hut or booth of traders', Sw. *(handels)bod* (ODan. \**bōð* > ME *bothe*, NE *booth*), Dan. *bod*, NHG *bude* 'booth, stall', locally 'shop' : ON *būa* 'dwell, prepare',

OHG *būan* 'dwell', etc. Falk-Torp 89. Weigand-H. 1.303. NED s.v. *booth*.

Dan., Sw. *butik*, fr. Fr. *boutique*.

Dan. *forretning*, lit. 'business', also 'place of business, shop' (cf. Dahlerup s.v. 5), fr. *forrelte* 'perform, discharge, execute'.

ME *shoppe*, NE *shop* (OE *sceoppa* 'treasury', Lk. 21.1) : OE *scypen* 'cattle-shed', OHG *scopf* 'porch, vestibule'. NED s.v. *shop*, sb.

NE *store* (U.S. and colonial = *shop*), lit. (so Brit. usually) 'supply, store of goods (of any sort)', fr. OFr. *estor* : *estorer* 'build, establish, furnish, store', Lat. *instaurāre*. NED s.v.

Although *store* definitely replaced *shop* in this sense (*shop* only as *workshop*, *blacksmith's shop*, etc.) and was the only term so used in my boyhood, the vb. *shop*, *go shopping* remained usual, and recently the sb. *shop* has been coming back, esp. for the more fashionable *shops* in the cities.

Du. *winkel*, orig. (MDu.) 'corner' = NHG *winkel*, etc. 'corner' (12.76).

NHG *laden*, MHG *lade*, *laden* rarely in this sense, mostly 'thick board, plank, window-shutter', etc., prob. : NHG *latte*, NE *lath*, etc. 'lath'. Weigand-H. 2.5. Kluge-G. 340.

Local equivalents of *laden* are *bude* 'booth', *gewölbe* 'vault', and more commonly *geschäft* 'business'. Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 315.

5. Lith. *krautuė*, also 'storehouse', fr. *krauju*, *krauti* 'heap up, hoard'.

Lett. *pārduotava*, fr. *pārduot* 'sell' (11.82).

6. SCR. *dućan*, Bulg. *djukjani*, etc., fr. Turk. *dukjan*, Arab. *dukkān* id. Lokotsch 542. Berneker 237.

Boh. *kram*, fr. MHG *kram*, NHG *kram* 'retail (trade), small (retail) shop, stall, stand', orig. dub. Walde-P. 1.591. Weigand-H. 1.1135. Berneker 606.

5. Lith. *kaina*, ChSl. *cēna*, etc., general Slavic (Russ. *cena* > Lett. *cena*) : Av. *kaēnā* 'revenge, punishment', Grk. *ποινή* 'retribution, penalty', IE \**k<sup>o</sup>-ai-nā*, fr. the root in Grk. *tiw* 'estimate, honor', *tiwās*, etc. (above, 1). Walde-P. 1.509. Berneker 124.

Lith. *kaina* is now the accepted word for 'price', whence vb. *kainoti* 'cost' in *kiek kainoja* 'how much does it cost?', etc. Cf. NSB and Hermann, Lit.-deutsches Gesprächsb. 144. Lalis and Kerschhat have *prekė* or *prekia* for 'price', but this is now 'wares' like Lett.

6. Skt. *mūlya* - prob. : *mūla* 'root, foundation'.  
Skt. *argha* - Av. *arəjah-* (NPers. *arz* 'price') : Skt. *arh-*, Av. *arəj-* 'be worth', Lith., Lett. *alga* 'wages' (11.78). Walde-P. 1.91. Barth. 192.

Av. *poraskā*, prob. (\**p<sup>rt</sup>-skā*) : Skt. *a-prata* 'without recompense', and Lat. *pretium*, etc. (above, 2). Walde-P. 2.38. Barth. 896.

4. Goth. *galaufts* = πολυτελής 'expensive', also *filu-galaufts* = πολυτιμος 'very precious' : *liufs*, ON *ljúfr*, etc. 'dear, beloved' (16.28).

ON *dýrr*, Dan., Sw. *dyr*, OE *dēore*, OHG *tiuri*, etc. in early periods 'esteemed, valued, worthy' (later 'dear, beloved') and 'dear, expensive', etym. dub. Falk-Torp 172. Weigand-H. 2.1040 f.

In parts of the U.S. *dear* is not the

|      |               |     |              |
|------|---------------|-----|--------------|
| Fr.  | <i>cher</i>   | OE  | <i>dēore</i> |
| Sp.  | <i>caro</i>   | ME  | <i>dere</i>  |
| Rum. | <i>scump</i>  | NE  | <i>dear</i>  |
| Ir.  | <i>lógmar</i> | Du. | <i>duur</i>  |
| NIr. | <i>daor</i>   | OHG | <i>tiuri</i> |
| W.   | <i>drud</i>   | MHG | <i>tiur</i>  |
| Br.  | <i>ker</i>    | NHG | <i>teuer</i> |



'thrive', etc., prob. : Skt. *ghana-* 'compact, firm', Lith. *gana* 'enough', etc. (13.18).

2. Lat. *vilis* (> It. *vile*, sometimes 'cheap' but mostly 'mean, vile'), etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.214, 312. Ernout-M. 1108.

It. *a buon mercato*, Fr. (*à bon marché*, lit. 'at good trade', with *mercato*, *marché* 'trade' (= sale, purchase), market' (11.85).

Sp. *barato*, fr. *baratar* 'buy a thing at less than its value' : It. *barattare* 'exchange', OFr. *barate* 'strife, trade, deceit', etc., a widespread group, including NE *barrat* (obs.) and *barter*, but of uncertain origin. REW 943 a (giving as source ON *baratta* 'strife' but this rather fr. OFr.). Gamillscheg 78. NED s.v. *barrat*. Diez 41.

Rum. *ieftin*, fr. Byz., NG *ειθηνός* (*ēthēnós*), above, 1. Tiktin 592.

3. Ir. word for 'cheap'?

Nlr. *saor*, orig. 'free' (19.44). The sense 'cheap' is prob. acquired by contrast with *daor* 'enslaved, captive' and 'dear, expensive' (11.88). The sense 'free' lent itself readily to 'cheap' (cf. W. *rhad*).

W. *rhad*, orig. 'gratuitous, free' = sb. *rhad* 'grace, gift' (fr. adv. and predicate noun constructions as *yn rhad* 'gratis') : Ir. *rath* 'grace, reward, success, result', etym. dub. Stokes 225. Pedersen 1.144. Thurneysen, Gram. 131.

Br. *mare'had-mat*, lit. 'good market', semantic borrowing fr. Fr. *bon marché*.

4. ON *adjirr*, OE *undōr*, ME *undere*, OHG *untūri*, MHG *untūre*, neg. cpds. of ON *adjirr*, etc., 'dear, expensive' (11.88).

ME *good chepe*, NE *cheap* (shortened fr. *good cheap*), Du. *goedkoop*, lit. 'good

bargain, trade, or market', with OE *ceap*, ME *chepe*, Du. *koop* 'trade' (= sale or purchase), market, bargain, etc.' : OE *ceapian*, etc., 'trade' (11.83). NED s.v. *cheap* sb. Cf. the It. and Fr. locution, above, 2.

NHG *billig*, MLG *billik* (> Dan., Sw. *billig*), orig. 'fair, just', like OHG *billich*, MHG *billich*, fr. \**bili-* in OE *bile-wit* 'simple, innocent', MHG *un-bil(e)-de* 'injustice, monstrosity', etc. : Ir. *bil* 'good', Grk. *φίλος* 'dear, worthy'.

Development of sense 'cheap' fr. phrases like *billiger preis*, orig. 'fair price'. Walde-P. 2.185. Falk-Torp 74. Weigand-H. 1.239. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 82.

NHG *wohlfeil*, MHG *wolveil(e)* or two words *wol veil(e)*, lit. 'easy to buy', cpd. of *wohl*, MHG *wol* 'well' and *feil*, MHG *veil(e)* 'to be sold, for sale'. Weigand-H. 2.1281.

5. Lith. *pigus*, beside *pingu*, *pigti* 'become cheap', etym.?

Lett. *lēts*, also 'easy, light' : Lith. *lētas*, *lēnas*, Lett. *lēns* 'slow, lazy, gentle', ChSl. *lēnū* 'lazy', Lat. *lēnis* 'soft', etc. Walde-P. 2.395. Mühl-Endz. 2.460, 463.

6. SCR. *jeftin*, fr. Byz., NG *ειθηνός* (*ēthēnós*), above, 1. Berneker 455.

Boh. *laciny*, in earlier use 'easy' : Pol. *łatwy*, *łacny* 'easy' (9.96).

Pol. *tani*, etym.? Brückner 565.

Russ. *deševyj*, fr. adv. *deševo* 'cheaply', etym. dub., perh. (as 'right, suitable, fitting' > 'moderate, cheap', cf. NHG *billig*, etc., above) : SCR. *u-desiti* 'set right, make right', ChSl. *desiti* 'find', etc. Or loanword? Berneker 188.

7. Skt. *alpakṛita-*, lit. 'bought for little', cpd. of *alpa-* 'little, small' and *kṛita-* fr. *kṛi-* 'buy' (11.81).

## CHAPTER 12

## SPATIAL RELATIONS: PLACE, FORM, SIZE

|        |                         |
|--------|-------------------------|
| 12.11  | PLACE (sb.)             |
| 12.12  | PUT (Place, Set, Lay)   |
| 12.13  | SIT                     |
| 12.14  | LIE                     |
| 12.15  | STAND (vb. intr.)       |
| 12.16  | REMAIN, STAY, WAIT      |
| 12.17  | REMAIN (= Be Left Over) |
| 12.18  | LEAVE                   |
| 12.19  | QUIET (adj.)            |
| 12.21  | COLLECT, GATHER         |
| 12.22  | JOIN, UNITE             |
| 12.23  | SEPARATE (vb.)          |
| 12.232 | DIVIDE                  |
| 12.24  | OPEN (vb.)              |
| 12.25  | SHUT, CLOSE (vb.)       |
| 12.26  | COVER (vb.)             |
| 12.27  | HIDE, CONCEAL           |
| 12.31  | HIGH                    |
| 12.32  | LOW                     |
| 12.33  | TOP                     |
| 12.34  | BOTTOM                  |
| 12.35  | END                     |
| 12.352 | POINT                   |
| 12.353 | EDGE                    |
| 12.36  | SIDE                    |
| 12.37  | MIDDLE (adj.)           |
| 12.38  | CENTER                  |
| 12.41  | RIGHT (adj.; vs. Left)  |
| 12.42  | LEFT (adj.; vs. Right)  |
| 12.43  | NEAR (adv.)             |
| 12.44  | FAR (adv.)              |
| 12.45  | EAST                    |
| 12.46  | WEST                    |
| 12.47  | NORTH                   |
| 12.48  | SOUTH                   |

|       |                                   |
|-------|-----------------------------------|
| 12.51 | FORM, SHAPE                       |
| 12.52 | SIZE                              |
| 12.53 | GROW                              |
| 12.54 | MEASURE (vb.)                     |
| 12.55 | LARGE, BIG (GREAT)                |
| 12.56 | SMALL, LITTLE                     |
| 12.57 | LONG                              |
| 12.58 | TALL                              |
| 12.59 | SHORT                             |
| 12.61 | WIDE, BROAD                       |
| 12.62 | NARROW                            |
| 12.63 | THICK <sup>1</sup> (in Dimension) |
| 12.64 | THICK <sup>2</sup> (in Density)   |
| 12.65 | THIN <sup>1</sup> (in Dimension)  |
| 12.66 | THIN <sup>2</sup> (in Density)    |
| 12.67 | DEEP                              |
| 12.68 | SHALLOW                           |
| 12.71 | FLAT                              |
| 12.72 | HOLLOW (= Concave)                |
| 12.73 | STRAIGHT                          |
| 12.74 | CROOKED                           |
| 12.75 | HOOK                              |
| 12.76 | CORNER                            |
| 12.77 | CROSS                             |
| 12.78 | SQUARE (sb.)                      |
| 12.81 | ROUND (adj.)                      |
| 12.82 | CIRCLE                            |
| 12.83 | SPHERE                            |
| 12.84 | LINE (sb.)                        |
| 12.85 | HOLE                              |
| 12.91 | EQUAL                             |
| 12.92 | LIKE, SIMILAR                     |
| 12.93 | CHANGE (vb.)                      |
| 12.94 | SIGN (sb.)                        |

|      |                            |       |                           |       |                             |
|------|----------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>τόπος</i>               | Goth. | <i>staþs</i>              | Lith. | <i>vieta</i>                |
| NG   | <i>τόπος</i>               | ON    | <i>staþs</i>              | Lett. | <i>vieta</i>                |
| Lat. | <i>locus</i>               | Dan.  | <i>plads, sted</i>        | ChSl. | <i>město</i>                |
| It.  | <i>luogo, posto</i>        | Sw.   | <i>plats</i>              | SCR.  | <i>mjesto</i>               |
| Fr.  | <i>lieu, place</i>         | OE    | <i>stow, stede</i>        | Boh.  | <i>město</i>                |
| Sp.  | <i>lugar, sitio</i>        | ME    | <i>stede, place</i>       | Pol.  | <i>miejsce</i>              |
| Rum. | <i>loc</i>                 | NE    | <i>place</i>              | Russ. | <i>mesto</i>                |
| Ir.  | <i>dú, ined, áit, airm</i> | Du.   | <i>plaats</i>             | Skt.  | <i>sthāna-, sthāla-</i>     |
| Nlr. | <i>maigen</i>              | OHG   | <i>stat</i> (ort)         | Av.   | <i>gātu-, asah-, stāna-</i> |
| W.   | <i>ait, ionad</i>          | MHG   | <i>stat</i> (ort)         |       |                             |
| Br.  | <i>lec'h</i>               | NHG   | <i>stelle, ort, platz</i> |       |                             |

'Place' is understood here in the wide sense of NE *place* (sb.). Besides the words listed as the most important, there are many others which are used for 'place' mainly in the geographical sense, 'region' or 'town', as NG *μέρος* (properly 'part', 13.23), Sp. *paraje* (: *parar* 'stop'), etc.

1. Grk. *τόπος*, etym. dub., perh. : Lith. *tapti* 'become', Lett. *tapti* 'become, attain', OE *þafian* 'consent to, allow' (as orig. 'give place to', like NE *allow* through Fr. *alouer* fr. Lat. *allocāre*). Walde-P. 1.743. Boisacq 975.

2. Lat. *locus*, early *stlocus* (Festus), etym. disputed, but prob. (\**stl-o-ko-*) fr. the root \**stel-* in OHG *stellan* 'set up', etc. (12.12). Walde-H. 1.818. Hence It. *luogo*, Fr. *lieu*, OSp. *luego*, Rum. *loc*; Sp. *luego* now only as adv., as sb. replaced by deriv. *lugar* fr. Lat. *localis*. REW 5097, 5093.

It. *posto*, Sp. *puesto*, fr. Lat. *positum*, pple. of *ponere* 'put' (12.12).

Fr. *place* (> ME, NE *place*), also MHG, NHG *platz*, Du. *plaats* (MLG *plāse* > Dan. *plads*, Sw. *plats*), fr. Lat. *platea* 'street, open area, courtyard' (> It. *piazza*, etc.), this fr. Grk. *πλατεία* (*plátēia*), fem. of *πλάτος* 'wide'. REW 6583. Falk-Torp 833. Franck-v.W. 504. NED s.v. *place*, sb.

Sp. *sitio*, deriv. of vb. borrowed fr. Gmc. \**siljan* in ON *siþja*, OHG *sizzan*, etc. 'sit' (12.13). REW 7961b.

3. Ir. *dū* (gen., acc. *don*), orig. 'earth' : Grk. *χθών* 'earth', etc. (12.1). Walde-P. 1.663. Pedersen 1.98. Vendryes, RC 40.437 ff. Cf. Toeh. A *tkam* 'earth' and 'place' (JAOS 67.43).

Ir. *ined, inad*, Nlr. *ionad*, cpd. \**eni-pado-*, cf. Ir. *ed* 'space of time', Gall. *candetum* (\**cant-edum*) 'spatium centum pedum' : Grk. *πῶς* 'ground', ChSl. *podū* 'ground, foundation', Hitt. *pedan* 'place' (Sturtevant, Hitt. Gloss. 123 with refs.). Walde-P. 2.224. Pedersen 1.91.

Ir. *áit*, Nlr. *ait* perh. (fr. \**pōth-ni-*) : Skt. *pāthas-* 'spot, place' also *path-* 'path, way', ChSl. *paŕŕ* 'way', etc. (10.71). Walde-P. 2.26. Pedersen 1.161.

Ir. *airm*, etym.?

Ir. *baile* 'place', but esp. 'dwelling place' (Nlr. 'town, village, homestead, home'), etym.? Walde-P. 2.141.

Ir. *maigen*, fr. *mag* 'plain' (1.23). Pedersen 1.96.

W. *lle*, Br. *lec'h* : Ir. *lige* 'bed, grave', Grk. *λέχος* 'bed', fr. root in Ir. *laigim*, Goth. *ligan*, etc. 'lie' (12.14). Walde-P. 2.424. Pedersen 1.98.

4. Goth. *staþs*, ON *staðr*, Dan. *sted*, OE, ME *stede* (NE *stead* in *instead*, etc.), OHG *stat* (NHG *statt* 'place' mostly in phrases and cpds., also *stadt* 'city'), orig. 'standing place' : Lat. *statiō*, *status*, etc., fr. IE \**stā-* 'stand'. Walde-P. 2.605. Falk-Torp 1154.

OE *stōw* (NE in place names) : Lith. *stovėti* 'stand', ChSl. *staviti* 'put', etc., fr. a parallel form of the same root as the preceding. Walde-P. 2.607 ff.

NHG *ort*, fr. OHG *ort* 'point, edge, shore' = ON *oddr*, OE *ord* 'point' (12.352). All stages of transition in MHG from 'point' through 'beginning' or end, edge, boundary, region' to 'place'. Weigand-H. 2.347. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v.

NHG *stelle*, back-formation fr. *stellen* 'put, place' (12.12). Weigand-H. 2.693. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 515.

NE *place*, NHG *platz*, etc., see under Fr. *place*, above, 2.

5. Lith. Lett. *vieta* : ChSl. *vitati*, *obitati* (\**obū-vitati*) 'rest, dwell', etc. (7.11), outside connection? Trautmann 345.

6. ChSl. *město*, etc., general Slavic (but Boh. *město* 'town', *misto* 'place',

Pol. *miasto* 'town', *miejsce* 'place') prob. : Lith. *mieta* 'stake', Skt. *methi-* 'pillar, post', Lat. *mēta* 'turning post in the circus', etc. For semantic parallel, cf. NHG *ort*, above, 4. Walde-P. 2.240. Berneker 2.52. Otherwise Trautmann 185 (Brückner 330 cites both views).

7. Skt. *sthāna-*, Av. *stāna-* (in cpds.), OPers. *stāna-*, fr. IE \**stā-* 'stand', like Goth. *staþs*, etc., above, 4. Walde-P. 2.606.

Skt. *sthāla-* : OHG *stellan* 'set up', etc. (12.12), IE \**stel-* beside \**stā-* 'stand'. Walde-P. 2.643 ff.

Av. *asah-* : Skt. *āśa-* 'space, region', this prob. fr. *āś-* 'arrive at, reach'. Barth. 209.

Av. *gātu-*, OPers. *gātu-* 'place' and 'throne' (NPers. *gāh* 'place') : Skt. *gātu-* 'going, way' also 'space, place', fr. *gā-* 'go'. Walde-P. 1.677.

## 12.12 PUT (Place, Set, Lay)

|      |                                   |       |   |       |  |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------|---|-------|--|
| Grk. | <i>τίθημι</i>                     | Goth. | ( <i>ga</i> ) <i>satjan</i> , ( <i>ga</i> ) <i>lagjan</i> | Lith. | ( <i>pa</i> ) <i>dėti</i> , <i>statyti</i> |
| NG   | <i>τίθημι</i>                     | ON    | <i>setja, leggja</i>                                      | Lett. | <i>tikt, dēt</i>                           |
| Lat. | <i>ponere, collocare</i>          | Dan.  | <i>satte, stille, lagge</i>                               | ChSl. | <i>položiti, postaviti</i>                 |
| It.  | <i>giacere</i>                    | Sw.   | <i>satte, ställa, lagga</i>                               | OE    | <i>metnūti, postavitī</i>                  |
| Fr.  | <i>mettre, poser, placer</i>      | ME    | <i>settan, leccan</i>                                     | Boh.  | <i>postavitī, položiti</i>                 |
| Sp.  | <i>poner, colocar</i>             | NE    | <i>put, place, set, lay</i>                               | Pol.  | <i>postawić, położyć</i>                   |
| Rum. | <i>pune, băga</i>                 | Du.   | <i>zetten, plaatsen, leggen</i>                           | ChSl. | <i>postavitī, položiti</i>                 |
| Ir.  | <i>cuirim (fo-cerd-), fuirmim</i> | OHG   | <i>sezzen, leggan, stellan</i>                            | Russ. | <i>postavitī, postaviti</i>                |
| Nlr. | <i>cuirim</i>                     | MHG   | <i>setzen, stellen, legen</i>                             |       |  |
| W.   | <i>goood, dodi</i>                | NHG   | <i>setzen, stellen, legen</i>                             |       |  |
| Br.  | <i>lakaat</i>                     |       |   | Skt.  | <i>dhā-</i>                                |
|      |                                   |       |   | Av.   | <i>dā-</i>                                 |

In most of the languages cited there is no single word of such general application as NE *put*, but rather a variety of expressions the choice of which depends on the nature of the object and the position it is placed in, but with variable idiomatic usage and much overlapping.

In derivs. of IE \**dhē-* the meaning 'put, place' is inherited, and nothing further can be said of its origin. Of the other words, some are derived from

nouns meaning 'place' (12.11). But most of them come by generalization of more specific notions, esp. 'cause to sit, lie, or stand' or 'throw' or 'thrust'. Such sources are illustrated in NE *set*, *lay*, *stand* (trans.), of which the transitive use of *stand* (recent and colloq., NED s.v. 65) is restricted to 'put in an upright position' and 'lay' is mostly 'put in a lying position' (one may *lay* a book down or *stand* it on edge), while in *set* the origi-

nal notion of 'make sit' is only rarely present. In general, words of the 'set' and 'lay' group were commonly or frequently used without reference to the original sense, and to a less extent those of the 'stand' group. In the Gospels Goth. *lagjan*, OE *leggan*, OHG *leggan* were commonly used (beside Goth. *satjan*, etc.) to render Grk. *τίθημι* or Lat. *ponere*. So also regularly ChSl. *položiti* (vs. *postaviti* for *τίθημι*, Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 381).

1. IE \**dhē-*. Walde-P. 1.826 ff. Walde-H. 1.440 ff. Here as 'put', Grk. *τίθημι*, NG *θέρω* (new pres. to late aor. *θησα*, Hatzidakis, Mss. 1.315 ff.; also *τοποθετῶ*, cpd. with *τόπος* 'place'); Lith. (*pa*)*dėti*, Lett. *dēt* (but mostly in special phrases, Mühl-Endz. 1.464); ChSl. *dėti*, etc., general Slavic, but not usual for 'put', mostly in some secondary senses, 'do, make' or 'say' (Berneker 192); Skt. *dhā-*, Av. *dā-*; Hitt. *dāsi-*; Toch. A *dā-*, *dās-*, B *les*, etc. (SSS 438). Here also Lat. *condere* 'found', etc., *facere* 'do, make', OE *dōn* 'do' etc. (9.11).

2. NG *βάζω*, aor. *έβαλα*, the pop. equivalent of NE *put*, fr. Gr. *βάλλω* 'throw', which is also occasionally 'put' (LS s.v. A II 6). The same semantic development in Fr. *mettre*, etc. (below, 3) and NE *put* (below, 5). The present *βάζω* (more usual than *βάλλω*, for which also *βάζω*, *βαίνω*) is explained by Hatzidakis, Einleitung 410 and 'Aθήνα 22.232 ff., as a blend with *βιβάζω* 'lift up'.

3. Lat. *pōnere*, fr. \**po-s(i)nerē* (cf. pple. *positus*), cpd. of \**po-* (= Lith. *pa-*, ChSl. *po-*) and *sinere* in old sense of 'place' as in pple. *situs* 'placed', hence orig. 'put down, put aside'. Outside connections of *sinere* doubtful. Walde-P. 2.461. Ernout-M. 787, 945 f.

Hence It. *porre*, Sp. *poner*, Rum. *pune*, all in general sense, but Fr. *pondre* only

in specialized sense of 'lay eggs', which also occurs elsewhere. REW 6647.

Lat. *conlocāre*, *collocāre* (> It. *collocare*, Sp. *colocar*; VLat. development in Fr. *coucher*, Rum. *culca* 'put to bed', Sp. *colgar* 'hang', REW 2052), cpd. of *locāre*, deriv. of *locus* 'place' (12.11).

It. *mettere*, Fr. *mettre*, fr. Lat. *mittere* 'let go' (whence the usual but secondary 'send'), 'throw' (*hastam, lapides*, etc.), 'put forth' (*radices, florem*, etc.), in late Lat. 'put forth, put in, put'. Cf. *manum autem nemo mittit ad tangendum* (Peregrinatio), [ova] ut in *tepida acqua mittantur* (Anthimi de observatione ciborum epistula), *mittis et modicum sale* (Oribasius), etc. Ernout-M. 621. REW 5616.

Fr. *poser*, fr. Lat. *posuere* 'pause, rest', whence in late Lat. also 'cause to rest, put down' (cf. It. *posare* 'lie' and 'lay'), in this sense possibly, though not necessarily, influenced by forms of Lat. *pōnere* like *positus*. REW 6308. Gamillscheg 710.

Fr. *placer*, deriv. of *place* 'place' (12.11).

Rum. *băga*, esp. 'put in, thrust in', with numerous idiomatic uses similar to those of NG *βάζω* (above, 2), or its cpd. *μράζω* (bazo) 'put in'. Some connection with the latter seems likely, though no explanation of the Rum. *g* is apparent. Tiktin 143 mentions *βάζω*, but not *μράζω*.

4. Ir. *cuirim* (suppl. vb. *fo-cerd-*) 'throw' and 'put', Nlr. *cuirim* 'put', perh. : Grk. *σκαίρω* 'skip, frisk', Skt. *kūrd-* 'jump', in any case with Irish development of 'put' from 'throw'. Walde-P. 2.567. Pedersen 2.498 ff.

Ir. *fo-rimim*, *fuirmim* : Goth. *rimis* 'rest', Lith. *rimti* 'become quiet', Grk. *ῥήμα* 'gently', Skt. *ram-* 'stand still, rest', IE \**rem-*. Walde-P. 2.372. Pedersen 2.602. Laws, Gloss. 432.

W. *dodi*, etym.? (Morris Jones 332, fr. IE \**dō-* 'give' or \**dhē-* 'place'; not in-

place', *sentarse* or *estar sentado* 'sit', Rum. *sedea*; Lat. *ad-sidere* > Fr. *asseoir* 'seat, place', s'asseoir 'take a seat', *être assis* 'be seated, sit'; REW 7780); Ir. *saidim*, vbl. n. *suide*, whence Nlr. *suidhim*; W. *eistedd* fr. sb. = OBr. *estid gl. sedile* fr. cpd. (\**eks-di-sedo-* Pedersen 1.20; otherwise Morris Jones 78), Br. *azaza* fr. cpd. \**ad-sed-* (Pedersen 2.605; Loth, Mots lat. 134); Goth. *sitan*, OE

*sittan*, OHG *sizzan*, etc., general Gmc.; Lith. *sėdėti*, Lett. *sēdēt*; ChSl. *sěditi*, etc. general Slavic, beside perfect. *sěsti* 'take a seat'; Skt. *sad-*, Av. *had-*.



Grk. *ἑνω*, NG *énawo* 'unite', fr. stem of *eis*, *énos* 'one'.

3. It. *unire*, Fr., Sp. *unir*, Rum. *uni*, fr. late (and rare) Lat. *unire*, fr. *unus* 'one'. REW 9073a.

Rum. *împreuna*, fr. adv. *împreună* 'together', this fr. Lat. phrase *in-per-ânem*. Tiktin 769.

4. Ir. *adcomla* (3sg.), cpd. of *ad-com* and the same root *el*-as in *tinlaim* 'collect' (see 12.21). Pedersen 2.509.

Nlr. *ceanglaime*, also and orig. 'bind', see 9.16.

W. *cydio*, fr. *cyd* adj. 'common, united' (sb. 'junction, joint'): Br. *ket*- 'con-', etym.: Pedersen 2.213. Morris Jones 264.

W. *cysylltu*, fr. *cysyllt* 'junction, joint', fr. Lat. *consolidare* 'make solid, confirm'. Loth, Mots. Lat. 158.

Br. *staga kevet*, lit. 'bind together' (*staga* 'bind', 9.16), apparently the only popular term.

Br. *unani* 'unite' fr. *unan* 'one'.

5. Goth. *gawidan* (aufernyu Mk. 10.9), OHG *giwelan* 'bind, yoke', cf. Goth. *gawias* 'bond', *diswias* 'ánálwias, departure', OHG *wadal*, OE *wælla* 'bandage': Ir. *fedan* 'yoke (of animals), harness', W. *gwedd* 'yoke, team', Skt. *viwadhā* 'shoulder-yoke for carrying burdens'. Walde-P. 1.256. Feist 211 f.

ON *samtengja*, cpd. of *tengja* 'bind, tie together'.

ON *samlaga*, fr. *samlag* 'partnership, union', lit. 'a lying together'.

OE (*ge*)*fegan*, early ME *fezen*, *feien*, Du. *voegen*, OHG *fuogen*, MHG *vuogen*, NHG *fugen* (esp. cpd. *zusammenfügen*), MLG *vögen* (> Dan. *foie*, Sw. *foga*): Grk. *πηνύμι* 'make fast, solid, fix', Lat. *pangere* 'fix in, fix, settle', Skt. *pācāya*- 'bind', Av. *pas-* 'fasten, fetter together', IE *\*pāk-*, *\*pāg-*. Walde-P. 2.2 f. Falk-Torp 290.

OE *gesamnian*, also 'collect, gather' like the simple *sammian* (12.21).

MLG *vorbinden* (> Dan. *forbinde*, Sw. *förbinda*). Du., MHG, NHG *verbinden*, cpds. of *binden* 'bind, tie'. Falk-Torp 253.

MLG *vorēnigen* (hence by semantic borrowing Dan. *forene*, Sw. *förenä*), Du. *vereenigen*, MHG, NHG *vereinigen* 'unite', fr. word for 'one'.

ME *ioigne*, *ioyne*, etc., NE *join* fr. OFr. *joign-* in old forms of *joindre* (above, 1). NED s.v. *join*, vb. 1.

NE *unite*, late ME *unyte*, fr. Lat. pass. pple. of *unire* (above, 3).

6. Lith. *sujungti*, above 1.

Lith. *siuvenyti*, Lett. *savienuot*, fr. Lith. *vienas*, Lett. *viens* 'one'.

Lett. *salikt*, cpd. of *likt* 'set by, leave' (cf. *kuopa likt* 'join together' with loc. sg. of *kuopa* 'heap' in sense 'together'): Lith. *likti* 'leave', etc. Mühl-Endz. 2.468, 3.671.

7. ChSl. *sūčelati*: SCr.-ChSl. *četa* 'procession, crowd', Russ. *četa* 'pair, couple', Lat. *caterva* 'crowd, troop', Umbr. *kateramu* 'congregamini'. Walde-P. 1.383. Berneker 152 f.

SCr. *sastaviti*, lit. 'put together', cpd. of *staviti* 'place, put' (12.12).

SCr., Boh. *spojiti*, Rum. *spoić*, *spajać*, cpds. of simple vb. seen in Boh. *pojiti* 'bind', Russ. *pajati* 'solder', etc., outside connections? Brückner 426.

Boh. *sloučiti*, Pol. *złączyć*, cpds. of Boh. *loutiti* 'join' and 'separate', Pol. *łączyć* 'join', ChSl. *lačiti* 'separate', see 12.23.

Pol. *kojarzyć*, cpd. with prefix *ko-* (of uncertain orig.) and last member: *jarzmo* 'yoke', ChSl. *jarimū* id. Berneker 31,532. Brückner 199.

Russ. *soediniť*, fr. *edinyj* 'one, sole, only'.

Russ. *sotokupit'*, borrowed fr. ChSl. *siwukupiti* beside *sukupiti* 'bring together', fr. *kupā* 'heap'. Berneker 646.

8. Skt. *yuj-*, Av. *yuj-*, above 1.

## 12.23 SEPARATE (vb.)

|      |                               |       |                           |       |                                    |
|------|-------------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|------------------------------------|
| Grk. | χωρίζω, σχίζω                 | Goth. | (af)skaidan               | Lith. | skirti (skiesti)                   |
| NG   | (ē)χωρίζω                     | ON    | skilja                    | Lett. | skirt                              |
| Lat. | sēparāre, dividere, sēiungere | Dan.  | (ad)skille                | ChSl. | (raz)lāčiti                        |
| It.  | separare                      | Sw.   | skilja                    | SCr.  | rastaviti, razdvajiti, (raz)lučiti |
| Fr.  | sēparer                       | OE    | sc(e)ādan, scylian        | Boh.  | oddělití, oddolučiti               |
| Sp.  | sēparar                       | ME    | schede, schille, separare | Pol.  | rozłączyć, rozdzielić              |
| Rum. | despărți, separa              | NE    | separate                  | Russ. | odelit', razlucit'                 |
| Ir.  | scaraim                       | Du.   | scheiden                  | Skt.  | vi-yuj-                            |
| Nlr. | scaraim                       | OHG   | (ar)scēidan, -trennen     | Av.   | ....                               |
| W.   | gwahanu                       | MHG   | scheiden, trennen         |       |                                    |
| Br.  | dispartia                     | NHG   | scheiden, trennen         |       |                                    |

Verbs for 'separate' are mostly from various inherited roots with the notion of 'cut', 'split', etc., but several are formed with disjunctive prefixes from words for 'join' or 'put, place'.

1. Grk. *χωρίζω*, NG *χωρίζω* (ē- fr. ēz- in augmented forms), fr. *χωρίς* 'separately, apart': *χωρος* (empty) space, place, country', *χῆρος* 'bereft', Skt. *hā-* 'leave, abandon', etc. Walde-P. 1.543. Boisacq 1059.

Grk. *σχίζω* 'split' (9.27), also 'separate': Goth. *skaidan*, etc. 'separate' (below, 4), Lith. *skiesti* 'separate', Lat. *scindere* 'split, rend, tear', Skt. *chid-* 'cut (off)', tear, bite, divide', etc., all fr. parallel -i- and -d- extensions of the root *\*skei-* seen in Skt. *chyati* 'cuts off', Ir. *scian* 'knife', etc. Walde-P. 2.54 ff. Ernout-M. 906. Feist 427.

2. Lat. *sēparāre* (> lit. loanwords It. *separare*, Fr. *séparer*, Sp. *separar*, Rum. *separa*; VLat. *\*sēparāre* > OFr. *sever* > ME, NE *sever*), cpd. of *sē-* 'apart' and *parāre* 'prepare, get' (11.16). Ernout-M. 785. REW 7826.

Lat. *dividere*, cpd. *dis-* and *\*videre* (not found as simplex): Umbr. *vetu* 'dividit', *vef* 'partis', Skt. *vidh-* 'pierce, perforate'. Walde-P. 1.239. Ernout-M. 274.

Lat. *sēiungere*, *disiungere* (> OFr. *desjoindre*, Fr. *dé-* or *dis-*joindre, NE *disjoin*, etc.), neg. cpds. of *iungere* 'join' (12.16).

3. Rum. *deschide*, fr. Lat. *discludere* 'keep apart, separate', cpd. of *cludere* 'shut' (12.25). Tiktin 525 f. Pușcariu 509.

4. Ir. *asoilci* (3sg.), Mlr. *oslaicim*, Nlr. *ofsloaim*, fr. *\*od-ess-leic-*; Ir. *arosaicim*, fr. *\*air-od-ess-leic-*, cpds. of Ir. *leicim* 'leave, let, permit' (12.18). Pedersen 2.563 f.

W. *agor(i)*, Br. *digeri* (with substitution of neg. pref. *di-*), fr. the same root as Ir. *eochar*, W. *agoriad* 'key', outside connections? See 7.24.

5. Goth. *uslākan*, ON *lāka* up, Dan. *lukke op*, OHG *anlūhhan*, MHG *enlūchen*: Goth. *ga-lūkan*, ON *lūka* 'shut, etc.' (12.25).

ON *opna*, OE *openian*, OHG *offanōn*, etc., general Gmc. (except Goth.) fr. the adjs., ON *opin*, etc. 'open', Gmc. *\*upena*, *\*upana*, prob. : ON *upp*, etc. 'up', hence 'open' fr. 'turned up' (cf. ON *opin* 'lying on one's back', i.e. 'face up'). Falk-Torp 2.

NHG *aufmachen*, lit. 'put up', hence through 'raise' (the window, the cover, etc.) to 'open', opp. to *zumachen* 'shut'. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 37, col. 2 (on *auf* = *offen*).

6. Lith. *atidaryti*, Lett. *atdarīt*, cpd. of *atī*, at 'from, back' and *daryti*, *darīt* 'do, make'.

Lith. *atverti*, Lett. *atvērt*, above 1.

7. ChSl. *otivřesti*, cpd. of *otī* (: Lith. *atī*, above) and *-ivřesti* in *povřesti* 'bind', cf. SCr. *otvřsti se* 'free oneself from', Slov. *vrzeti* 'stand open', etc., fr. *vergh-*, extension of IE *\*wer-* 'turn, bind'. Walde-P. 1.273. Trautmann 355.

ChSl. *otvoriti*, etc., above 1.

Russ. *otkryť* (= SCr. *otkryti* 'uncover', etc.), cpd. of *kryť* 'cover' (12.26).

8. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

## 12.25 SHUT, CLOSE (vb.)

|      |                   |       |                       |       |  |
|------|-------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|--|
| Grk. | κλείω             | Goth. | galūkan               | Lith. | uždaryti, užverti                              |
| NG   | κλείω             | ON    | lāka, lykja           | Lett. | slēgt, aizdarīt, aizvērt                       |
| Lat. | cludere, operire  | Dan.  | (til)lukke            | ChSl. | zatvoriti, zaklenāti, (za)tvřiti, (za)ključiti |
| It.  | chiudere, serrare | Sw.   | stänga                | SCr.  | zatvoriti, zaklenāti                           |
| Fr.  | fermer            | OE    | (be)lūcan, (be)clīsan | Boh.  | zavřiti  |
| Sp.  | cerrar            | ME    | shutte, shette, close | Pol.  | zamknąć, zawiąć                                |
| Rum. | închide           | NE    | shut, close           | Russ. | zakryť, zatvorit'                              |
| Ir.  | adainim, dānaim   | Du.   | shluten, dichtmaken   | Skt.  | (a)piṭhā-                                      |
| Nlr. | dānaim            | OHG   | sluozan, dichtmaken   | Av.   | ....   |
| W.   | cau               | MHG   | sluozan, dichtmaken   |       |  |
| Br.  | serra, prena      | NHG   | schliessen, zumachen  |       |  |

Some of the common verbs for 'shut, close' meant orig. 'lock', that is 'fasten shut' (by means of bar, bolt, lock and key, etc.), so especially the inherited group (below, 1).

1. Derivs. of IE *\*klāw-*, *\*klāwi-*, denoting the (wooden) 'peg' or primitive 'key', as Grk. *κλῆς*, *κλῆς*, Lat. *clavis*, ChSl. *ključī* 'key', Lat. *clāvus*, Ir. *clō* 'nail', etc. (cf. 'key' 7.24). Walde-P.

1.492 f. Ernout-M. 194 f. Walde-H. 1.229 f. Berneker 526, 528 f.

Grk. *κλείω*, NG *κλείω*; Lat. *cludere* (> It. *chiudere*, arch. Fr. *clorre*; Lat. *includere* 'shut in' > Rum. *închide*); ChSl. (za)ključiti, with initial *s-* (sl- fr. *\*skl-*), OHG *sluozan*, MHG *sliezen*, NHG *schliessen*, Du. *sluizen* (beside OHG *sluozan*, etc. 'key'); cf. Lith. *kliuti* 'hook, grapple, hinder'.

2. Lat. *operire*, but chiefly 'cover': *aperire* 'open' (12.24).

It. *serrare*, Sp. *cerrar* (Fr. *serrer* 'keep shut, hold tight, squeeze'), fr. VLat. *serrāre* for late Lat. *serāre*, fr. *sera* 'bar, bolt, lock' (7.23). Ernout-M. 927. REW 7867.

Fr. *fermer*, fr. Lat. *firmāre* 'make firm, fast' (*firmus* 'strong, firm'). REW 3318.

3. Ir. *iadaim*, perh. fr. a cpd. *\*epi-dhē-* with IE *\*dhē-* 'place, put', cf. Grk. *ἐπι-ῥίθμι* 'lay, put on'. Pedersen 2.551, 653. Stokes 328.

Mlr., Nlr. *dānaim*, fr. *dūn* 'fortress, castle', either through the sense 'enclosure' (cf. W. *cau*, below) or through 'fortify, barricade'.

Nlr. *druidim*, fr. Ir. *druid* 'close, firm, trustworthy', etym. disputed. Walde-P. 1.806. Osthoff, Parerga 132 f.

W. *cau*, MW *caeu*, fr. *cae* 'enclosure, field, fence, hedge' (: OE *hecg*, NE *hedge*, etc., Walde-P. 1.337).

Br. *serra*, fr. OFr. *serrer* : It. *serrare*, etc. (above, 2).

Br. *prenna*, orig. 'bar, bolt (a door)', fr. *prenn* 'wood', esp. 'wooden bar'.

4. Goth. *galūkan*, ON *lāka*, OE (be-)lūcan, ME *luke*, OHG *bilūhhan*, MHG (be)lūchen; Dan. *lukke*, ODan. *lykke* (= ON *lykja* mostly with prep. 'shut in, enclose, etc.'): beside sbs. for 'lock' ON *loka*, OE *loc*, etc. (7.23), all possibly (with semantic development 'bend' > 'shut') : ON *lykna* 'bend the knees', Grk. *λυγίω* 'bend, turn, wind', etc.

5. Goth. *uslākan*, ON *lāka* up, Dan. *lukke op*, OHG *anlūhhan*, MHG *enlūchen*: Goth. *ga-lūkan*, ON *lūka* 'shut, etc.' (12.25).

ON *opna*, OE *openian*, OHG *offanōn*, etc., general Gmc. (except Goth.) fr. the adjs., ON *opin*, etc. 'open', Gmc. *\*upena*, *\*upana*, prob. : ON *upp*, etc. 'up', hence 'open' fr. 'turned up' (cf. ON *opin* 'lying on one's back', i.e. 'face up'). Falk-Torp 2.

NHG *aufmachen*, lit. 'put up', hence through 'raise' (the window, the cover, etc.) to 'open', opp. to *zumachen* 'shut'. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 37, col. 2 (on *auf* = *offen*).

6. Lith. *atidaryti*, Lett. *atdarīt*, cpd. of *atī*, at 'from, back' and *daryti*, *darīt* 'do, make'.

Lith. *atverti*, Lett. *atvērt*, above 1.

7. ChSl. *otivřesti*, cpd. of *otī* (: Lith. *atī*, above) and *-ivřesti* in *povřesti* 'bind', cf. SCr. *otvřsti se* 'free oneself from', Slov. *vrzeti* 'stand open', etc., fr. *vergh-*, extension of IE *\*wer-* 'turn, bind'. Walde-P. 1.273. Trautmann 355.

ChSl. *otvoriti*, etc., above 1.

Russ. *otkryť* (= SCr. *otkryti* 'uncover', etc.), cpd. of *kryť* 'cover' (12.26).

8. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

9. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

10. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

11. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

12. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

13. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

14. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

15. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

16. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

17. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

18. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

19. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

20. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

21. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

22. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

23. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

24. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

25. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

26. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

27. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

28. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

29. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

30. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

31. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

32. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

33. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

34. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

35. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

36. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

37. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

38. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

39. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

40. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

41. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

42. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

43. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

44. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

45. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

46. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

47. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

48. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

49. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.

50. Skt. *apā-ṛ-*, *vi-ṛ-*, above 1.



etym. and primary sense dub., but Russ. 'hide' obviously fr. 'cover'. Miklosich 262 f. Brückner 436 f.  
8. Skt. *guh-* (3sg. pres. *gūhati*), Av.

## 12.31 HIGH

|      |                   |       |       |
|------|-------------------|-------|-------|
| Grk. | ὕψλος             | Goth. | hauhs |
| NG   | hūs               | Lett. | hār   |
| Lat. | altus, (ex)celsus | Dan.  | høj   |
| It.  | alto              | Sw.   | hög   |
| Fr.  | haut              | OE    | hēah  |
| Sp.  | alto              | ME    | heigh |
| Rum. | înalt             | NE    | high  |
| Ir.  | ard, uasal        | Du.   | hoog  |
| Nlr. | ard               | OHG   | hōh   |
| W.   | uchel             | MHG   | hōch  |
| Br.  | uhel              | NHG   | hoch  |

Words for 'high' are partly from adverbs for 'above, over, up', partly from notions like 'grown up', 'heaped up', etc.

1. Grk. ὕψλος, NG pop. ψῆλος; Ir. *uasal*, W. *uchel*, Br. *uhel*, Corn. *uhel*, Gall. *Uxello* (*dūnum*); ChSl. *vysokü*, etc., general Slavic group : Grk. ὕψι adv. 'high', Ir. *ās*, *āas*, W. *uch*, Corn. *ugh* 'above, over', fr. IE \**h<sub>2</sub>p*(e)s-, etc., beside \**upo-* in Grk. ὑπό 'under', Skt. *upa* 'unto', Ir. *fo*, Goth. *uf* 'under', etc. (for the contrast between 'over' and 'under' in this group, cf. Brugmann, Grd. 2.2.912). Walde-P. 1.193. Boisacq 1009.

2. Lat. *altus* (> It., Sp. *alto*; Fr. *haut* with *h-* fr. Frank. *hoh*; Rum. *înalt* fr. *în alto*), orig. pass. pple. of *alere* 'nourish, rear', but from earliest times used only as adj. in transferred sense 'high' (and 'deep'). Ernout-M. 36. Walde-H. 1.32.

Lat. *celsus*, and more usually *excelsus*, pass. pple. of *-cellere* in *antecellere* 'project, surpass', *excellere* 'surpass, excel', etc. : Lat. *collis* 'hill', Lith. *kelti* 'lift', etc. Walde-P. 1.435. Ernout-M. 170 f. Walde-H. 1.197.

3. Ir. *ard*, Nlr. *ard* : Lat. *arduus* 'steep, elevated', also (in part fr. parallel *-dh-* forms) Av. *arəduwa-* 'lifted up, elevated', ON *grðugr* 'steep', ChSl. *rasti*

'grow'. Walde-P. 1.148 f. Ernout-M. 69 f. Walde-H. 1.64. Pedersen 1.51.

Ir. *uasal*, W. *uchel*, etc., above, 1.

4. Goth. *hauhs*, OE *hēah*, etc., general Gmc., prob. as 'arched up' : Goth. *hiuhma* 'heap, multitude', *huhjan* 'heap up, collect', ON *haugr* 'grave-mound', MHG *houc* 'hill', Lith. *kaukas* 'swelling, boil', *kaukaras* 'hill', etc., fr. an extension of \**keu-* in words for rounded, bent objects. Walde-P. 1.371. Falk-Torp 451. Feist 249. Here prob. (with *c* fr. a dental extension) Toch. A *koc*, B *kauc* 'high'. G. S. Lane, Language 14.26.

5. Lith. *aukštas*, Lett. *augsts* : Lith. *augti*, Lett. *augt* 'grow', Lat. *augēre* 'increase', etc. Walde-P. 1.23. Mühl.-Endz. 1.218.

6. ChSl. *vysokü*, etc., above, 1.

7. Skt. *ucca-*, beside advs. *ucca*, Av. *usca* 'above, up', derivs. of Skt. *ud-*, Av. *us-*, *uz-* 'upward, out', etc. Uhlenbeck 27. Walde-P. 1.190.

Skt. *unnata-*, pple. of *ud-nam-* 'rise up, raise', cpd. of *nam-* 'bend' and *ud-* 'up, out'.

Av. *barəzant-* (also *barəz-*, *barəziman-*) : Skt. *brhant-* 'high, tall', but mostly 'great, strong', Ir. *bri*, W. *bre* 'hill', ON *bjarg*, OHG *berg* 'mountain', etc. Walde-P. 2.172 f.

## 12.32 LOW

|      |                  |       |                |
|------|------------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | χαμηλός, χαμηλός | Goth. | ...            |
| NG   | χαμηλός          | ON    | lāgr           |
| Lat. | humilis          | Dan.  | lav            |
| It.  | basso            | Sw.   | låg            |
| Fr.  | bas              | OE    | nīperlic       |
| Sp.  | bajo             | ME    | lah            |
| Rum. | jos              | NE    | low            |
| Ir.  | isel             | Du.   | laag           |
| Nlr. | iseal            | OHG   | nidari         |
| W.   | isel             | MHG   | nider(e), lāge |
| Br.  | izel             | NHG   | niedrig        |

Words for 'low' are mostly from adverbs for 'down' or 'under', but some are from the notion of 'on the ground' or 'lying'.

1. Grk. χαμηλός, χαμηλός, Lat. *humilis*, Lith. *žemas*, Lett. *zems* : Grk. χθών 'earth', χαμαί 'on the ground', Lat. *humus*, Lith. *žemė*, Lett. *zeme* 'earth', etc. (1.21). Walde-P. 1.662 f.

2. It. *basso*, Fr. *bas*, fr. VLat. *bassus* Gmc., prob. as 'arched up' : Goth. *hiuhma* 'heap, multitude', *huhjan* 'heap up, collect', ON *haugr* 'grave-mound', MHG *houc* 'hill', Lith. *kaukas* 'swelling, boil', *kaukaras* 'hill', etc., fr. an extension of \**keu-* in words for rounded, bent objects. Walde-P. 1.371. Falk-Torp 451. Feist 249. Here prob. (with *c* fr. a dental extension) Toch. A *koc*, B *kauc* 'high'. G. S. Lane, Language 14.26.

5. Lith. *aukštas*, Lett. *augsts* : Lith. *augti*, Lett. *augt* 'grow', Lat. *augēre* 'increase', etc. Walde-P. 1.23. Mühl.-Endz. 1.218.

6. ChSl. *vysokü*, etc., above, 1.

7. Skt. *ucca-*, beside advs. *ucca*, Av. *usca* 'above, up', derivs. of Skt. *ud-*, Av. *us-*, *uz-* 'upward, out', etc. Uhlenbeck 27. Walde-P. 1.190.

Skt. *unnata-*, pple. of *ud-nam-* 'rise up, raise', cpd. of *nam-* 'bend' and *ud-* 'up, out'.

Av. *barəzant-* (also *barəz-*, *barəziman-*) : Skt. *brhant-* 'high, tall', but mostly 'great, strong', Ir. *bri*, W. *bre* 'hill', ON *bjarg*, OHG *berg* 'mountain', etc. Walde-P. 2.172 f.

4. ON *lāgr* (> ME *lah*, NE *low*), Dan. *lav*, Sw. *låg*, Du. *laag*, MHG

*lāge*, prob. as orig. 'lying' : Goth. *ligan*, etc. 'lie' (12.14). Falk-Torp 626. Franck-v. W. 365. Otherwise (: Lett. *lēzns* 'flat' and the dubious Hom. *λάχεια* 'low')? Walde-P. 2.425 f.

OE *nīperlic*, fr. *nīper* adv. 'down, beneath, below' = OHG *nidar*, NHG *nieder* adv. 'down', whence adj. OHG *nidari*, MHG *nider*(e), NHG (*nieder*) *niedrig* (Du. *nederig* 'lowly, humble') : Skt. *nītarām* 'downwards', comparative formation to IE \**ni-*, \**nei-* in Skt. *nī-*, Av. *nī-* 'down', Av. *nītama-* 'lowest', ChSl. *nizū* 'down', etc. Walde-P. 2.335. Weigand-H. 2.297 f.

5. Lith. *žemas*, Lett. *zems*, above, 1.

6. ChSl. *nizūkü*, etc., general Slavic : ChSl. *nizū* 'down' (above, 4). Miklosich 216. Meillet, Études 326.

7. Skt. *nīca-*, deriv. of *nī-* 'down' (above, 4), either directly or fr. cpd. *nyāñc-* 'directed downwards'. Walde-P. 2.335. Uhlenbeck 149.

Av. *nītama-* (superl.), above, 4.

Most of the words for 'bottom' belong to an inherited group common to Grk., Lat., Gmc. and Indo-Iranian, or to another group common to Balto-Slavic.

1. IE \**bhu*(n)d(h)- with various suffixes, Walde-P. 2.190. Ernout-M. 401 f. Walde-H. 1.564 f.

Grk. *πυθμήν*; Lat. *fundus* (> Romance words); ON *botn*, OE *botm*, etc., general Gmc.; Skt. *budhna-*, Av. *būna-*; Ir. *bond* 'sole of the foot'.

2. NG pop. *πάρος*, fr. class. Grk. *πάρος* 'path' (10.72), through the Byz. meaning 'floor' (7.26).

3. Ir. *bun*, W. *bon* (both also 'trunk' or 'stump' of a tree), perh. orig. 'blow' (cf. W. *bonclust* 'box on the ear'), fr. root \**bhen-* in Goth. *banja* 'blow, wound' (Walde-P. 2.149), with semantic development 'blow' > 'club' > 'stock, trunk of a tree' > 'bottom'. Cf. Fr. *bout* 'end', orig. 'blow' (12.35). G. S. Lane, Language 13.22 f.

## 12.35 END

|      |                                |       |        |
|------|--------------------------------|-------|--------|
| Grk. | ἄκρος adj., ἄκρον, ἄκρα, πέρας | Goth. | andeis |
| NG   | ἄκρα, ἄκρη                     | ON    | endi   |
| Lat. | extrēmus adj., extrēmum        | Dan.  | ende   |
| It.  | capo, estremo, etc.            | Sw.   | ända   |
| Fr.  | bout                           | OE    | ende   |
| Sp.  | cabo, extremo, etc.            | ME    | ende   |
| Rum. | capăt                          | NE    | end    |
| Ir.  | (for)cenn                      | Du.   | einde  |
| Nlr. | deireadh                       | OHG   | enti   |
| W.   | pen                            | MHG   | ende   |
| Br.  | penn                           | NHG   | ende   |

'End' is understood here, of course, in the spatial sense, not in the temporal, though the latter is to a large extent expressed by the same words (14.26), nor in the frequent secondary sense of 'purpose'. In Greek and Latin 'end' is often expressed by adjectives in agreement with nouns denoting the object referred to.

W. *gwaelod*, Br. *goueled* : W. *gwael* 'low, base', Ir. *fael* 'evil', further connections dub. Stokes 259 (: Lat. *vīlis*; but cf. Walde-P. 1.214).

4. ON *grunnr* (only 'bottom' of the sea), OE *grund*, ME *grounde* 'bottom' and 'surface of earth, ground' (NE *ground*), OHG *grunt* (gl. Lat. *fundus*), MHG *grunt* 'bottom, abyss', etc. (NHG *grund*), cf. Goth. *grundu-waddjus* 'foundation wall', root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.656. Falk-Torp 352 ff. Feist 222.

5. Lith. *dugnas* (\**dubnas*), Lett. (\**du-bens* >) *dibens*, ChSl. *dūno* (\**dūbno*), etc., general Slavic = Gall. *dubno-*, *dumno-* 'world' (in *Dubno-riz*) : Lith. *dubus* 'deep, hollow', Goth. *diups*, etc. 'deep', W. *dufn*, Ir. *domain* 'deep', etc. Walde-P. 1.848. Mühl.-Endz. 1.465. Berneker 245 f.

3. Ir. *cend*, *cenn*, W. *pen*, Br. *penn* all lit. 'head' (4.20), esp. as 'end' also Ir. cpd. *for-cenn*, with *for* 'on, upon'.

Nlr. *deireadh* (used in most of the senses of NE *end*), Ir. *dered* 'remains, remnant' also 'end' (temporal, as 'end

1. Grk. *ἄκρος* 'at the farthest point, uttermost' (also 'highest', whence its use for 'top', 12.33), e.g. *ἄκρη χεῖρ* 'end of the arm' = 'hand' (Hom.), *ἀπ' ἄκρων οὐρανῶν ἕως ἄκρων αἰθρῶν* 'from one end of heaven to the other' (NT). Hence also as sbs. *ἄκρον* and *ἄκρα*, NG pop. *ἄκρη*.

Grk. *πέρας*, Hom. *πεῖραρ*, Ir. \**πέrap* : *πεῖραν* 'on the other side', Skt. *para-* 'far,

opposite, last', Goth. *fairra* 'far', etc. Walde-P. 1.31 ff.

Grk. *τέμας*, *τέμων*, Lat. *terminus* 'boundary, limit', only rarely for more generic 'end', fr. the root of Lat. *trāns* 'across', Skt. *tr-* 'pass over, cross', etc. Walde-P. 1.733. Ernout-M. 1032.

2. Lat. *extrēmus* 'outermost', e.g. *in extrēmō ponte* 'at the end of the bridge', *in extrēmō librō* 'at the end of the book'. Hence also sb. *extrēmum* (> It. *estremo*, Sp. *extremo*, etc.).

For Lat. *finis*, which though orig. a spatial notion is in actual use 'border, limit', and 'end' only as 'purpose' or temporal, see 14.26.

It. *capo*, Sp. *cabo*, fr. Lat. *caput* 'head'; pl. *capita* > Rum. *capete*, hence new sg. *capăt*.

In Italian and Spanish various other words are used for 'end' in particular connections, as *fondo* 'bottom' (12.34) for 'lower end' or simply 'end' of a room, garden, etc., *punta* 'point, tip' for the end of a stick, etc., It. *coda* 'tail' for the end of a rope, a train, etc.

Fr. *bout* (Ofr. also 'blow', hence 'end' as 'striking end'), back-formation fr. Ofr. *bouter* 'strike, thrust', this fr. Frank. \**bōtan*, cf. OHG *bōzan*, OE *bēatan* 'strike, beat'. REW 1228c. Wartburg 1.459 f.

3. Ir. *cend*, *cenn*, W. *pen*, Br. *penn* all lit. 'head' (4.20), esp. as 'end' also Ir. cpd. *for-cenn*, with *for* 'on, upon'.

Nlr. *deireadh* (used in most of the senses of NE *end*), Ir. *dered* 'remains, remnant' also 'end' (temporal, as 'end

of the world', Wb. 10b3), fr. *di-rethim* 'run out, off', cpd. of *rethim* 'run'. Pedersen 2.598.

4. Goth. *andeis*, OE *ende*, etc., general Gmc. : Skt. *anta-* 'end', cpd. *prānta-* (*pra-anta-*), and prob. related ultimately to Skt. *anti* adv. 'opposite, before, near', Goth. and 'on, over, along', Lat. *ante* 'before', Grk. *avri* 'opposite, for', etc. Walde-P. 1.67. Falk-Torp 193. Feist 49.

5. Lith. *galas*, Lett. *gals*, prob. through 'point, prick' : Lith. *gelti* 'sting', *gelia* 'it hurts', ChSl. *žālī* 'pain', OE *cvelan*, Ir. *at-baill* 'die'. Walde-P. 1.690. Mühl.-Endz. 1.595.

6. ChSl. *konici*, etc., general Slavic, also and orig. 'end' temporal, deriv. of Slavic \**konū* in Russ. *kon* 'beginning', SCr. *od kona do kona* 'from beginning to end', Boh. *do-kona* 'to the end, completely' : ChSl. *na-četi*, Russ. *načat'*, etc. 'begin', Ir. *cinim* 'spring from, be born', Skt. *kanīna-* 'young', etc. Peculiar development fr. 'beginning' as one of the ends. Berneker 560 f. (otherwise on semantic relation).

SCr. *kraj*, etc., used more or less in certain connections for 'end', but the regular Slavic word for 'border, edge' (12.353), ChSl. *krajū* 'border, shore' (1.27).

7. Skt. *anta-*, *prānta-* : Goth. *andeis*, above, 4.

Av. *karana-* (also in special senses 'border, shore', etc.; NPers. *karān* 'shore, side'), etym.? Barth. 451.

stiff', etc. Walde-P. 2.131. Pedersen 1.44.

W. *brig*, etym.? For that in Morris Jones 157 f., see Loth, RC 36.177.

Br. *lein*, OBr. *blein*, Corn. *blin* : W. *blaen* 'point, top', etym.? Pedersen 1.125. Henry 37.182. Loth, RC 37.56 (vs. Morris Jones 418).

4. ON *toppr* (in *siglutoppr* 'mast-head', but mostly 'tuft, lock of hair, forelock', Dan. *top*, Sw. *topp*, OE, ME, NE, Du. *top* = OHG-NHG *zopf* 'plait, tress (of hair)', cf. Norw. *tuppa*, NHG *zupfen* 'pluck, tug', outside connections dub., but evidently 'top' from 'topknot, crest' or the like. Walde-P. 1.765. Falk-Torp 1272.

OHG *spizza*, *spizzi*, MHG, NHG *spitze* (> Dan. *spids*, Sw. *spets*), Du. *spits*, all also and orig. 'point' (12.352), but common for the 'top' (of a mountain, etc.).

MHG *gupfe*, with dim. late MHG *güpfel*, *gipfel*, NHG *gipfel*, prob., like the *k-* forms, MHG *kupfe*, *kuppe*, OHG *chuppa*, *chuppha* 'head-covering under helmet', fr. MLat. *cuppa* 'cup'. Weigand-H. 1.729, 1174 f. Kluge-G. 207, 337.

NHG *oberfläche* 'upper surface', used for the 'top' of a table, of water, etc.

5. Lith. *viršus*, Lett. *viršus*, ChSl. *vrūchū*, etc., general Balto-Slavic (with derivs. as Lith. *viršunė*, SCr. *vršak*, Russ. *verchuška*) : Skt. *varsman-* 'height, top, surface', *varšīyas-* 'higher', Lat. *verruca*. OE *wearte* 'wart', etc. Walde-P. 1.267. Ernout-M. 1091.

Lith. *čiukuras*, esp. 'top (of a mountain), point (of a house-gable)', Lett. *čukurs* 'bundle, cluster' also 'mound, ridge, gable', etym.? Mühl.-Endz. 1.419.

Lett. *gals* 'end' (12.35), also 'point, top'.

6. ChSl. *vrūchū*, etc., above, 5.

7. Skt. *agra-* ('point, top, front, beginning') : Av. *agra-* 'first, earliest', Lett. *agrs* 'early', root connection? Walde-P. 1.38 f.

Skt. *cikhara-*, also as adj. 'pointed', beside *cikhaṇḍa-*, *cikhā-* 'tuft of hair, lock', perh. fr. a root \**kōi-* in *ciḍāti* 'whets, sharpens', Av. *saēni-* 'point, top', Lat. *cōs*, ON *heinn*, NE *hone*, etc. Walde-P. 1.455. Uhlenbeck 309.

Skt. *grāga-* 'horn' (4.17), also 'mountain-top, peak, turret, etc.' (cf. Grk. *κορυφή*, above, 1).

Av. *saēni-*, cf. above, Skt. *cikhara-*.

## 12.34 BOTTOM

|      |               |       |                |
|------|---------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | πυθμήν        | Goth. | ...            |
| NG   | πάρος         | ON    | botn, grunnr   |
| Lat. | fundus        | Dan.  | bund           |
| It.  | fondo         | Sw.   | botten         |
| Fr.  | fond          | OE    | botm, grund    |
| Sp.  | fondo         | ME    | botum, grounde |
| Rum. | fund          | NE    | bottom         |
| Ir.  | bun           | Du.   | bodem          |
| Nlr. | bun           | OHG   | botum, grunt   |
| W.   | gwaelod (bon) | MHG   | bodem, boden   |
| Br.  | goueled       | NHG   | boden          |

*summit*) and late *summitās* (> It. *summitā*, etc.). Ernout-M. 1002. REW 8454.

Lat. *cacūmen*, esp. 'top of tree or mountain' : Skt. *kakubh-*, *kakud-* 'peak, summit', perh. fr. reduplicated extensions of \**keu-* in words for 'bend'. Walde-P. 1.371. Ernout-M. 125. Walde-H. 1.127.

Lat. *columen*, esp. 'ridge of house, gable', later *culmen* (> It. *colmo*, Sp. *cumbre*, Rum. *culme*) : *collis* 'hill', *celsus* 'high', etc. Ernout-M. 207 f. Walde-H. 1.249 f. REW 3276.

It., Sp. *cima*, Fr. *cime*, fr. Lat. *cyma* 'young sprout' of cabbage, etc., fr. *cyma* in this sense and others. Ernout-M. 250. REW 2438.

Rum. *vr̥f*, fr. Slavic, SCr. *vrh*, etc. (below, 6). Tiktin 1752.

Fr. *haut* 'high' (12.31), used also as sb. for 'top'.

It. *il di sopra*, lit. 'the above', used for 'top'.

3. Ir. *mullach* : Nlr. *mul*, *mol* 'heap, collection, eminence', also 'top or protuberant part of anything' (Dinneen), Ir. *mul-lethan* 'broad-headed', Br. *mellez* 'suture de la tête', outside connections dub. (Skt. *mūrdhan-* 'head'?). Walde-P. 2.295. Stokes 219.

Ir., Br. *barr* (also W. *bar* arch.) : Skt. *bhr̥ṣṭi-* 'point, edge', Lat. *fastigium* 'gable, summit', OHG *parrēn* 'stand up

|       |        |
|-------|--------|
| Lith. | dugnas |
| Lett. | dibens |
| ChSl. | dūno   |
| SCr.  | dno    |

this being the only occurring sense of Grk. *κράσπεδον* in the NT.

1. Derivs. of IE \*ak- in words for 'sharp' (1.78). Walde-P. 1.28 ff. Ernout-M. 7 ff. Falk-Torp 182. Pedersen 1.123, 412.

Grk. ἀκμή, Lat. *aciēs*; ON *egg*, Dan. *æg*, OE *ecg*, ME *egge*, NE *edge*, OHG *ekka* 'edge' of a sword in Notker; also 'point'; MHG *ecke* 'edge, point, corner'; NHG 'corner'; Lith. *asmens*, Lett. *asmens*; ChSl. *ostrije*, SCr. *ostrac*, Boh. *ostří*, Pol. *ostrze*, Russ. *ostrie*; Skt. *agri-*; here also Ir. *ochar*, Nlr. *eochair*, W. *ochr* 'edge, side', W. *hogi* 'sharpen, whet'; and prob. W. *awch* 'edge, sharpness' beside old *aug* 'sharpness, eagerness' (so Evans, Dict. s.v.; not mentioned in this group in Walde-P., Pedersen, or Stokes 5 f.) fr. the *a*-grade of Lat. *acer*, with *aw* reg. in monosyllables as *braud* 'brother'.

2. Grk. *κράσπεδον*, cpd. of *κράς* = *κάρᾱ* 'head' and *πέδον* 'ground'. Walde-P. 1.405. Boisacq 509.

Grk. χεῖλος, NG χεῖλα 'lip' (4.25), also 'edge' as 'rim, border'.

NG *áthras* 'spike of grain', 'edge' of a knife, etc. (also the 'choice, best part'), fr. Grk. *áthra* 'spike of grain', 'barb' of a weapon, perh. : Lat. *adri-* 'a kind of grain'. Walde-P. 1.45. Boisacq 18. Walde-H. 1.14.

NG *κόψη*, fr. *κόπτω* 'cut'.

Grk. στόμα 'mouth' (4.24) was sometimes used (through 'front'), for the 'point' (Hom.) or for the 'edge' (Aesch.), of a weapon, e.g. στόμα *μαχαίρας* 'edge of a sword' in LXX and NT, rendered literally *ós gladii* in the Vulgate, this again (Lk. 21.24) by OE *mūþ swordes* in Lindisf. vs. *suurdes eeg* in WSax. versions, likewise OHG *mund suertes* in Tat. (in Goth. the passage is lacking).

3. Lat. *ora* (derivs. > It. *orlo*, Sp. *orilla*) : Lat. *ós*, Skt. *ās* 'mouth', OE *or*

'beginning', *ōra* 'border, edge', etc. (see also under 'coast', 1.27). Ernout-M. 709, 714. REW 6080.

Lat. *margō* (> It., Rum. *marginē*, etc.) : Goth. *marka*, OE *mearc*, etc. 'boundary'. Ernout-M. 593. Walde-H. 2.39 f.

It. *filo*, Fr. *fil* 'thread' and 'edge', Sp. *filo* 'edge' vs. *hilo* 'thread', fr. Lat. *filum* 'thread' (6.38), with development through the fine line of the edge. Wartburg 3.532.

It. *taglio*, Rum. *tais*, fr. It. *tagliare*, Rum. *lăia* 'cut' (9.22).

Fr. *tranchant*, fr. *trancher* 'cut' (9.22). Fr. *bord* (Cat. > Sp. *borde*) fr. Gmc. *bord* (below, 5). REW 1215. Wartburg 1.436 ff.

It. *canto*, mostly 'corner, side', Sp. *canto* 'edge, border, side', OFr. *cant*, *chant* 'side', MLat. *cantus* 'corner, side', fr. Lat. *cantus* 'tire of a wheel' : Grk. *καθός* 'corner of the eye' (later 'tire of a wheel' after Lat.?), ultimately of Celt. orig.? Ernout-M. 146. Walde-H. 1.155 f. REW 1616. Wartburg 2.232 f.

4. Ir. *faibur*, *faebar*, Nlr. *faobhar*, loanword fr. Brit., cf. W. *gwaww* 'spear', pl. *gwawwawr*. Pedersen 1.23. Nlr. *béal*, 'lip, mouth' (4.25), also 'edge'.

Ir. *brú*, *brúach* (also 'bank', 1.27) : ON *brūn* 'edge' (of ice, mountain, etc.), Lith. *briauna* 'edge, border'. Walde-P. 1.196. Pedersen 1.62.

Ir. *cimas* (K. Meyer, Contrib. 369), Nlr. *ciumhais*, perh. : OE *hem* 'edge of cloth, border'. Walde-P. 1.388. Stokes, KZ 41.382.

Ir., W., Br. or (in part obs.), fr. Lat. or OE *ōra* (above, 3), Walde-P. 1.168. Pedersen 1.207. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 162. Otherwise Loth, Mots lat. 191.

Ir. *bil*, W. *byl*, cpds. Ir. *imbel*, W. *ymyll*, etym.? Pedersen 1.147, 302.

W. Lehmann, Z. celt. Ph. 6.438 (: OHG *bilar* 'gums').

Ir. *ochar*, W. *ochr*, *awch*, above, 1.

W. *min*, orig. 'lip', beside Ir. *mēn* 'open mouth', Br. *min* 'snout', perh. : OHG *mago* 'stomach', etc. Walde-P. 2.225. Pedersen 1.127. Stokes 197.

Br. *lemm*, fr. adj. *lemm* 'sharp' (15.78).

Br. *dremm*, also and orig. 'face, look' (like W. *drem*), fr. the root in Grk. *δέρμα* 'look', Skt. *dr̥s-* 'see', etc. Walde-P. 1.807. Pedersen 1.42.

Br. *neud* 'thread' (6.38), used also for 'edge', like (semantic borrowing) Fr. *fil*.

Br. *barvenn*, fr. *barv* 'barb'.

Br. *ribl* (esp. 'shore, bank', but also 'edge, side'), fr. Lat. *ripula*, dim. of *ripa* 'bank' (1.27). Numerous other Br. words given by Vallée s.v. *bord*.

5. ON *egg*, OE *ecg*, etc., above, 1.

OHG *scarft* (but mostly abstract 'roughness, sharpness', quotable as 'edge?'), MHG *scher(p)fe*, NHG *scharfe*, Du. *scherp*, fr. adjs. for 'sharp', OHG *s(c)arf*, etc. (15.78).

MHG *snide*, NHG *schneide*, fr. *sniden* 'cut' (9.22).

ON *borð*, OE *bord*, OHG *bort*, etc., general Gmc. word, in part 'edge, border', but esp. 'ship's side', root connection dub. Walde-P. 2.163. Falk-Torp 94.

Franeck-v. W. 83. NED s.v. *board*, sb. Hence Fr. *bord* 'edge, border', etc. and, through a Fr. deriv., ME *bordure*, NE *border*.

MLG *kant*, *kante*, Du. *kant* (MLG > Dan., Sw. *kant*, NHG *kante*), used esp. for an angular 'edge' (as of a table, etc.), also ME, NE *cant* (formerly 'edge' or 'corner'), all fr. a form of the group It., Sp. *canto*, etc., prob. the OFr. *cant* (above, 3). Falk-Torp 492. NED s.v. *cant*, sb.?

ON *rōnd*, OE *rand*, *rond*, OHG *rant*, used most commonly for the 'boss of a shield' or 'shield', but Dan., Sw., Du.,

NHG *rand* the most comprehensive word for 'edge' as 'border', etc., prob. fr. an extension of \**rem-* in ON *rimi* 'strip of land, ridge', OE *rima* (mostly in cpds.), NE *rim*, OHG *rama* 'support, frame' (NHG *rahmen*), etc. Walde-P. 2.372. Falk-Torp 876.

Goth. *skaut* (reg. for *κράσπεδον*, but always 'edge' of a garment) : ON *skaut* 'corner of cloth, skirt, bosom', OE *scēat* 'corner, region, lap, cloth', fr. the root in OE *scēotan*, OHG *scōzan* 'rush, throw, shoot, hit', etc. Walde-P. 2.554. Feist 431.

OE *snæd* 'bit, slice' and in Gospels reg. for Vulgate *fimbria* = *κράσπεδον*, fr. *snædan* 'cut off'.

OHG *trādo* (Otrf., Tat. for NT *fimbria*, *κράσπεδον*), prob. fr. the root in OE *teran* 'tear', etc. Walde-P. 1.798. Falk-Torp 1281.

6. Lith. *asmens*, Lett. *asmens*, above, 1.

Lith. *kraštas* (also 'shore, bank', as Lett. *krasts*), etym.? Mühl-Endz. 2.260.

Lith. *briauna* : Ir. *brū* (above, 4).

Lett. *mala* : Lith. *lyl-malas* 'full to the brim', perh. Alb. *mal* 'mountain', etc. Mühl-Endz. 2.556.

7. ChSl. *ostrije*, etc., above, 1.

ChSl. *krajī*, Russ. *kraj*, Boh. (o) *kraj* (SCr., Pol. *kraj* mostly in other senses) : ChSl. *-krojiti*, etc. 'cut' (9.22). Berneker 605 f. Here also Pol. *krawędź*, fr. *krawać* iter. form of *kroić* 'cut'. Brückner 265, 268.

ChSl. *vúskriliť* (reg. for *κράσπεδον* in Gospels), cpd. of *kriilo* 'wing'. Berneker 615.

SCr. *brid*, fr. the root in SCr. *brijati*, Boh. *bříti*, etc. 'shave' (cf. ChSl. *britva*, etc. 'razor', 6.93).

SCr. *ivica*, etym.? Berneker 439.

Boh. *hrana* : late ChSl. *granī* 'chapter', Russ. *gran'* 'facet, side', SCr., Pol.,

Balto-Slavic, where the word survives in W. *meun* 'within', ChSl. *među* 'in the middle, between' and *međa* 'street', etc., but as the adjective for 'middle' is displaced by other terms.

The original form is represented by Grk. *μέσος*, dial. *μέσος*, *μέσρος* (all fr. \**meios*); Lat. *medius* (> It. *mezzo*, *medio*, Fr. *mi-*, Sp. *medio*, etc.), Osc. loc. sg. fem. *meftat*; Ir. *mid-*; Goth. *midjis*, ON *miðr*, OE *midd*, OHG *mitti*, etc.; Skt. *madhya-*, Av. *maīdya-*.

But many of these came to be partly replaced as adjectives for 'middle' by derivs., e.g. NG *μεσῖος*, late Lat. *mediānus* (> It. *mezzano*, Fr. *moyen*), Ir. *mednāch*, fr. sb. *medn* 'middle' (this also a deriv. form), OE *middel*, and the comp. and superl. forms like NHG *müttler*, OE *middest* (more common than the positive), *midmost*, Sw. *mellerst*, Av. *maōma-*; or by phrases, as Fr. *au* (or *du*) *milieu*, It. *nel mezzo*; or by derivs. of cpds., as Rum. *mijlociu* fr. sb. *mijloc*, this like Fr. *milieu*, fr. cpd. with forms of Lat. *locus* 'place'.

2. W. *canol* (sb. and adj.), fr. Lat. *canālis* 'channel, groove'. Loth, Mots lat. 143.

W. *perfedd* (cf. Corn. *a berwedh* 'within'), fr. Lat. *per medium*. Loth, Mots lat. 195.

#### 12.41 RIGHT (Adj.; vs. Left)

|      |                  |       |              |       |                |
|------|------------------|-------|--------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | δεξιός           | Goth. | taihwa       | Lith. | dešinas        |
| NG   | deksios          | ON    | hagri        | Lett. | lābs           |
| Lat. | dexter           | Dan.  | højre        | ChSl. | desnū          |
| It.  | destro           | Sw.   | höger        | SCr.  | desni          |
| Fr.  | droit            | OE    | swīþra       | Boh.  | prawy          |
| Sp.  | diestro, derecho | ME    | riht, swiþer | Pol.  | prawy          |
| Rum. | drept            | NE    | riht, swiþer | Russ. | prawy (desnoj) |
| Ir.  | deas             | Du.   | recht        | Skt.  | dakṣiṇa-       |
| Nlr. | deas             | OHG   | recht        | Av.   | dašina-        |
| W.   | de, deheu        | MHG   | zese, reht   |       |                |
| Br.  | deheu            | NHG   | recht        |       |                |

Br. *ekreiz* cpd. of *e*, *en* 'in' and *kreiz* 'center = Ir. *cride* 'heart', etc. The simple *kreiz* is used as prefix 'mid-', e.g. *kreizeiz* 'midi', *kreiznoz* 'minuit', etc.

3. Lith. *vidurinis*, Lett. *vidējs* fr. Lith., Lett. *vidus* 'middle, inner part', this prob. : Skt. *vidhu-* 'solitary, isolated', Lat. *di-videre* 'separate, divide'. Walde-P. 1.239.

4. SCr. *srednji*, Boh. *střední*, Pol. *średni*, Russ. *srednij*, fr. the sbs. ChSl. *sřida*, etc. 'middle' : ChSl. *sřidice* 'heart', etc. (4.44). Brückner 534.

12.38. 'Center'. Substantive forms of the adjectives for 'middle' were used for 'the middle', or in some cases the adjectives were derived from the nouns (cf. 12.37). These words originally covered 'middle' and 'center' without distinction. For the latter arose also cpds. like NHG *mittelpunkt* and Russ. *sredotočie* (-točie : *toč* 'exactly'). But the widespread Eur. word for 'center' as applying especially to a circle or sphere, goes back to a development in Greek.

Grk. *κέντρον* 'sharp point, goad, sting' (: *κενρέω* 'prick, stab') was used also for the 'point' of a pair of compasses and for the 'center' of a circle or sphere. Hence in this sense Lat. *centrum* and the almost universal Eur. word.

The history of words for 'right' and 'left' shows that they were used primarily with reference to the hands.

Many of those for 'right' belong to an inherited group pointing to an IE word for 'right' with reference to the hand, but without clear antecedent root meaning. Others are from notions like 'straight, correct, right (vs. wrong)', 'good', 'stronger' or 'easier', all with obvious reference to the right hand.

1. IE \**deks(i)-*, with various suffixes, ultimate root connection (: Grk. *δεξιμα* 'receive', Skt. *dāṣ-* 'make offering, honor'?) dub. Walde-P. 1.784. Ernout-M. 264. Walde-H. 1.346 f. Feist 471.

Grk. *δεξιός* (prob. \**δεξιός*, cf. Goth. *taihwa*), Hom. and poet. *δεξιτερός*; Lat. *dexter* (> It. *destro*, OFr. *destre*, Sp. *diestro*), Osc. *destrst* 'dextra est', Umbr. *destram-e* 'in dextram'; Ir. *dess*, Nlr. *deas*, W. *de*, *deheu*, Br. *dehou*; Goth. *taihwa*, OHG *zeso*, MHG *zese*; Lith. *dešinas*,

OS *swiþra*, early ME *swiþer*, OS *swiþra* (*hand*), orig. comp. of OE *swiþ*, OS *swiþi*, Goth. *swinþs* 'strong' (4.81).

ME *riht*, NE *right*, Du. *recht*, MHG *reht* (but rarely in this sense), NHG *recht*, but OE *riht*, OHG *reht*, etc. only 'straight, just, etc.' : Lat. *rectus*, etc. Walde-P. 2.364. Weigand-H. 2.547. NED s.v. *right*, adj.

4. Lett. *lābs*, also and orig. 'good' : Lith. *lābas* 'good' (16.71), cf. MHG *dīu bezzer hant* 'the better (= right) hand'.

5. Boh. *prawy*, Pol. *prawy*, Russ. *prawyj*, lit. 'just, right' : ChSl. *pravū* 'straight', etc. (12.73).

#### 12.42 LEFT (Adj.; vs. Right)

|      |                           |       |                 |       |                      |
|------|---------------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | ἀριστερός, εὐώνυμος       | Goth. | hleiduma        | Lith. | kairias              |
| NG   | aristos, laios            | ON    | vinstri         | Lett. | kreiss               |
| Lat. | aristeros, xēpōs          | Dan.  | venstre         | ChSl. | šujī, lēvū           |
|      | sinister, laevus, scaevus | Sw.   | väster          | SCr.  | lijeva               |
|      |                           | OE    | winestra        | Boh.  | levý                 |
| It.  | sinistro                  | ME    | lift, lift      | Pol.  | lewý                 |
| Fr.  | gauche                    | NE    | left            | Russ. | levyj                |
| Sp.  | izquierdo, siniestro      | Du.   | linker          | Skt.  | savya-, vāma-        |
| Rum. | sting                     | OHG   | winistar, slinc | Av.   | haoya-, vairyastāra- |
| Ir.  | clé, tūath                | MHG   | winster, tinc   |       |                      |
| Nlr. | clé (tūath)               | NHG   | link            |       |                      |
| W.   | aswy, chwili              |       |                 |       |                      |
| Br.  | kleiz                     |       |                 |       |                      |

There is no such single widespread inherited group for 'left' as for 'right'. But there are some cases of correspondence between Greek, Latin, Celtic, and Baltic or Slavic, and between Slavic and Indic, all words without certain root connections.

Of the others, several are from notions applicable to the inferior left hand, as 'weak, useless', 'limp', 'bent, crooked', this last relation prob. in part through an intermediate 'awkward' (cf. NE *awkward* orig. 'turned the wrong way'), but also as opposite of 'straight' = 'right'.

Russ. *granica* 'boundary', etc., these prob. : Ir. *gren* 'beard', ON *grpn*, OE *granu*, OHG *grana*, MHG *granne* 'mustache' (MHG also, as NHG, 'beard of grains', etc.), all with common notion of something projecting. Walde-P. 1.606. Berneker 346. Brückner 155.

Pol. *brzeg*, also 'shore', like ChSl. *brěgu*, etc. See 1.27.

#### 12.36 SIDE

|      |                     |       |                |       |                         |
|------|---------------------|-------|----------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | πλευρά              | Goth. | fēra           | Lith. | šonas, pusė             |
| NG   | meiá                | ON    | siða           | Lett. | sāns, puse              |
| Lat. | latus, costa        | Dan.  | side           | ChSl. | (rebra, strana)         |
| It.  | lato, canto         | Sw.   | side           | SCr.  | strana, bok             |
| Fr.  | côté                | OE    | side           | Boh.  | strana, bok             |
| Sp.  | lado, costado       | ME    | side           | Pol.  | strona, bok             |
| Rum. | parte               | NE    | side           | Russ. | storona, bok            |
| Ir.  | lób, sliss, leth    | Du.   | zijde          | Skt.  | pārśva-, pakṣa-, ardhā- |
| Nlr. | taobh, slíos, leath | OHG   | sit(t)a, fiara | Av.   | arša-                   |
| W.   | yatllys, tu         | MHG   | site           |       |                         |
| Br.  | kostez, tu          | NHG   | seite          |       |                         |

Several of the words for 'side' were first used only for the 'side' of the body and are connected with words for 'rib'. Others are from such notions as 'half' or 'part, region'; and, in general, words for 'part' (besides those included in the list here) are often used in the sense of 'side'.

1. Grk. *πλευρά*, pl. of *πλευρά* 'rib', used for 'side' of the body (Hom.+), then for 'side' in general (*πλευρά* sg. for 'side' of the body in NT and NG); similarly *πλευρά*, pl. of *πλευρόν* 'rib', in narrow sense (Hom.) and later generic, etym.? Boisacq 794.

Grk. *μέσος* 'part, portion' (13.23), late 'region', NG *μέσος*, pop. *μεριά* usual word for 'side'.

2. Lat. *latus* (> It. *lato*, Sp. *lado*, OFr. *lez*, Rum. arch. *laturi*), prob. fr. another grade of the root in Lat. *lātus* 'wide' (12.61). Walde-P. 2.427. Walde-H. 1.772. Otherwise Ernout-M. 528.

Lat. *costa* 'rib' (4.162), also 'side'. Hence, through sb. form of Lat. *costātus*

8. Skt. *agri-*, above, 1.

Skt. *dhārā-*, Av. *dārā-* (also *tiži-dāra* 'with sharp edge') : Skt. *dhāw-* 'rinse, polish'? BR s.v. *dhārā-*. Uhlenbeck 136 f.

Skt. *anta-*, *prānta-* 'end' (12.35), also 'edge'.

Av. *karana-* 'end' (12.35), also 'edge, shore'. Barth. 451.

'wide' (12.61). Walde-P. 2.99. Walde-H. 1.772.

Br. *kostez*, fr. OFr. \**costed* > Fr. *côté* (above). Henry 77.

4. Goth. *fēra* 'part, region' and prob. 'side' (renders *μέρος*, *κλίματα* 'region' also *μέρος* 'part of body', Eph. 4.16, and cf. esp. *paim* of *hleidumein fērai* 'unto them on the left hand', Mt. 25.41), OHG *fēra*, *fara* 'side, part', etym.? Walde-P. 2.40. Feist 148.

ON *siða*, OE *side*, etc., general Gmc. (except Goth.), prob. (through the notion 'broad, long') : ON *siðr* 'hanging down, long', OE *sid* 'wide, broad, long', etc., these : W. *hyd* 'length', Ir. *sir* 'long, eternal', Lat. *sērus* 'late', etc. Walde-P. 2.462. Falk-Torp 961.

5. Lith. *šonas*, Lett. *sāns* ('side' of body, but extended in sense), perh. (as orig. 'rib')? : Russ., Slov. *sani* (pl.) 'sled'. Mühl-Endz. 3.804 f. Trautmann 298.

Lith. *pusė*, Lett. *puse*, lit. 'half' (13.24), but used commonly for 'side' of objects.

3. Ir. *i n-ocus*, NlR. *i bhfogus*, W. *yn agos*, adv. phrases of adjs. *ocus*, NlR. *fogus*, W. *agos* 'near', perh. the same word as Ir. *ocus* conj. 'and', and to be connected with Ir. *oc* 'by, at'. Thurneysen, Gram. 549. Pedersen 1.161.

NlR. *i n-aice*, phrase 'in proximity'. Dinneen s.v. *aice*.

Br. *tost*, fr. OFr. *tost* 'soon' (Fr. *tôt*), with change of application from time to place. Henry 267.

Br. *nes* (but mostly adj.) = W. *nes* 'nearer': Ir. *nessa* 'nearer', *nessam* 'nearest', Osc. *nessimas* 'proximae', formed fr. IE \**ned-* in Lat. *nōdus* 'knot', etc. Walde-P. 2.328.

4. Goth. *nēhwa*, *nēhwa*, ON *nær* (> ME *ner*, NE *near*), *nær*, Dan. *nær*, Sw. *nära* (comp. forms in Scand.), OE *nēah*, *nēh*, ME *ne(i)h*, NE arch. *nigh*, Du. *na* (usually cpd. *nabij*), OHG *nah(o)*, MHG *nahe*, *nā*, NHG *nah(e)*, outside connections dub., perh.: Lith. *pra-nokti* 'overtake', Lett. *nākt* 'come'. Walde-P. 1.129. Falk-Torp 778. Feist 373. Weigand-H. 2.267.

5. Lith. *arti* (old loc. \**artēi*) : Grk. *ἀρτι* 'even, just', Arm. *ard* 'now, just',

Skt. *ṛta-* 'fitting, right', etc., fr. the root in Grk. *ἀρῆρῖκω* 'fit, join together', etc. Walde-P. 1.172.

Lett. *tuvi*, fr. adj. *tuvs* 'near': Lith. *tuvi* 'at once', OPruss. *tawischan* (acc. sg.) 'the nearest', etym. dub. Mühl.-Endz. 4.276 f.

6. ChSl. *blizŭ*, *blizŭ*, SCr. *blizu*, Boh. *blízko*, Pol., Russ. *blízko*, beside adj. ChSl. *blizŭnŭ*, etc.: Lett. *blaižit* 'press together, crush, beat', Lat. *figere* 'beat, strike down', Grk. *φλίβω* 'press, crush'. Walde-P. 2.217. Berneker 61 f.

7. Skt. *saṁtipam*, beside adj. *saṁtipa-*, prob.: *saṁ-āp-* 'obtain', cpd. of *āp-* 'reach'. Uhlenbeck 329.

Skt. *antikaṁ*, beside *antika-* 'vicinity, presence', fr. *anti* 'opposite, before' (: Grk. *ἀντι* 'opposite', etc.).

Skt. *nikāṣam*, beside *nikāṣa-* adj. 'near, at one side', apparently cpd. with *ni-* 'down(wards)', but last member obscure. Uhlenbeck 147.

Av. *asne*, loc. sg. of adj. \**asna-* (fr. \**a-zd-na-* pple.) fr. root \**sed-* 'sit' (Skt. *sad-*, Av. *had-*, etc.). Walde-P. 2.485. Barth. 220.

## 12.44 FAR (adv.)

|      |                            |       |                       |       |                    |
|------|----------------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | <i>μακρῶν, πόρρω, τῆλε</i> | Goth. | <i>fairra</i>         | Lith. | <i>tolī</i>        |
| NG   | <i>μακρά, ἀλλότρυ</i>      | ON    | <i>fjarri, langt</i>  | Lett. | <i>tālu</i>        |
| Lat. | <i>procul, longē</i>       | Dan.  | <i>langt, fjern</i>   | ChSl. | <i>daleče</i>      |
| It.  | <i>lontano, lunge</i>      | Sw.   | <i>långt, fjärran</i> | SCr.  | <i>daleko</i>      |
| Fr.  | <i>loin</i>                | OE    | <i>for</i>            | Boh.  | <i>daleko</i>      |
| Sp.  | <i>lejos</i>               | ME    | <i>for</i>            | Pol.  | <i>daleko</i>      |
| Rum. | <i>departe</i>             | NE    | <i>far</i>            | Russ. | <i>daleko</i>      |
| Ir.  | <i>in chein</i>            | Du.   | <i>ver</i>            | Skt.  | <i>dūram, dūre</i> |
| NlR. | <i>i bhfad</i>             | OHG   | <i>fer(ro)</i>        | Av.   | <i>dūrāē</i>       |
| W.   | <i>ymhell</i>              | MHG   | <i>ver(re)</i>        |       |                    |
| Br.  | <i>pell</i>                | NHG   | <i>fern, weit</i>     |       |                    |

Most of the adverbs for 'far' are connected with adjectives for 'long' or 'wide' or with the large group of adverbs meaning 'before, forth, beyond', etc.

1. Grk. *μακρῶν*, NG *μακριά*, fr. adjs. *μακρός*, NG *μακρός* 'long' (12.52).

Grk. *πρόσω* and *πόρρω*, Att. *πόρρω*, also with notion of motion 'forwards, ahead': Lat. *porrō* 'foreward, onward', Grk.

*πρό*, Lat. *pro* 'before', Goth. *fairri*, etc. 'far' (below). Walde-P. 2.38. Ernout-M. 791.

Grk. (poet.) *τῆλε, τηλό*, Aeol. *πῆλυ*: Lat. *-cul* in *procul* (below), W., Br. *pell* 'far', Skt. *carama-* 'the last, extreme', *cira-* 'long' (of time), fr. the root \**k-el-*, orig. 'turn' in Grk. *πῶλος* 'pivot', *ῥῆλος* 'end', Lat. *colere* 'cultivate', etc. Walde-P. 1.517. Boisacq 966. Walde-H. 1.246.

NG *ἀλλάργα*, fr. It. *alla larga*: *largo* 'wide' (12.61). 'Ιστ. Λεξ. 1.456.

2. Lat. *procul*, cpd. of *pro-* 'before' and an old adv. related to Grk. *τῆλε*, etc. (above). Ernout-M. 813.

Lat. *longē* (> It. *lungi, lunge*, Fr. *loin*), fr. adj. *longus* 'long' (12.52); VLat. \**longitānus* > It. *lontano* (adj. and adv.), Fr. *lointain* (adj.). Ernout-M. 561. REW 5116, 5118.

Sp. *lejos*, fr. Lat. *laxus* 'loose, spacious, wide'. REW 4956.

Rum. *departe*, fr. Lat. *dē parte* 'from the side'. REW 6254. Tiktin 521.

3. Ir. *in chein*, adv. fr. *cian* adj. 'far' and 'long' (12.52), also alone as adv. *cīd* *dīan ocus cīan notheissinn* 'though I went fast and far' (Ml.41d.9).

NlR. *i bhfad* (or *a bhfad*), lit. 'in length', cf. *fada* 'long' (12.52).

W. *ymhell*, adv. fr. *pell* adj., Br. *pell* (adj. and adv.): Grk. *τῆλε*, etc. (above, 1). Pedersen 1.128.

4. Goth. *fairra*, ON *fjarri*, OE *for*

etc., general Gmc.: Grk. *πέρα* 'beyond, further', Skt. *para-* adj. 'far, distant', *paras* 'beyond', etc. (all ultimately connected with Grk. *πρό*, Lat. *pro*, Skt. *pra* 'before', etc.). Walde-P. 2.31 ff. Falk-Torp 225. Feist 141.

ON, Dan. *langt*, Sw. *långt*, neut. forms as advs. fr. ON *langr*, etc. 'long' (12.52).

NHG *weit*, fr. adj. *weit* 'spacious, far', OHG *wit* 'spacious, wide, broad', general Gmc. in latter sense (12.61). Develop-

ment fr. 'it is a wide distance to B' to 'it is far to B', and then also 'B is far', only NHG and still partially distinguished fr. *fern*. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 639.

5. Lith. *tolī*, Lett. *tālu*, fr. adj. Lith. *tolus*, Lett. *tāls* 'far' (OPruss. *tāls, tālis* adv. 'farther'): Boh. *otděle* 'delay, linger', further connection dub. Trautmann, Altpreuss. 445. Zubatý, Arch. sl. Ph. 16.388.

6. ChSl. *daleče*, SCr. *daleko*, etc., general Slavic, fr. adj. forms ChSl. *dalekŭ*, SCr. *dalek*, etc., beside ChSl. *dalja* in *vŭ dalje* 'far', prob.: ChSl. *dŭgŭ*, Skt. *dirgha-* 'long' (12.57). Berneker 177. Otherwise Zubatý, l.c., and Brückner 84.

7. Skt. *dūram, dūre*, Av. *dūrāē*, OPer. *duraiv*, acc. and loc. sg. neut. of adj. *dūra-* 'far, distant': Vedic *duwas-* 'pressing forward', *du-* 'go away(?)', MHG *zowen* 'hasten, progress, succeed', etc. Walde-P. 1.778 f.

8. ChSl. *dalekŭ*, SCr. *daleko*, etc., general Gmc.: Grk. *πέρα* 'beyond, further', Skt. *para-* adj. 'far, distant', *paras* 'beyond', etc. (all ultimately connected with Grk. *πρό*, Lat. *pro*, Skt. *pra* 'before', etc.). Walde-P. 2.31 ff. Falk-Torp 225. Feist 141.

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ment fr. 'it is a wide distance to B' to 'it is far to B', and then also 'B is far', only NHG and still partially distinguished fr. *fern*. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 639.

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|  | 12.45 EAST | 12.46 WEST | 12.47 NORTH | 12.48 SOUTH |
|--|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|
|--|------------|------------|-------------|-------------|

|       |                          |                                |                          |                                      |
|-------|--------------------------|--------------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Grk.  | <i>ἀνατολή, ἑως</i>      | <i>εἰς πέρα, δυσμαί, δύσις</i> | <i>βορέας, βορρᾶς</i>    | <i>νότος, μεσημβρία</i>              |
| NG    | <i>ἀνατολή</i>           | <i>occidēns, occāsus</i>       | <i>septentriō</i>        | <i>meridiēs, auster</i>              |
| Lat.  | <i>oriēns</i>            | <i>occidēns, occāsus</i>       | <i>septentriō</i>        | <i>meridiēs, auster</i>              |
| It.   | <i>est, levante</i>      | <i>ovest, ponente</i>          | <i>nord</i>              | <i>sud, mezzogiorno, mezzodì</i>     |
| Fr.   | <i>est</i>               | <i>ouest</i>                   | <i>nord</i>              | <i>sud, midi</i>                     |
| Sp.   | <i>este</i>              | <i>oeste, poniente</i>         | <i>norte</i>             | <i>sur, mediodia</i>                 |
| Rum.  | <i>est, răsărit</i>      | <i>vest, apus</i>              | <i>nord</i>              | <i>sud</i>                           |
| Ir.   | <i>airtheor</i>          | <i>iarthar</i>                 | <i>tuascert</i>          | <i>deiscert</i>                      |
| NlR.  | <i>airtheor</i>          | <i>iarthar</i>                 | <i>tuascert</i>          | <i>deiscert</i>                      |
| Br.   | <i>duyrain</i>           | <i>gortlewin</i>               | <i>gogled</i>            | <i>deheu, de kreistei-</i>           |
| W.    | <i>reter, sazheol</i>    | <i>kuzheol, kornaueg</i>       | <i>hanternoz</i>         |                                      |
| ON    | <i>urruns</i>            | <i>saggs</i>                   |                          |                                      |
| Dan.  | <i>øst</i>               | <i>vest</i>                    | <i>nørð</i>              | <i>sødr</i>                          |
| Sw.   | <i>öster</i>             | <i>väster</i>                  | <i>nord</i>              | <i>söd</i>                           |
| OE    | <i>east</i>              | <i>west</i>                    | <i>norþ</i>              | <i>souþ</i>                          |
| ME    | <i>est</i>               | <i>west</i>                    | <i>north</i>             | <i>south</i>                         |
| NE    | <i>east</i>              | <i>west</i>                    | <i>north</i>             | <i>south</i>                         |
| Du.   | <i>oosten</i>            | <i>westen</i>                  | <i>noorden</i>           | <i>zuiden</i>                        |
| OHG   | <i>ōstan</i>             | <i>westan</i>                  | <i>nord, nordan</i>      | <i>sundan</i>                        |
| MHG   | <i>ōsten</i>             | <i>west(en)</i>                | <i>nort, norden</i>      | <i>sūden, sunden</i>                 |
| NHG   | <i>osten</i>             | <i>westen</i>                  | <i>norden</i>            | <i>sūden</i>                         |
| Lith. | <i>rytai</i>             | <i>vakarai</i>                 | <i>šiaurė, žiemiai</i>   | <i>pietūs, dienvidus</i>             |
| Let.  | <i>austrums, rīti</i>    | <i>rietums, vakari</i>         | <i>ziemeļi</i>           | <i>dienvidus</i>                     |
| ChSl. | <i>istokŭ</i>            | <i>zapadŭ</i>                  | <i>severŭ</i>            | <i>jugŭ</i>                          |
| SCr.  | <i>istok</i>             | <i>zapad</i>                   | <i>sever</i>             | <i>jug</i>                           |
| Boh.  | <i>východ</i>            | <i>západ</i>                   | <i>sever</i>             | <i>jih</i>                           |
| Pol.  | <i>wschód</i>            | <i>zachód</i>                  | <i>sewer</i>             | <i>południe</i>                      |
| Russ. | <i>vosok</i>             | <i>zakhod</i>                  | <i>sever</i>             | <i>jug</i>                           |
| Skt.  | <i>pūrvā-(diç-)</i>      | <i>prāci-(diç-)</i>            | <i>utārā-(diç-)</i>      | <i>dakṣiṇā-(diç-)</i>                |
| Av.   | <i>urpaošahva-</i>       | <i>pacimā-(diç-)</i>           | <i>utārā-(diç-)</i>      | <i>dakṣiṇā-(diç-)</i>                |
|       | <i>uśastara-</i> (adjs.) | <i>daošastara-</i> (adjs.)     | <i>apāztara-</i> (adjs.) | <i>paurva-, rapīṭvātara-</i> (adjs.) |

The majority of words for the main points of the compass are based either on the position of the sun at a given time of day ('sunrise, dawn, morning' = 'east', 'sunset, evening' = 'west', 'midday' = 'south') or on one's orientation, which among the IE-speaking peoples was usually facing the sunrise ('in front' = 'east', 'behind' = 'west', 'right' = 'south', 'left' = 'north'), though there are also traces of orientations toward the north or south (the latter in the Avesta, where 'in front' = 'south', 'behind' = 'north'). Cf. Schrader Reallex. 1.500 f.

A few are from names of characteristic winds, and among those for 'north' some are connected with the name of a constellation in the north, with 'winter', or

with 'midnight' as opposite of 'midday' = 'south'.

Notable is the spread of the English words, first as nautical terms, to the Romance languages.

The attested Goth. words for 'east' and 'west' (Mt. 8.11; those for 'north' and 'south' are not quotable) are not general Gmc. terms, but literal translations of the Grk. Cf. G. S. Lane, Phil. Quarterly 12.323 f.

But it may be noted that Luther used the Gmc. terms only for the winds, otherwise those for 'morning', 'evening', etc., and that these or others had almost replaced the old terms for a while. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 379.

The words are listed in the sb. forms so far as possible. But some of the early

Gmc. forms are quotable only as advs. or in cpds., as OE *east*, etc. (see NED s.v.). The Av. forms are adjs., and the Skt. are fem. adjs. with *diç-* 'direction', esp. 'cardinal point of the sky' (: *diç-* 'point out') either expressed or understood.

12.45. Words for 'east' are connected with words for 'dawn' or 'morning', with verbs for 'rise', or with words for 'before' or 'in front', all referring to the direction of the rising sun.

1. IE \**āus-*, \**āusos-*, \**usos-*, etc., in words for 'dawn' and 'east', beside verb forms as Skt. *ucchatī*, Av. *usati* 'lights up' (esp. of the dawn), Lith. *aušti*, Lett. *aust* 'to dawn'. Walde-P. 1.26 f. Ernout-M. 93. Walde-H. 1.86.

Grk. Aeol. *αὔω*, Dor. *αὔω*, Hom. *ἠώς*, Att. *ἑως* 'dawn' and 'east'; Lat. *aurora* (\**ausōs-ā*) 'dawn' and (mostly poet.) 'east' (prob. also *auster* 'south wind', 12.48); ON *aust*, OE *east*, OHG *ōstan*, etc., general Gmc., with various suffixes; Lith. *aušra* 'dawn', Lett. *austrums* 'east'; ChSl. *za ustra* 'in the morning'; Skt. *uśā*, Av. *uśā* 'dawn', whence Av. *uśastara-*, *urpaošahva-* (fr. \**urpa-uśah-*) adjs. for 'east'.

2. Grk. *ἀνατολή* 'a rising', esp. pl. *ἀνατολαί* 'sunrise', hence 'east': *ἀνατέλλω* 'rise' (esp. of the sun).

3. Lat. *oriēns*, pres. pple. of *oriri* 'rise'. Hence as literary terms, It., Sp. *orient*, Fr. *orient*.

It. *levante* (> Sp. *levante*, Fr. *levant*), fr. *levāre* 'raise, lift', refl. 'rise'. REW 5000.

Fr. *est* (> It., Rum. *est*), Sp. *este* fr. ME est. REW 2917a. Wartburg 3.247.

Rum. *răsărit*, lit. '(sun)rise', fr. *răsări*, 'go up, climb, rise' (of sun), cpd. of *raz-* (Slavic) and *sari* 'spring' fr. Lat. *salire*. Tiktin 1300, 1367.

4. Ir. *airtheor*, NlR. *oirtheor*, Br. *reter*,

fr. Ir. *air-*, Br. *ar-* 'before' (: Skt. *pari* 'against, toward', Grk. *πᾶρι* 'around', etc.), but also 'east' in advs. *l-air* 'in the east', *s-air* 'to the east', *an-air* 'from the east'. Walde-P. 2.33. Pedersen 2.187. Ernault, Glossaire 572.

W. *duyrain*, orig. 'sunrise', perh. fr. a cpd. of the root in Ir. *rigim* 'stretch out', Lat. *regere* 'direct, rule', etc. Pedersen 1.237, 2.56, 596 note 3.

Br. *sawheol*, cpd. of *sav* 'upright, raised' and *heol* 'sun'.

5. Goth. *urruns* (lit. translation of Grk. *ἀνατολή*): *urrinnan* 'run out, go up, rise (of sun)', ON *renna*, OE *rinnan* 'run', etc. Feist 528.

6. Lith. *rytai*, Lett. *riti*, pl. of Lith. *rytas*, Lett. *rits* 'morning' (14.34).

7. ChSl. *vŭstokŭ*, SCr. *istok*, Russ. *vostok*, orig. 'sunrise', lit. 'a running up, out': ChSl. *tešti, tekŭ* 'run', etc. (10.46).

Boh. *východ*, Pol. *wschód*, orig. 'sunrise', lit. 'a going out, up': Boh. *choditi*, Pol. *chodzić* 'go' (10.47).

8. Skt. *pūrvā-(diç-)* fr. adj. *pūrvā* 'in front, former, eastern' = Av. *paurva-* 'in front, former', but 'southern' (see 12.48). OPer. *paruva-* 'eastern' (Barth. 871) is to be deleted. The correct reading is *paradraya* 'beyond the sea'. Cf. Cameron, J. Near East. Stud. 2.307 f.

Skt. *prāci-(diç-)*, fr. *prāci-* 'directed forward, in front, facing, eastern'.

2. Lat. *fōrma* (> It. *forma*, OFr. *fourme* > ME *forme*, NE *form*; Fr. *forme*, Sp. *forma*, Rum. *formă* are lit. borrowings), etym. dub. Connection with Grk. *μορφή*, either by borrowing and transposition of consonants (through Etruscan?) or otherwise is possible. Ernout-M. 378 f. Walde-H. 1.530 f.

Lat. *fōrma* has given a more or less literary or technical word in most of the Eur. languages, as Dan., Sw., NHG *form*, in Slavic languages *forma*.

Lat. *figūra*, properly 'shape given to an object': *figere* 'shape, mold', *figulus*

of *cadere* 'fall'. Hence the lit. Romance words It., Sp. *occidente*, Fr. *occident* 'occident'.

Lat. *occāsus* (sc. *solis*), lit. 'sunset': *occidere* (above).

It. *ponente*, Sp. *poniente*, fr. It. *porre*, Sp. *poner* 'put, place' (12.12). REW 6647.

Fr. *ouest*, Sp. *oeste* (> It. *ovest*), fr. OE *west* (below, 4). REW 9526.

Rum. *vest*, fr. NHG *west*.

Rum. *apus*, lit. '(sun)set', pple. of *apune* 'sink, go down, set (of the sun)', fr. Lat. *ad-pōnere* 'place near'. Tiktin 86.

3. Ir. *iarthar*, fr. *iār* 'behind', and 'west' in advs. *t-iār* 'in the west', *s-iār* 'toward the west', *an-iār* 'from the west' (: Skt. *api*, Grk. *ἐπι*). Pedersen 1.93. Walde-P. 1.123.

W. *gortlewin*, older *gollewin*, OW *gultengin*, etym.? Pedersen 1.107.

Br. *kuzheol*, lit. 'sunset', cpd. of *kuz* 'hiding' and *heol* 'sun'.



| 12.52 SIZE     |                     |                            |  |
|----------------|---------------------|----------------------------|--|
| Grk. μέγθος    | Goth. mikilei       | Lith. didumas, didybė      |  |
| NG. μέγθος     | ON. stōrleikr       | Lett. lielums              |  |
| Lat. magnitudo | Dan. størrelse      | ChSl. veličje, veličstotje |  |
| It. grandezza  | Sw. storlek         | Scr. velik                 |  |
| Fr. grandeur   | OE. micelness       | Boh. velikost              |  |
| Sp. tamaño     | ME. mikelnes, syse  | Pol. wielkość              |  |
| Rum. mărime    | NE. size            | Russ. velikina             |  |
| Ir. méid       | Du. grootte         | Skt. māna-, mahas-         |  |
| Nl. méid       | OHG. mihhelt, grōzi | Av. mazah-, masah-         |  |
| W. maint       | MHG. grōze, michel  |                            |  |
| Br. maint      | NHG. grōsse         |                            |  |

Most of the words for 'size' are obvious derivs. of the adjectives for 'large, big' (12.55), that is, 'bigness' is used for 'the degree of bigness', as Grk. μέγθος : μέγας, Lat. magnitudo : magnus, Goth. mikilei : mikils, etc.—all the words listed, with the following exceptions:

1. Sp. tamaño, sb. of adj. tamaño 'so large' (Lat. tam magnus 'so large'). REW 8552.
2. Ir. méid, Nl. méid, W. maint, Br. ment, perh. \*manti, old abstract formation fr. root in Ir. mār 'large' (12.55). Pedersen 1.242 f., 2.48. Walde-P. 2.238.

#### 12.53 GROW (= Increase in Size)

|                          |                 |                        |  |
|--------------------------|-----------------|------------------------|--|
| Grk. αἰξάνωμαι           | Goth. wahsjan   | Lith. augti            |  |
| NG. μεγαλύνω, αἰξάνω     | ON. vaza        | Lett. rasti            |  |
| Lat. crescere, augescere | Dan. vokse      | ChSl. rasti            |  |
| It. crescere             | Sw. växa        | Scr. rasti             |  |
| Fr. croître              | OE. weazan      | Boh. růsti             |  |
| Sp. crecer               | ME. wazē, growe | Pol. rosnać            |  |
| Rum. crește              | NE. growen      | Russ. rasti            |  |
| Ir. ásaím, forbiúr       | Du. wassen      | Skt. vṛdh-, rudh-, uk- |  |
| Nl. fāsaim               | OHG. wāhsan     | Av. varad-, rud-, uz-  |  |
| W. tyfu                  | MHG. wāhsen     |                        |  |
| Br. kreski               | NHG. wachsen    |                        |  |

Most of the words for 'grow' were probably used primarily with reference to plant life, as is demonstrably the case for NE grow.

1. IE \*aweg- (\*aug-, \*ug-, and with -s extension \*aweks-, etc., orig. desid. formation). Walde-P. 1.22 f. Ernout-M. 88 f. Walde-H. 1.82 f., 850. Falk-Torp 1390. Feist 67, 541.

Grk. αἰξάνω, also αἰξω, áξω (\*áξω) 'increase' (trans.) with mid. αἰξάνωμαι etc. 'grow' (intr., but NG αἰξάνω trans. and intr.); Lat. augēre 'increase' trans., rarely also intr. 'grow', inchoat. augēscere intr.; Goth. wahsjan, OE weazan etc., general Gmc. (ON waz of the moon, but mostly arch.); Lith. augti, Lett. augt; Skt. ukṣ-, Av. uzš- (3sg. pres. uzšēiti);

#### 12.55 LARGE, BIG (GREAT)

|                       |                         |                         |  |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|--|
| Grk. μέγας            | Goth. mikils            | Lith. didis, didelės    |  |
| NG. μέγας             | ON. stōrr, mikill       | Lett. liels             |  |
| Lat. magnus, grandis  | Dan. stor               | ChSl. velij, velikū     |  |
| It. grande, grosso    | Sw. stor                | Scr. velik              |  |
| Fr. grand, gros       | OE. micel               | Boh. vel(i)kij          |  |
| Sp. grande            | ME. mikel, grete (bigg) | Pol. wielki             |  |
| Rum. mare             | NE. large, big (great)  | Russ. bol'soj (velikij) |  |
| Ir. mār, bras(s), oll | Du. groot               | Skt. mahant-, mah-      |  |
| Nl. mār               | OHG. mihhil, grōz       | Av. mazant-, maz-       |  |
| W. mawr               | MHG. grōz, michel       | masan-, OPers. vazarka- |  |
| Br. bras              | NHG. gross              |                         |  |

Many of the words for 'large, big' belong to inherited groups, one of them so widespread as to leave no doubt that it reflects the chief IE expression for 'great, large' with the familiar extensions beyond the notion of size.

Yet this group is represented in the present European languages only by NG μέγας or by dialect forms like NE mickle and muckle (also NE much but no longer used of size). As Lat. magnus was replaced by grandis, so Goth. mikils, OE micel, etc., were replaced in Scandinavian by ON stōrr, Dan., Sw. stor, in West Gmc. by the group represented by NE great, which in turn is now used mostly in secondary senses or with emotional value, and with reference to size, except in certain phrases, compounds, and place names, is replaced by large or its more colloquial and expressive equivalent big.

The words not of the inherited groups reflect such diverse notions as 'thick, coarse', 'abundant, spacious', 'swollen', 'strong', etc.

'Large' and 'small' (12.56) are, of course, understood here in reference to size. For the corresponding notions of quantity, amount, or number, which are partly expressed by the same terms but partly differentiated, see 13.15, 13.17.

1. IE \*megh-, \*megh-. Walde-P. 2.257 f. Ernout-M. 580 f. Walde-H. 2.10 f. Feist 358 f.

Grk. μέγας, gen. μέγαλου, NG μέγας (nom. normalized fr. stem of other cases); Lat. magnus; Ir. maige, maignech (not common), Gall. magio- (in Magi-riz, etc.); Goth. mikils, ON mikill, OE micel, mycel, ME mikel, etc. (NE dial. mickle and muckle), OHG mihhil, MHG michel; Skt. mah-, mahant-, Av. maz-, mazant-; Arm. mec; Alb. madh; Hitt.

Toch. A oks- 'grow', oksu, B aukšu 'old' (SSS 426).

2. NGR. μεγαλύνω, fr. μέγας 'large' (12.54).
3. Lat. crēscere (> It. crescere, Fr. croître, Sp. crecer, Rum. crește) : creāre 'produce, create', Arm. sernem 'beget', Lith. šerti 'nourish, feed', Grk. κοπέσκω, κοπένημι 'satisfy'. Walde-P. 1.408. Ernout-M. 232. Walde-H. 1.288.

4. Ir. āsaim, Nl. fāsaim, cf. Ir. ās 'growth', perh. (with loss of init. w in sandhi) fr. \*uōks- : Goth. wahsjan, etc. (above, 1). G. S. Lane, Language 13.21. Otherwise Strachan, IF 2.370.

Ir. forbiúr, cpd. of biru 'carry' and for 'on', hence lit. 'carry on'. Pedersen 2.467 f.

W. tyfu : Lat. tumēre 'swell, be swollen', fr. an extension of the root \*tēu- in Skt. tāuti 'is strong', ChSl. tyti 'become fat', etc. Walde-P. 1.708. Ernout-M. 1064.

Br. kreski, prob. fr. Lat. crēscere. Henry 81. Loth, Mots lat. 154 (with some question on account of the short vowel).

#### 12.54 MEASURE (vb.)

|               |                  |                         |  |
|---------------|------------------|-------------------------|--|
| Grk. μέτρο    | Goth. milan      | Lith. matuoti, mieruoti |  |
| NG. μέτρο     | ON. mēla         | Lett. mērit             |  |
| Lat. metiri   | Dan. maale       | ChSl. mēriti            |  |
| It. misurare  | Sw. mäla         | Scr. mēriti             |  |
| Fr. mesurer   | OE. metan        | Boh. měřiti             |  |
| Sp. medir     | ME. mele, mesure | Pol. mierzyć            |  |
| Rum. măsura   | NE. measure      | Russ. mērit'            |  |
| Ir. domiditir | Du. melen        | Skt. mā-                |  |
| Nl. domhaisim | OHG. mezzan      | Av. mā-                 |  |
| W. mesur(o)   | MHG. mezzan      |                         |  |
| Br. muzuła    | NHG. messen      |                         |  |

All the words for 'measure' are from one of two IE roots, themselves probably related ultimately.

1. IE \*mē- in nouns and verbs, the latter mostly through the nouns, except in Indo-Iranian. Walde-P. 2.237. Ernout-M. 612 f. REW 5503, 5552. Falk-Torp 685. Berneker 2.50.

Skt., Av. mā-; Grk. sb. μέτρον : (Skt. mā-tra-m as Skt. da-tra-m : Av. dā-θra-m) whence vb. μέτρο; Lat. mētrī through a sb. \*mētri- (cf. OE mēd 'measure', Grk. ἡμεῖς 'plan, wisdom'), VLat. \*mētre (> Sp., Port. medir), pple. mēnsus (hence mēnsura sb. and late denom. mēnsurare > It. misurare, Fr.

mekkis 'great', esp. in number; Toch. A māḱ, B māka 'great in number'. 2. Derivs. of an IE \*mē-, \*mō-. Walde-P. 2.238. Falk-Torp 714.

Ir. mār, mōr, Nl. mōr, W. mawr (Br. mawr 'majestic, grand, etc.') : Grk. μέγας, hence lōmhaism), cpd. of midivur 'judge'; Goth. milan, OE metan, OHG mezzan, etc., general Gmc. (but ON meta 'value, estimate') : Grk. μέδομαι 'be mindful of', Lat. mederi 'care for', esp. 'heal', meditari 'reflect upon'.

3. Lat. grandis (> It. Sp. grande, Fr. grand), esp. 'great (morally and physical-ly)' and often also 'full-grown', etym. dub., but perh. (as 'swollen?') : Grk. βρέθος 'pride', ChSl. grādī 'breast', etc. Walde-P. 1.699. Ernout-M. 431 f. Walde-H. 1.617 f.

It. grosso, Fr. gros 'thick, coarse' (12.63), but also 'stout' and 'big'. Rum. mare, fr. Lat. mās, maris 'male' (in designating the male animal of a species and consequently the larger). Pūscariu 1027. Tiktin 952.

4. Ir. mār, mōr, W. mawr, above, 2. Ir. brass, Br. Corn. bras (W. bras 'stout, coarse'), prob. : Lat. grossus 'thick, coarse' (12.63). Walde-P. 1.698. Walde-H. 1.623. Stokes 183.

Ir. oll, also freq. as prefix oll- (cf. also Gall. Ollo-gnatus, etc.), prob. : Lat. pol-lēre 'be able', pollens 'powerful', perh. Skt. phala- 'fruit' etc., with primary notion of 'swollen'. Walde-P. 2.102. Ernout-M. 785. Stokes 52 f.

5. ON stōrr, Dan., Sw. stor (late OE stōr is loanword), cf. OFris. stōr id., OS stōri 'famous' : ChSl. starū 'old', Lith. storas 'thick', fr. the root. \*stā- 'stand', with semantic development fr. 'standing (fast)' to 'big, thick, old'. Walde-P. 2.607. Falk-Torp 1174.

OE grēat (mostly 'coarse, stout,

5. ME growe, NE grow, Du. groeien, but OE grōwan, ON grōa, OHG grūwan only 'grow' (of plants), 'spring up, become green, etc.' : MHG grūose 'shoot of a plant, sap', Goth., ON, OHG gras OE graes 'grass', ON grænn, OE grēne, OHG grūoni 'green', Lat. grāmen 'grass', Walde-P. 1.645 f. NED s.v. grow, vb.

6. ChSl. rasti, etc., general Slavic (Pol. rósć replaced in present by rosnać), fr. \*ord(h)-t-, prob. : Lat. arduus 'steep, high', Ir. ard, Av. aradwa- 'high'. Walde-P. 1.149. Brückner 463.

7. Skt. vṛdh- act. and caus. 'make grow or thrive, elevate', mid. 'grow, thrive', Av. varad- act. (and mid.) 'make grow or thrive, increase', mid. and pass. 'grow, thrive' : ūrdhva- 'upward, upright, raised, elevated', Grk. ὀρθός 'upright, straight', Slavic roditi 'bear'. Walde-P. 1.289.

Skt. rudh-, ruh-, Av. rud- (pres. 3pl. Skt. rodhanti, Av. raodanti) : Goth. liudan 'grow up' (of seed, Mk. 4.27), OE lēodan, OHG ar-liotan 'spring, grow' (of plants), ON loðinn 'grown over, hairy'. Walde-P. 2.416.

#### 12.56 SMALL, LITTLE

|                    |                                 |                     |  |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Grk. μικρός        | Goth. leitils (smals)           | Lith. mažas         |  |
| NG. μικρός         | ON. litill, smār (smalr)        | Lett. mazs          |  |
| Lat. parvus        | Dan. lille, pl. smaa            | ChSl. malū (chudū)  |  |
| It. piccolo        | Sw. liten, pl. små              | Scr. mali, malen    |  |
| Fr. petit          | OE. lǣtel, smal                 | Boh. malý           |  |
| Sp. pequeño, chico | ME. litel, smal                 | Pol. mały           |  |
| Rum. mic           | NE. small, little               | Russ. malýj         |  |
| Ir. becc           | Du. klein                       | Skt. alpa-, ksudra- |  |
| Nl. beag           | OHG. luzzil, smāh(i), smal      | Av. kasu-           |  |
| W. bach, bychan    | MHG. lützel, smal, smähe, klein |                     |  |
| Br. bihan          | NHG. klein                      |                     |  |

There is no widespread inherited group for 'small' parallel to that for 'large', and the majority of the words are of uncertain origin. Several seem to be based upon expressive (symbolic) syllables. 'Crushed, ground (fine)' is the certain source for one word and a possible one for some others. A peculiar development from 'bright, shining' through 'clean, delicate, fine, thin', etc., is seen in NHG klein vs. NE clean.

Words for 'small' naturally develop secondary opprobrious senses, 'petty, trivial, mean', etc. Conversely, for certain groups (Goth. leitils, etc., and OE lǣtel, etc.) in which the majority of the cognates have the notion of 'deceit, abuse' or the like, one must reckon with the possibility that this is the more original and 'small' in the literal sense secondary (cf. the history of 'right' and 'left', 12.41, 12.42).

1. Grk. μικρός, Ion., early Att. συμ-κρός, also hypocoristic μικρός (attested

Grk. βέλτιον, βέλτερος 'better', Lat. dē-bilis 'weak'. Walde-P. 2.110. Walde-H. 1.327. Berneker 72.

8. Skt. mahant-, mah-, Av. mazant-, maz-, above, 1.

Av. masan- 'great, significant', masil-, masila- 'great, large', masyah- 'greater', masišta-, OPers. mabišta- 'greatest', beside masan- 'greatness, importance',

|                    |                                 |                     |  |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Grk. μικρός        | Goth. leitils (smals)           | Lith. mažas         |  |
| NG. μικρός         | ON. litill, smār (smalr)        | Lett. mazs          |  |
| Lat. parvus        | Dan. lille, pl. smaa            | ChSl. malū (chudū)  |  |
| It. piccolo        | Sw. liten, pl. små              | Scr. mali, malen    |  |
| Fr. petit          | OE. lǣtel, smal                 | Boh. malý           |  |
| Sp. pequeño, chico | ME. litel, smal                 | Pol. mały           |  |
| Rum. mic           | NE. small, little               | Russ. malýj         |  |
| Ir. becc           | Du. klein                       | Skt. alpa-, ksudra- |  |
| Nl. beag           | OHG. luzzil, smāh(i), smal      | Av. kasu-           |  |
| W. bach, bychan    | MHG. lützel, smal, smähe, klein |                     |  |
| Br. bihan          | NHG. klein                      |                     |  |

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1. Grk. μικρός, Ion., early Att. συμ-κρός, also hypocoristic μικρός (attested

8. Russ. dlínnyj, with sb. dlina 'length', vb. dlit' 'prolong' : ChSl. prodǫliti 'prolong', Boh. (prodǫliti 'delay', etc., fr. the root seen in the general Slavic word, ChSl. dlǫgū, etc. (above, 1). Berneker 252 f.

9. Skt. dirgha-, Av. daraga-, above, 1. Av. mas- 'long', but superl. masišta-, OPers. mabišta- 'greatest' (12.55) : Grk. μακρός, above, 3.

perh. here ChSl. chudū, etc. (above, 6). Walde-P. 1.502.

Av. kasu-, perh. : Lith. kašeti 'lose weight', NHG hager 'lean, thin', ME hagger, NE haggard. Walde-P. 1.334.

#### 12.57 LONG

|                      |             |                       |  |
|----------------------|-------------|-----------------------|--|
| Grk. μακρός, δολιχός | Goth. laggs | Lith. ilgas           |  |
| NG. μακρός, μακρός   | ON. langr   | Lett. garš            |  |
| Lat. longus          | Dan. lang   | ChSl. dlǫgū           |  |
| It. lungo            | Sw. lång    | Scr. dug              |  |
| Fr. long             | OE. long    | Boh. dlouhý           |  |
| Sp. largo            | ME. long    | Pol. długi            |  |
| Rum. lung            | NE. long    | Russ. dolgij, dlínnyj |  |
| Ir. cian, long, fola | Du. lang    | Skt. dirgha-          |  |
| Nl. fada             | OHG. lang   | Av. daraga-, mas-     |  |
| W. hir, maith        | MHG. lanc   |                       |  |
| Br. hir              | NHG. lang   |                       |  |

Most of the words for 'long' belong to one of two inherited groups, these probably related ultimately.

1. IE \*delagho- (?), \*dǫgho-. Walde-P. 1.813. Berneker 251 f.

Grk. δολιχός, poet. except in sb. δολιχός 'the long course', cf. also ἑδελεχός 'perpetual'; ChSl. dlǫgū, Scr. dug, etc., general Slavic; Skt. dirgha-, Av. daraga-, OPers. dargā-; Baltic with loss of d-, Lith. ilgas (OPruss. ilgi, ilga adv., Lett. ilgs adj. of time only); Hitt. dalugāš (pl.), with sb. dalugasti 'length'.

2. IE \*longho-, prob. fr. \*dlongho- and ultimately related to preceding on the basis of a simple root \*del-. Walde-P. 1.812 f. Ernout-M. 561. Walde-H. 1.820 f. Falk-Torp 622.

3. Grk. μακρός, NG pop. μακρός (after old v-stem adjs. like παλῆς, παλῆς etc. Hatzidakis, Mev. 2.12 f.), beside μικρός, Dor. μακός 'length' : Lat. macer, ON magr, OE maegr, etc. 'lean', Av. mas- 'long' (etc., below, 9). Walde-P. 2.223. Walde-H. 2.2.

masah- 'length, size', and mas- 'long' : Grk. μακρός 'long' (12.57). Walde-P. 2.223. Barth. 1154 ff.

OPers. vazarka- 'great' king and 'great' = 'large' earth) : Skt. vāja- 'speed, vigor, contest', vajra- 'thunder-bolt', Av. vazra- 'club', Lat. vēgere 'set in motion, excite'. Walde-P. 1.246 f. Barth. 1390.

|                    |                                 |                     |  |
|--------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Grk. μικρός        | Goth. leitils (smals)           | Lith. mažas         |  |
| NG. μικρός         | ON. litill, smār (smalr)        | Lett. mazs          |  |
| Lat. parvus        | Dan. lille, pl. smaa            | ChSl. malū (chudū)  |  |
| It. piccolo        | Sw. liten, pl. små              | Scr. mali, malen    |  |
| Fr. petit          | OE. lǣtel, smal                 | Boh. malý           |  |
| Sp. pequeño, chico | ME. litel, smal                 | Pol. mały           |  |
| Rum. mic           | NE. small, little               | Russ. malýj         |  |
| Ir. becc           | Du. klein                       | Skt. alpa-, ksudra- |  |
| Nl. beag           | OHG. luzzil, smāh(i), smal      | Av. kasu-           |  |
| W. bach, bychan    | MHG. lützel, smal, smähe, klein |                     |  |
| Br. bihan          | NHG. klein                      |                     |  |

as Dor., Boeot. and prob. widespread pop. form, as in proper names Μικκος etc.) : Lat. mica 'crumb, little bit', ON smār 'little', OHG smāhi 'little, insignificant', perh. fr. an extension of a root \*smē-, \*smēi- in words for 'smear, rub'. Walde-P. 2.685 f. Boisacq 885. Falk-Torp 1075.

2. Lat. parvus (also 'little' in quantity) : Grk. παῖρος 'little', pl. 'few', Lat. pauci, Goth. fawai, etc. 'few' (13.17). Walde-P. 2.75. Ernout-M. 737, 742.

Replaced in pop. Lat. and the Romance languages as 'small' by a variety of obscure forms apparently based on expressive syllables like \*pikk-, \*pitt-, \*pits-, etc. REW 6494, 6544, 6550. Goldberger, Glotta 18.52.

Late Lat. pisinnus (first in Att. Labeo for 'child', in Peregrinatio a pisinno = a puero; ecclesia pisinna 'small church', also in Marc. Emp., Isid., etc., cf. App. Prob. pusillus non pisinnus), pitinnus

(CIL 6.35915), pitulus (Anton. Itin.). Löfstedt, Peregrinatio 197.

It. piccolo, piccino, cf. Rum. pic 'drop', picu 'little child', Calabr. pikka 'little (in quantity)', etc.

Fr. (also Prov., Cat.) petit, cf. Rum. piti 'make oneself small, hide', It. dial. pitu 'small', pitin 'little' (in amount), etc.

Sp. pequeño, Port. pequeno.

Sp. chico (beside other Romance forms), prob. fr. an expressive čikk, parallel to pikk-, etc. REW 2451b, 9653 (p. 806). Or fr. Lat. ciccum in its use for something small or worthless (as Plaut. Rud. 580)? So Diez 98, Gamillscheg 218 ('vieleicht'), M. Pidal, Manual 120 (on ch), 125.

Rum. mic, prob. (not for Lat. mica 'crumb', but) fr. Grk. μικρός (above, 1). Densusianu 1.201. Pūscariu 1067. REW 5559.

3. Ir. becc, bec, Nl. beag, W. bach, bychan, Br. bihan, etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.150. Pedersen 1385. Stokes 166.

4. Goth. leitils, ON litill, Dan. lille (for liden, older lidel), Sw. liten, cf. ON litl adv. 'little, badly', prob. : Goth. lita 'hypocritise', OHG liz 'pretext', lizōn, liziōn 'simulate', MHG liz, litze 'humor', outside connections dub., perh. Grk. λα-δωπέω 'abuse, revile'. IE \*leid- beside a parallel \*leud- with similar semantic relations in the following. Walde-P. 2.402. Falk-Torp 640 f. Feist 328.

OE lǣtel, ME litel, NE little, OHG luzzil, luzzig, MHG lützel, lütze, prob. : Goth. liuts 'hypocritical', liutai 'conjurers', OE lot 'deceit', ON lǫta 'dishonor, blame', and further Russ. ludiť 'deceive', ChSl. ludū, Scr. lud 'foolish', etc.; cf. also Ir. lūta 'little finger'. Walde-P. 2.416. Falk-Torp 641.

Goth. smals (only superl. smalista), late ON smālir 'little', OE smæl, ME smāl, NE small, OHG, MHG smal 'slen-

der, narrow, small' (NHG schmal 'narrow'), etym. dub., perh. best as orig. 'ground fine' : Norw. dial. smola 'grind to pieces', Sw. smula 'break into crumbs', etc., fr. \*smel- beside \*mel- in Goth. malan, Lat. molere, etc. 'grind'. Cf. ChSl. malū, below, 6. Walde-P. 2.296. Falk-Torp 1076.

ON smār, Dan. smaa, Sw. små (in Dan. and Sw. only as pl. to lille, liten), OHG smāhi, smōh, MHG smähe (in OHG often and in MHG mostly 'insignificant, despised, shameful', cf. NHG schmach sb. 'dishonor') : Grk. μικρός 'small' (above, 1).

Du., MHG, NHG klein, in MHG mostly 'pure, neat, fine, pretty' (cf. NHG kleind 'jewel, gem'), OHG kleini

'short, little', Grk. *χεῖρων* 'poorer, worse', Ir. *gair*, *garait* 'short (of time)', etc. Walde-P. 1.604 f. Pedersen 1.83.

Ir. *cumbair*, *cummair*, *berr* (K. Meyer, Contrib. 206), W. *byr*, Br. *berr*, OCorn. *ber* (gl. *brevi*) cf. Ir. *cúimre* 'shortness', Ir. *berrain* 'shear, clip', root connections? Walde-P. 2.160. Walde-H. 1.107 (Lat. *birrus*, loanword).

5. ON *skam*(m)r, OHG *skammēr*, beside OHG *hammēr* 'mutilated, feeble', perh. fr. \*(s)*kap-mā*-. Grk. *σκάπτω* 'dig', *κάπτω* 'strike, cut off', etc. Walde-P. 2.560. Or fr. \**skambh-no*-. Av., OPers. *kamma*- 'small' in quantity or number? Walde-P. 2.601. Falk-Torp 1003.

Dan., Sw. *kort*, Icel. *kortr*, Du. *kort*, OHG *churz*, *kurt*, *churt*, MHG, NHG *kurz*, prob. fr. Lat. *curtus* (cf. It. *corto*, above, 3). Falk-Torp 568. Weigand-H. 1.1179.

OE *sceort*, ME *schort*, *short*, NE *short*, OHG *scurz* : ON *skort*, *skortr* 'lack',

12.61 WIDE, BROAD

|      |                    |       |              |       |                  |
|------|--------------------|-------|--------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | πλατύς, εὐρύς      | Goth. | braiþs       | Lith. | platus           |
| NG   | πλατύς, φαρδύς     | ON    | breiðr, víðr | Lett. | plata            |
| Lat. | lātus              | Dan.  | bred, vid    | ChSl. | širokū           |
| It.  | largo              | Sw.   | bred, vid    | SCR.  | širok            |
| Fr.  | large              | OE    | brād, wid    | Boh.  | širokij          |
| Sp.  | ancho              | ME    | broad, wid   | Pol.  | szeroki          |
| Rum. | lat (larg)         | NE    | wide, broad  | Russ. | širokij          |
| Ir.  | leathan, fairsiung | Du.   | bred, wijd   | Skt.  | prthu-, uru-     |
| Nir. | leathan            | OHG   | breit, wit   | Av.   | parəθu-, pašana- |
| W.   | llydan, eang       | MHG   | breit, wit   |       |                  |
| Br.  | ledan              | NHG   | breit        |       |                  |

Words for 'wide, broad' rest on the more general notion of 'spread out, spacious, extensive', and the specialization to extent in a given direction, that is 'wide' in distinction from 'long' and the opposite of 'narrow', is only partial. For all of them may also be used in the more general sense. In the two Gmc. groups represented by NE *broad* and *wide* the wider sense is generally stronger in the second group, and dominant in NHG

Most of the words for 'narrow' rest on the notion of 'tight' or 'pressed', while some are from 'slender' or 'small'.

1. Derivs. of IE \**angh-* in Av. *az- 'tie, oppress*, Grk. *ἀγχω* 'throttle', Lat. *angere* 'throttle, distress, torment', ChSl. *qziti* 'crowd, straiten'. Walde-P. 1.62 f. Ernout-M. 51. Walde-H. 1.47.

Lat. *angustus* (> It. *angusto*, Sp. *angosto*, Rum. *îngust*); Br. *enk*, cpds. Ir. *cum-ung*, Nir. *cumhang*, W. *cuf-yng*; Goth. *aggwus*, ON *ongr*, OE *enge*, *ange*, OHG *angi*, *engi*, MHG *enge*, Du., NHG *eng*; Lith. *ankštas*; ChSl. *qzūkū*, SCR. *uzak*, Boh. *úzky*, Pol. *wązki*, Russ. *uzkij*; Skt. *anhu-* (only in comp. *anhiyas-* and in cpd.) beside *anhas-* 'fear, oppression', Av. *azah-* 'need, oppression'; Arm. *anjuk*.

2. Grk. *στενός*, Ion. *στενός* (fr. \**στενός*), beside *στενγρός* 'narrow', etc., prob. : ON *stinnr* 'stiff, firm, strong', OE *stip* id. and 'hard, severe', with secondary sense in Gmc. development (cf. Grk. *στενοχωρία*, Lat. *angustiae*, NHG *enge*, etc. 'narrowness' and 'difficulty, distress'). Walde-P. 2.627. Boisacq 909. Falk-Torp 1168.

3. It. *stretto*, Fr. *étroit*, Sp. *estrecho*, Rum. *strîmt* fr. Lat. *strictus* (\**strinctus* for Rum.) 'drawn together, bound tight', pple. of *stringere* 'bind together'. REW 8305.

4. Ir. *cōil*, Nir. *caol*, W. *cul*, also 'slender, lean', cf. OBr. *culed* 'macies', perh. : Lett. *kails* 'naked, bald', *kaili* *l'audis* 'childless couple', in any case with Celtic extension of 'slender' to 'narrow'. Walde-P. 1.455. Stokes 88.

Br. *striz*, fr. Lat. *strictus* (above, 3). Loth, Mots lat. 208.

5. ON *þrongr*, Dan. *trang*, Sw. *trång*, cf. MLG *drange*, MHG *gedreng* 'stuffed full, tight' : ON *þryngva*, Dan. *trænge*, Sw. *tränga*, OE *þringan*, NHG *drängen*, etc., 'press, crowd', Lith. *trankus* 'jolt-

ing, rough', Av. *θrazta-* 'close-packed' (ranks), etc. Walde-P. 1.758 f. Falk-Torp 1279. 1293 f.

OE *smāl*, ME *smal*, OHG, MHG, Du. *smal*, NHG *schmal* (largely also 'slender'), Dan., Sw. *smal* (meaning 'narrow' fr. German), Gmc. group in early period also or only 'small' (12.56).

Dan. *snæver* : ON *snaftr*, *snaftr* 'tight, narrow, quick, swift', *snæfugr* 'swift', without s- ON *nafr*, OSw. *naever* 'quick', perh. Arm. *nurb* 'narrow, slender, thin'. Walde-P. 2.698. Falk-Torp 1095.

OE *nearu*, ME *narowe*, NE *narrow*, OS *naru* : ON *nrva-sund* 'Straits of Gibraltar', OHG *narwa* 'scar' (i.e. 'closed wound'), prob. fr. a root meaning 'draw together, tie(?) in OHG *snuar* 'band, string', Lat. *nervus* 'tendon', 'nerve', etc. Walde-P. 2.699 f. (with 2.696). Falk-Torp 755.

ME *streit*, NE *strait* (still adj. for 'narrow' or 'difficult' in Bible, but now rare except in sb. *Straits*), fr. OFr. *estreit* (Fr. *étroit*, above, 3). NED s.v. *strait*.

Du. *nauw* : MLG *nouwe* 'narrow, close, exact', MHG adv. *nouwe*, *genouwe* 'close, scarcely' (NHG *genau* 'exactly'), OE *hnæw* 'stingy', etc., all prob. as 'little' fr. 'crushed' : OHG *hniucan*, MHG *niucan* 'pound to pieces', etc. Walde-P. 1.396. Franck-v. W. 542. Falk-Torp 785.

6. Lith. *siauras*, Lett. *šauris*, etym.? Mühl-Endz. 4.7.

7. ChSl. *qzūkū*, etc., above, 1.

ChSl. *lěsnū* (renders *στενός* Lk. 13.24, *τεθλιμμένος* Mt. 7.14), SCR. *tiesan*, Boh. *lěsný*, Pol. *ciasny*, Russ. *tesnyj* : ChSl. *tiskati* 'press'. Meillet, Études 435. Brückner 60.

8. Skt. *anhu-*, above, 1.

Skt. *avistṛiṇa-*, *avistṛa-*, neg. of *vis-* *ṭṛiṇa-*, *visṭṛta-* 'spread out, extensive, wide', pples. of *vi-str-* 'spread out'.

12.62 NARROW

|      |                   |       |                      |       |                   |
|------|-------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk. | στενός            | Goth. | aggwus               | Lith. | siauras, ankštas  |
| NG   | στενός            | ON    | þrongr, ongr         | Lett. | šauris            |
| Lat. | angustus          | Dan.  | snæver, trang, smal  | ChSl. | qzūkū, tēnū       |
| It.  | stretto, angusto  | Sw.   | smal, trång          | SCR.  | uzak, tjean       |
| Fr.  | étroit            | OE    | nearu, enge, smal    | Boh.  | úzky, tjeňj       |
| Sp.  | estrecho, angosto | ME    | narowe, streit, smal | Pol.  | wązki, ciasny     |
| Rum. | strîmt, îngust    | NE    | narrow               | Russ. | uzkij, tesnyj     |
| Ir.  | cōil, cumung      | Du.   | nauw, smal, eng      | Skt.  | anhu-, avistṛiṇa- |
| Nir. | reamhar           | OHG   | engi, angi, smal     | Av.   | .....             |
| W.   | lew               | MHG   | enge, smal           |       |                   |
| Br.  | enk, etriz        | NHG   | schmal, eng          |       |                   |

12.62 NARROW

|      |                   |       |                      |       |                   |
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| Grk. | στενός            | Goth. | aggwus               | Lith. | siauras, ankštas  |
| NG   | στενός            | ON    | þrongr, ongr         | Lett. | šauris            |
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| Fr.  | étroit            | OE    | nearu, enge, smal    | Boh.  | úzky, tjeňj       |
| Sp.  | estrecho, angosto | ME    | narowe, streit, smal | Pol.  | wązki, ciasny     |
| Rum. | strîmt, îngust    | NE    | narrow               | Russ. | uzkij, tesnyj     |
| Ir.  | cōil, cumung      | Du.   | nauw, smal, eng      | Skt.  | anhu-, avistṛiṇa- |
| Nir. | reamhar           | OHG   | engi, angi, smal     | Av.   | .....             |
| W.   | lew               | MHG   | enge, smal           |       |                   |
| Br.  | enk, etriz        | NHG   | schmal, eng          |       |                   |

12.62 NARROW

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| It.  | stretto, angusto  | Sw.   | smal, trång          | SCR.  | uzak, tjean       |
| Fr.  | étroit            | OE    | nearu, enge, smal    | Boh.  | úzky, tjeňj       |
| Sp.  | estrecho, angosto | ME    | narowe, streit, smal | Pol.  | wązki, ciasny     |
| Rum. | strîmt, îngust    | NE    | narrow               | Russ. | uzkij, tesnyj     |
| Ir.  | cōil, cumung      | Du.   | nauw, smal, eng      | Skt.  | anhu-, avistṛiṇa- |
| Nir. | reamhar           | OHG   | engi, angi, smal     | Av.   | .....             |
| W.   | lew               | MHG   | enge, smal           |       |                   |
| Br.  | enk, etriz        | NHG   | schmal, eng          |       |                   |

12.62 NARROW

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| Fr.  | étroit            | OE    | nearu, enge, smal    | Boh.  | úzky, tjeňj       |
| Sp.  | estrecho, angosto | ME    | narowe, streit, smal | Pol.  | wązki, ciasny     |
| Rum. | strîmt, îngust    | NE    | narrow               | Russ. | uzkij, tesnyj     |
| Ir.  | cōil, cumung      | Du.   | nauw, smal, eng      | Skt.  | anhu-, avistṛiṇa- |
| Nir. | reamhar           | OHG   | engi, angi, smal     | Av.   | .....             |
| W.   | lew               | MHG   | enge, smal           |       |                   |
| Br.  | enk, etriz        | NHG   | schmal, eng          |       |                   |

12.62 NARROW

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| Fr.  | étroit            | OE    | nearu, enge, smal    | Boh.  | úzky, tjeňj       |
| Sp.  | estrecho, angosto | ME    | narowe, streit, smal | Pol.  | wązki, ciasny     |
| Rum. | strîmt, îngust    | NE    | narrow               | Russ. | uzkij, tesnyj     |
| Ir.  | cōil, cumung      | Du.   | nauw, smal, eng      | Skt.  | anhu-, avistṛiṇa- |
| Nir. | reamhar           | OHG   | engi, angi, smal     | Av.   | .....             |
| W.   | lew               | MHG   | enge, smal           |       |                   |
| Br.  | enk, etriz        | NHG   | schmal, eng          |       |                   |

12.62 NARROW

|      |                   |       |                      |       |                   |
|------|-------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-------------------|
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| It.  | stretto, angusto  | Sw.   | smal, trång          | SCR.  | uzak, tjean       |
| Fr.  | étroit            | OE    | nearu, enge, smal    | Boh.  | úzky, tjeňj       |
| Sp.  | estrecho, angosto | ME    | narowe, streit, smal | Pol.  | wązki, ciasny     |
| Rum. | strîmt, îngust    | NE    | narrow               | Russ. | uzkij, tesnyj     |
| Ir.  | cōil, cumung      | Du.   | nauw, smal, eng      | Skt.  | anhu-, avistṛiṇa- |
| Nir. | reamhar           | OHG   | engi, angi, smal     | Av.   | .....             |
| W.   | lew               | MHG   | enge, smal           |       |                   |
| Br.  | enk, etriz        | NHG   | schmal, eng          |       |                   |

12.62 NARROW

|      |                   |       |                      |       |                   |
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| Fr.  | étroit            | OE    | nearu, enge, smal    | Boh.  | úzky, tjeňj       |
| Sp.  | estrecho, angosto | ME    | narowe, streit, smal | Pol.  | wązki, ciasny     |
| Rum. | strîmt, îngust    | NE    | narrow               | Russ. | uzkij, tesnyj     |
| Ir.  | cōil, cumung      | Du.   | nauw, smal, eng      | Skt.  | anhu-, avistṛiṇa- |
| Nir. | reamhar           | OHG   | engi, angi, smal     | Av.   | .....             |
| W.   | lew               | MHG   | enge, smal           |       |                   |
| Br.  | enk, etriz        | NHG   | schmal, eng          |       |                   |

12.62 NARROW

|      |                   |       |                      |       |                   |
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| It.  | stretto, angusto  | Sw.   | smal, trång          | SCR.  | uzak, tjean       |
| Fr.  | étroit            | OE    | nearu, enge, smal    | Boh.  | úzky, tjeňj       |
| Sp.  | estrecho, angosto | ME    | narowe, streit, smal | Pol.  | wązki, ciasny     |
| Rum. | strîmt, îngust    | NE    | narrow               | Russ. | uzkij, tesnyj     |
| Ir.  | cōil, cumung      | Du.   | nauw, smal, eng      | Skt.  | anhu-, avistṛiṇa- |
| Nir. | reamhar           | OHG   | engi, angi, smal     | Av.   | .....             |
| W.   | lew               | MHG   | enge, smal           |       |                   |
| Br.  | enk, etriz        | NHG   | schmal, eng          |       |                   |

12.62 NARROW

|      |                   |       |                      |       |                   |
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| It.  | stretto, angusto  | Sw.   | smal, trång          | SCR.  | uzak, tjean       |
| Fr.  | étroit            | OE    | nearu, enge, smal    | Boh.  | úzky, tjeňj       |
| Sp.  | estrecho, angosto | ME    | narowe, streit, smal | Pol.  | wązki, ciasny     |
| Rum. | strîmt, îngust    | NE    | narrow               | Russ. | uzkij, tesnyj     |
| Ir.  | cōil, cumung      | Du.   | nauw, smal, eng      | Skt.  | anhu-, avistṛiṇa- |
| Nir. | reamhar           | OHG   | engi, angi, smal     | Av.   | .....             |
| W.   | lew               | MHG   | enge, smal           |       |                   |
| Br.  | enk, etriz        | NHG   | schmal, eng          |       |                   |

12.62 NARROW

|      |                   |       |                      |       |                   |
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| Grk. | στενός            | Goth. | aggwus               | Lith. | siauras, ankštas  |
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| Fr.  | étroit            | OE    | nearu, enge, smal    | Boh.  | úzky, tjeňj       |
| Sp.  | estrecho, angosto | ME    | narowe, streit, smal | Pol.  | wązki, ciasny     |
| Rum. | strîmt, îngust    | NE    | narrow               | Russ. | uzkij, tesnyj     |
| Ir.  | cōil, cumung      | Du.   | nauw, smal, eng      | Skt.  | anhu-, avistṛiṇa- |
| Nir. | reamhar           | OHG   | engi, angi, smal     | Av.   | .....             |
| W.   | lew               | MHG   | enge, smal           |       |                   |
| Br.  | enk, etriz        | NHG   | schmal, eng          |       |                   |

12.62 NARROW

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| Grk. | στενός            | Goth. | aggwus               | Lith. | siauras, ankštas  |
| NG   | στενός            | ON    | þrongr, ongr         | Lett. | šauris            |
| Lat. | angustus          | Dan.  | snæver, trang, smal  | ChSl. | qzūkū, tēnū       |
| It.  | stretto, angusto  | Sw.   | smal, trång          | SCR.  | uzak, tjean       |
| Fr.  | étroit            | OE    | nearu, enge, smal    | Boh.  | úzky, tjeňj       |
| Sp.  | estrecho, angosto | ME    | narowe, streit, smal | Pol.  | wązki, ciasny     |
| Rum. | strîmt, îngust    | NE    | narrow               | Russ. | uzkij, tesnyj     |
| Ir.  | cōil, cumung      | Du.   | nauw, smal, eng      | Skt.  | anhu-, avistṛiṇa- |
| Nir. | reamhar           | OHG   | engi, angi, smal     | Av.   | .....             |
| W.   | lew               | MHG   | enge, smal           |       |                   |
| Br.  | enk, etriz        | NHG   | schmal, eng          |       |                   |

12.62 NARROW

|      |                   |       |                      |       |                   |
|------|-------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk. | στενός            | Goth. | aggwus               | Lith. | siauras, ankštas  |
| NG   | στενός            | ON    | þrongr, ongr         | Lett. | šauris            |
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| Fr.  | étroit            | OE    | nearu, enge, smal    | Boh.  | úzky, tjeňj       |
| Sp.  | estrecho, angosto | ME    | narowe, streit, smal | Pol.  | wązki, ciasny     |
| Rum. | strîmt, îngust    | NE    | narrow               | Russ. | uzkij, tesnyj     |
| Ir.  | cōil, cumung      | Du.   | nauw, smal, eng      | Skt.  | anhu-, avistṛiṇa- |
| Nir. | reamhar           | OHG   | engi, angi, smal     | Av.   | .....             |
| W.   | lew               | MHG   | enge, smal           |       |                   |
| Br.  | enk, etriz        | NHG   | schmal, eng          |       |                   |

12.62 NARROW

|      |                   |       |                      |       |                   |
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| Rum. | strîmt, îngust    | NE    | narrow               | Russ. | uzkij, tesnyj     |
| Ir.  | cōil, cumung      | Du.   | nauw, smal, eng      | Skt.  | anhu-, avistṛiṇa- |
| Nir. | reamhar           | OHG   | engi, angi, smal     | Av.   | .....             |
| W.   | lew               | MHG   | enge, smal           |       |                   |
| Br.  | enk, etriz        | NHG   | schmal, eng          |       |                   |

12.62 NARROW

|      |                  |       |                     |       |                  |
|------|------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | στενός           | Goth. | aggwus              | Lith. | siauras, ankštas |
| NG   | στενός           | ON    | þrongr, ongr        | Lett. | šauris           |
| Lat. | angustus         | Dan.  | snæver, trang, smal | ChSl. | qzūkū, tēnū      |
| It.  | stretto, angusto | Sw.   | smal, trång         | SCR.  | uzak, tjean      |
| Fr.  | étroit           | OE    | nearu, enge, smal   | Boh.  | úzky, t          |

*dupsti* 'hollow out', Russ. *dolbit* 'chisel, hollow out', these : OE *delfan* 'dig' (8.22). Walde-P. 1.866 f. Berneker 251.

6. Skt. *gabdhira*, *gambhira*, Av. *jafra*- (and *jaiwa* in *jaiwa-vafra* 'with deep snow'), beside Skt. *gambhan* 'depth', Av. *jafnu* 'depression', perh. : Grk. *βάπτω* 'dip, dye', *βαφή* 'dipping, dye', ON *kefja* 'submerge, overwhelm', intr. 'be swamped, sink', OSw. *kvaf* 'depth of

## 12.68 SHALLOW

|      |                      |       |                           |       |                 |
|------|----------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | ἀβαθής               | Goth. | .....                     | Lith. | sekšus, lėkštas |
| NG   | μηχός                | ON    | grunnr                    | Let.  | seks            |
| Lat. | nōn altus, brevis    | Dan.  | grund                     | ChSl. | mělākū          |
| It.  | poco profondo, basso | Sw.   | grund                     | SCR.  | pliat           |
| Fr.  | peu profond, bas     | OE    | seald                     | Boh.  | mělky           |
| Sp.  | poco profundo, bajo  | ME    | schold, schalowe          | Pol.  | plytki, mialki  |
| Rum. | puțin adânc          | NE    | shallow (shoal)           | Russ. | melkij          |
| Ir.  | adomhín(?)           | Du.   | ondiep                    | Skt.  | gādha           |
| Nl.  | adomhín              | OHG   | .....                     | Av.   | .....           |
| W.   | bas                  | MHG   | shle                      |       |                 |
| Br.  | bas                  | NHG   | seicht, nicht tief, flach |       |                 |

In several languages 'shallow' is expressed simply as 'not deep' or 'little deep'. So Grk. *ἀβαθής*, Lat. *nōn altus*, It. *poco profondo*, Fr. *peu profond*, etc., Nl. *adomhín* (Ir. *adomain* quotable?), Du. *ondiep*, NHG (*untief* rare, but sb. *untiefe* common) *nicht tief*.

Most of the other words for 'shallow' were first used with reference to water, some still so restricted, but more of them extended to 'shallow' dishes, etc. Words for 'low, short' and 'flat' are sometimes used for 'shallow'.

1. NG *μηχός*, back-formation to Grk. *ῥάχια*, Ion. *ῥήχια* 'roar of the breakers, rocky shore' (: *ῥάσσα*, Ion. *ῥήσσα* 'strike, dash') through 'shoals, shallows' (cf. *ῥάχια* καὶ *ῥήχια* καὶ *τενάγια* Arr. Ind. 38.8), and with *η* in the *κοινή* (as also in the vb. *ῥέσσω*), perh. through pop. association with *ῥήγνυμι* 'break'. Now

used not only of 'shallow' water, but of 'shallow' dishes, etc.

2. Lat. *brevis* 'short' (11.59) sometimes 'shallow', as with *puteus* 'well', *vada* 'fords'; so *brevia* 'shoals', like Grk. *ῥάχια* 'shoals' : *ῥαχίς* 'short'.

It. *basso*, Fr. *bas*, Sp. *bajo* 'low' (12.32), also for 'low' = 'shallow' water.

3. W., Corn., Br. *bas* (Br. *bas* Vallée, not in Ernaut), fr. VLat. *bassus* 'low' (12.32), hence of 'low' = 'shallow' water. Loth, Mots lat. 137.

4. ON *grunnr*, Dan., Sw. *grund* : sbs. ON *grunnr* 'bottom', OE *grund* 'bottom, ground', etc. (12.34). Fr. VLat. *bassus* 'low'.

OE *seald*, ME *schold(e)*, NE *shoal*, used only with reference to water, beside ME *schalowe*, NE *shallow* used also of dishes, etc., also LG *schol* 'shallow', etym. dub. Possibly through the notion of 'thin layer' : OE *sealtu* 'shell, dish', etc. NED s.v. *shoal*.

MHG *sichte*, NHG *seicht* 'shallow', but only of water or figurative : OHG *sihan* 'flow slowly, drip', Skt. *sic* 'pour out', etc., or (as fr. \**senktis*-) : Lith. *senku*, *sekti* 'fall, sink' (of water), *seklus* 'shallow'. Walde-P. 2.473. Falk-Torp 1228. Weigand-H. 2.835.

NHG *flach* 'flat' (12.71), used also of what is approximately flat in contrast to high or deep, as of 'shallow' dishes, etc. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v.

5. Lith. *seklus* (of 'shallow' water), Lett. *seks* (also of dishes, etc.) : Lith. *senku*, *sekti* 'fall, sink' (of water), ChSl. *seknati* id., etc. Walde-P. 2.473. Mühl.-Endz. 3.814.

## 12.71 FLAT

|      |                 |       |                 |       |                  |
|------|-----------------|-------|-----------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | πλατὺς, πεινός  | Goth. | ibms            | Lith. | lėkštas          |
| NG   | πενός, πλακωτός | ON    | flatr           | Let.  | lėšas, plėšas    |
| Lat. | plānus          | Dan.  | flad            | ChSl. | ploskū           |
| It.  | piano, piatto   | Sw.   | flat, platt     | SCR.  | plosnat          |
| Fr.  | plat            | OE    | efen            | Boh.  | ploskij, ploskyj |
| Sp.  | piano           | ME    | flat(t), playne | Pol.  | plaski           |
| Rum. | șes, lat        | NE    | flat            | Russ. | plaskij          |
| Ir.  | réid            | Du.   | vlak, plat      | Skt.  | sama-            |
| Nl.  | reidh           | OHG   | flak            | Av.   | .....            |
| W.   | flak, gwastad   | MHG   | flach           |       |                  |
| Br.  | kompes, plat    | NHG   | flach, platt    |       |                  |

The majority of the common words for 'flat' belong to an inherited group with basic notion of 'spread out'.

1. But many words for 'equal' (12.91) or 'even' are also used for 'level, flat'. With a few exceptions (where there seem to be no more common words for 'flat') these are not included in the list. Thus Grk. *ὁμαλός* 'even, level' : Lat. *similis* 'similar', Grk. *ὁμός* 'the same', Goth. *sama* 'the same', Skt. *sama* 'equal, same', also 'even, level, flat' (cf. *sama-bhūti* 'plain' sb.); Grk. *ἴσος* 'equal' also 'level, flat', NG *ἴσος* 'even', 'straight', and 'level, flat'; Lat. *aequus* 'equal' and 'level, flat'; Fr. *uni* 'united, uniform' and 'level, flat'; Goth. *ibms*, OE *efen*, etc. (see below); Lith. *lygus*, Lett. *līdzens* 'equal'

(: Goth. *ga-leiks* 'like', etc.) and 'level, flat'; ChSl. *равнъ* (renders *πεδῶς* Lk. 6.17, elsewhere in Gospels *ἴσος*), etc., general Slavic for 'equal, even' and so sometimes 'level, flat', whence words for 'plain' sb. (1.23) : Goth. *rūms* 'roomy, spacious', Av. *ravah* 'open space', Lat. *rūs* 'country', etc.

2. Derivs. of IE \**pela*-, \**plā*- with notion of 'spread out' flat, seen in Lith. *ploti* 'flatten' etc., also in several words for 'wide, broad' (12.61). Walde-P. 2.61, 90 f., 99 f. Ernout-M. 776. REW 6581, 6586. Falk-Torp 230.

With no-formation, Lat. *plānus* (> It. *piano*, OFr. *plain*, Sp. *piano*, *llano*), Lett. *plāns* (mostly 'thin', like Lith. *plonas*); with guttural extension (cf.

Grk. *πλάξ* 'flat surface'), OHG *flah*, MHG *vlach*, NHG *flach*, Du. *vlak*; with dental extension, Grk. *παρίς* 'broad, flat' (> VLat. \**plattus* > It. *piatto*, Fr. *plat* > Br. *plat*, Du. *platt*; LG *platt* > NHG *platt* > Sw. *platt*), ON *flatr* (> ME *flatt*, NE *flat* > W. *fflat*), Dan. *flad*, Sw. *flät* : ChSl. *ploskū* (\**plāt-sko*- or \**plak-sko*-?), SCR. *plosnat*, Boh. *ploský* (Boh. *ploský* prob. fr. OHG *flah*, Gebauer 1.441, Vondrak 1.436; otherwise Brückner 419), Pol. *plaski*, Russ. *ploskij*.

3. Grk. *πεδῶνός*, later *πεδῶνός*, only of 'flat' country, deriv. of *πέδιον* 'plain' : *πέδιον* 'ground'.

NG *πλακωτός* 'compressed, flat', fr. *πλάκωσα* 'compress', deriv. of *πλάξ* 'flat stone'.

4. Rum. *șes*, only of 'flat' country, fr. Lat. *sessus* 'seated, settled'. Tiktin 1411. Pușcariu 1586.

Rum. *lat* 'broad' (11.61), used also for 'flat' dishes. Tiktin 892.

5. Ir. *réid*, Nl. *reidh*, also 'clear, open, ready, smooth' prob. orig. 'pas-

sable' (of a road, etc.) : *riadaim* 'ride', ON *riða* id., etc. Walde-P. 2.349. Pedersen 1.58.

W. *gwastad* 'level, flat', also and orig. 'steady, constant' : Ir. *fossad* 'firm', fr. \**upo-stato*-, IE \**stā*- 'stand'. Walde-P. 2.605. Pedersen 1.34.

Br. *kompes*, also 'smooth, polished', MBr. *compos* 'equal', beside W. *cym-hwys-iaid* 'adjustment, quality', prob. cpd. of *kom*-, *cym*- 'eo-' and *poez* 'weight' (fr. Lat. *pēnsum*). Loth, Mots lat. 156. Henry 75.

6. Goth. *ibns* (only dat. sg. *ana stada ibnanna* = *iri tōroun* *peinōs* Lk. 6.17), OE *efen* (ME, NE *even*), etc., general Gmc. word for 'even, level' and so sometimes of 'flat' land, etc., etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.102. Feist 287.

ME *playne* (NE *plain* only sb. in this sense), fr. OFr. *plain* (above, 2).

7. Lith. *lėkštas*, Lett. *lēšas*, prob. : MHG *lège* 'low, flat', ON *lāgr* 'low', etc. Walde-P. 2.462. Mühl.-Endz. 2.465.

8. Skt. *sama*-, see above, 1.

## 12.72 HOLLOW (= Concave)

|      |                 |       |         |       |            |
|------|-----------------|-------|---------|-------|------------|
| Grk. | κοῖλος          | Goth. | .....   | Lith. | dubus      |
| NG   | βαθῶδης, κοῖλος | ON    | hulr    | Let.  | duobs      |
| Lat. | cavus           | Dan.  | hul     | ChSl. | .....      |
| It.  | cavo            | Sw.   | ihålig  | SCR.  | .....      |
| Fr.  | creux           | OE    | hol     | Boh.  | .....      |
| Sp.  | hueco           | ME    | hol(ue) | Pol.  | wędrzązony |
| Rum. | găunos          | NE    | hollow  | Russ. | vognutij   |
| Ir.  | cūa, cūasach    | Du.   | holl    | Skt.  | utāna-     |
| Nl.  | cūasach         | OHG   | hol     | Av.   | .....      |
| W.   | cūa             | MHG   | hol     |       |            |
| Br.  | klaus           | NHG   | hohl    |       |            |

'Hollow' is understood here primarily in the less common sense of NE *hollow* as 'having a depression in the surface, concave' (NED s.v. *hollow*, adj. 2) rather than in its more usual sense of 'having an empty space inside', as opposite of *solid*. The latter sense is, to be sure, common also to many of the other words listed and indeed dominant in several.

1. Derivs. of IE \**keu*- seen in numerous words with common notion of curved, whether convex (as Skt. *gā-*

'swell', Grk. *κύω* 'be pregnant', *κύμα* 'wave', etc.) or concave, as here. Walde-P. 1.365 f. Ernout-M. 167, 203. Walde-H. 1.191.

Grk. *κοῖλος* (\**κοῖλος*); Lat. \**covus* (> Port. *covo*), *cavus* (> It. *cavo*); Ir. *cūa*, W. *caw* (this with Br. *keo* 'cave', fr. \**kovio*-, cf. Loth, Mots lat. 145).

2. NG *βαθῶδης*, dim. of *βαθύς* 'deep' (12.67).

3. Fr. *creux*, OFr. *crues*, Prov. *crus*, orig. dub., but prob. Celtic. REW 2257. Gamillscheg 277. Bloch 1.190.

Sp. *hueco*, Port. *ouco*, *oco*, prob. (despite phonetic difficulties) fr. VLat. \**voccus* = Lat. *vacuus* 'empty'. REW 9155.

Rum. *găunos*, deriv. of ORum. *găun* fr. VLat. \**cavō* (-*ōnis*) 'cavity', fr. *cavus* (above, 1). REW 1794. Pușcariu 700.

4. Ir. *cūasach*, Nl. *cūasach*, fr. *cūas* 'hole' : *cūa* (above, 1).

Fr. *kleus*, fr. Fr. *creux* with *l* fr. *kleuz* 'ditch'. Henry 70.

5. ON *holr*, OE, OHG *hol*, etc., general Gmc. (Sw. *ihålig*, *hålig* fr. *hål* 'hole', sb. fr. OSw. *hul* adj.), perh. : Grk. *καυλός*

(: Goth. *raikhs*, ON *reitr*, beinn, *rakr*, Dan. *lige*, *ret*, *rak*, *rät*, *rikt*, Fr. *droit*, OE *streijt*, *riht*, Sp. *recto*, *derecho*, ME *streijt*, *riht*, Rum. *drept*, Du. *recht*, Ir. *direuch*, OHG *reht*, *gereht*, W. *union*, MHG *reht*, *gereht*, Br. *eeun*, NHG *gerade*

Many of the words for 'straight' are the same as those for 'right, upright'. Some words for 'equal, even' are used also for 'straight', as well as 'level, flat'. Others are of various sources.

1. Derivs. of IE \**reg*- in Skt. *rj-* 'straighten out, make straight', Grk.

(: Goth. *ga-leiks* 'like', etc.) and 'level, flat'; ChSl. *равнъ* (renders *πεδῶς* Lk. 6.17, elsewhere in Gospels *ἴσος*), etc., general Slavic for 'equal, even' and so sometimes 'level, flat', whence words for 'plain' sb. (1.23) : Goth. *rūms* 'roomy, spacious', Av. *ravah* 'open space', Lat. *rūs* 'country', etc.

2. Derivs. of IE \**pela*-, \**plā*- with notion of 'spread out' flat, seen in Lith. *ploti* 'flatten' etc., also in several words for 'wide, broad' (12.61). Walde-P. 2.61, 90 f., 99 f. Ernout-M. 776. REW 6581, 6586. Falk-Torp 230.

With no-formation, Lat. *plānus* (> It. *piano*, OFr. *plain*, Sp. *piano*, *llano*), Lett. *plāns* (mostly 'thin', like Lith. *plonas*); with guttural extension (cf.

out the Celtic words). G. S. Lane, *Language* 8.296.

4. Goth. *urais* (= OFris. *urāk* 'crooked'), prob. fr. a by-form of \**wreik*- in OE *wrigian* 'turn, move, tend', ME *wrien* 'swerve, turn obliquely' (whence adj. ME *wrye*, NE *wry*), Grk. *ῥαχίς* 'crooked' (esp. of legs), Av. *urvis* 'turn around'. Relationship of Grk. *ῥαχίς* (esp. of legs, like *ῥαχίς*) obscure. Walde-P. 1.279. Feist 573. Falk-Torp 1397.

ON *krōkōtr*, Dan. *kroget*, Sw. *krokig*, ME *croked*, NE *crooked*, fr. ON *krōkr*, Dan. *krog*, Sw. *krok*, ME *crok* 'hook' (12.75).

OE *crumb* (rarely in general sense, mostly of persons or parts of body), OHG *crumb*, MHG *krump*, NHG *krumm*, MLG *krum* (> Dan., Sw. *krum*), beside OE *crump*, Du. *krom*, OHG *krumpf* id. : OHG *krimpfan* 'draw together, shrink', ON *kreppa* 'clinch, clasp', Russ. *gorb* 'hump, bump', *gorbit* 'bend, bow', Ir. *gerbach* 'wrinkled', etc. Walde-P. 1.596.

OE *puorh* : ON *puerr* 'crosswise', OHG *duerah* 'slanting, oblique, across' (NHG *zuerch* 'across'), Goth. *puairhs* 'angry', root connection dub., but possibly as orig. 'cut (crosswise)' : Av. *puaras* 'cut', Grk. *σάρξ* 'flesh', root in OHG *dueran* 'turn rapidly', OE *pueran* 'twirl, stir', Skt. *tv-* 'hasten', etc. Walde-P. 1.736. Weigand-H. 2.1353. Feist 507. NED s.v. *thwart*, adv.

out the Celtic words). G. S. Lane, *Language* 8.296.

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ON *krōkōtr*, Dan. *kroget*, Sw. *krokig*, ME *croked*, NE *crooked*, fr. ON *krōkr*, Dan. *krog*, Sw. *krok*, ME *crok* 'hook' (12.75).

OE *crumb* (rarely in general sense, mostly of persons or parts of body), OHG *crumb*, MHG *krump*, NHG *krumm*, MLG *krum* (> Dan., Sw. *krum*), beside OE *crump*, Du. *krom*, OHG *krumpf* id. : OHG *krimpfan* 'draw together, shrink', ON *kreppa* 'clinch, clasp', Russ. *gorb* 'hump, bump', *gorbit* 'bend, bow', Ir. *gerbach* 'wrinkled', etc. Walde-P. 1.596.

OE *puorh* : ON *puerr* 'crosswise', OHG *duerah* 'slanting, oblique, across' (NHG *zuerch* 'across'), Goth. *puairhs* 'angry', root connection dub., but possibly as orig. 'cut (crosswise)' : Av. *puaras* 'cut', Grk. *σάρξ* 'flesh', root in OHG *dueran* 'turn rapidly', OE *pueran* 'twirl, stir', Skt. *tv-* 'hasten', etc. Walde-P. 1.736. Weigand-H. 2.1353. Feist 507. NED s.v. *thwart*, adv.

ON *krōkōtr*, Dan. *kroget*, Sw. *krokig*, ME *croked*, NE *crooked*, fr. ON *krōkr*, Dan. *krog*, Sw. *krok*, ME *crok* 'hook' (12.75).

OE *crumb* (rarely in general sense, mostly of persons or parts of body), OHG *crumb*, MHG *krump*, NHG *krumm*, MLG *krum* (> Dan., Sw. *krum*), beside OE *crump*, Du. *krom*, OHG *krumpf* id. : OHG *krimpfan* 'draw together, shrink', ON *kreppa* 'clinch, clasp', Russ. *gorb* 'hump, bump', *gorbit* 'bend, bow', Ir. *gerbach* 'wrinkled', etc. Walde-P. 1.596.

OE *puorh* : ON *puerr* 'crosswise', OHG *duerah* 'slanting, oblique, across' (NHG *zuerch* 'across'), Goth. *puairhs* 'angry', root connection dub., but possibly as orig. 'cut (crosswise)' : Av. *puaras* 'cut', Grk. *σάρξ* 'flesh', root in OHG *dueran* 'turn rapidly', OE *pueran* 'twirl, stir', Skt. *tv-* 'hasten', etc. Walde-P. 1.736. Weigand-H. 2.1353. Feist 507. NED s.v. *thwart*, adv.

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*droit*, Sp. *derecho*, Rum. *drept*, verbal adjs. of *regere*, *dirigere* (above); OIr. *diruich*, *diruig*, Ml. *dirrech*, Nl. *dirrech* (loanwords? cf. Pedersen 1.229, 2.116); Goth. *raihis*, ON *reitr*, etc. general Gmc. (the orig. meaning preserved in NHG *senkrecht* 'plumb', *aufrecht*, NE *upright*, and NHG *rechter winkel*, NE *right angle*, etc.); also ON *rakr*, Sw. *rak* (= East Frank. *rak* 'right', MLG *zak* 'straight, in order'); Skt. *rju-*, Av. *ərəzu-*.

2. Grk. *εὐθὺς*, Ion. *tēus*, relation and orig. obscure. Walde-P. 2.450. Boisacq 294, 370.



Grk. *σκαυβός* 'bow-legged', Ir. *camm* 'crooked'? Walde-P. 2.540.

Lett. *kāsis*, earlier 'forked limb' (for hanging kettle), also dial. *kārsis*, perh.: *kārt* 'hang' (trans.); or: Skt. *kāṣi-* 'closed hand, fist'. Mühl.-Endz. 2.204.

Lett. *ak'is* (Lith. *okas*), fr. MLG *hake* (cf. above, 4). Mühl.-Endz. 1.237.

6. ChSl. *qkolt*, above, 1.

SCr. *kuka*, cf. Bulg. *kuka* 'hook, crutch', Russ.-ChSl. *kuko-nosū* 'crooked-

nosed': Skt. *kuñc-* 'contract, bend', etc. Walde-P. 1.371. Berneker 639.

Boh. *hák*, Pol. *hak*, fr. Gmc., OHG *hako*, etc. (above, 4). Brückner 167.

Pol. *krak* fr. NHG *krücke*, dial. *krucke* 'crutch', and Russ. *krjuk*, fr. ON *krókr* 'hook' (above, 4). Berneker 629. Brückner 272.

7. Skt. *añka-*, Av. *anku-*, etc., above, 1.

## 12.76 CORNER

|      |                             |       |                      |       |                        |
|------|-----------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>γωνία</i>                | Goth. | <i>waista</i>        | Lith. | <i>kampas, kertė</i>   |
| NG   | <i>γωνία</i>                | ON    | <i>horn, hýrning</i> | Lett. | <i>stūris, kaktė</i>   |
| Lat. | <i>angulus</i>              | Dan.  | <i>hjørne</i>        | ChSl. | <i>agūlā (kutū)</i>    |
| It.  | <i>canto, cantone</i>       | Sw.   | <i>hörn</i>          | SCr.  | <i>kut, ugo</i>        |
| Fr.  | <i>coin</i>                 | OE    | <i>hýrne, hwaum</i>  | Boh.  | <i>roh, kout, úhel</i> |
| Sp.  | <i>esquina, rincón</i>      | ME    | <i>corner, hīrne</i> | Pol.  | <i>rog, kąt, węgł</i>  |
| Rum. | <i>colț</i>                 | NE    | <i>corner</i>        | Russ. | <i>ugol</i>            |
| Ir.  | <i>uilen, uillind, cern</i> | Du.   | <i>hoek</i>          | Skt.  | <i>koṇa-</i>           |
| NlR. | <i>cūinne (cearna)</i>      | OHG   | <i>uinkil, ekkā</i>  | Av.   | ....                   |
| W.   | <i>congl, cornel</i>        | MHG   | <i>ecke, winkel</i>  |       |                        |
| Br.  | <i>korn, kogn</i>           | NHG   | <i>ecke, winkel</i>  |       |                        |

Words for 'corner' are connected with roots for 'bend' or with words which, whatever their root connections, suggest the notion of a sharp bend or angle, as those for 'knee', 'elbow', 'wedge', 'hook'. From such a common notion arises the interchange, observed in several groups, between 'corner' and 'edge' or 'point'. Noteworthy is the relation to words for 'horn', which may involve in part semantic borrowing. This relation might also rest on the general notion of 'bent, crooked' (so Schuchardt, Z. rom. Ph. 41.254), but probably comes more specifically through the use of words for 'horn' for projecting parts, as Lat. *cornua* for the tops of a mountain, ends of a sailyard, wings of an army, and (most relevant to 'corner') the tips of a bow or the crescent moon and the corners of the eye (cf. Thes. 4.470).

It is the notion of 'corner' viewed from the outside that is mainly domi-

nant in the origin of the words. But they came to be used equally for the 'corner' viewed from the inside (e.g. 'corner' of the room vs. 'corner' of the house), and a few became more or less specialized in this direction, as Sp. *rincón*, ME *hīrne* (see quotations in NED), NHG *winkel*.

1. Grk. *γωνία*, NG pop. *γωνιά* (*γωνιά*, two syll.), prob.: *γωνία*, Lat. *genū*, Goth. *kniū*, Skt. *jānu-* 'knee'. Walde-P. 1.586. Boisaq 153 f.

2. Lat. *angulus* (hence the technical words for 'angle', It. *angolo*, Fr. *angle* > NE *angle*, etc.): ChSl. *agūlū* (see below, 6), Arm. *ankiwn* 'corner', fr. IE \**ang-* beside \**ank-* in Skt. *añc-* 'bend', Grk. *ἀγκών* 'elbow', *ἀγκύλος* 'crooked, curved', *ἀγκιστρον*, Lat. *uncus* 'hook', etc. Walde-P. 1.61 f. Ernout-M. 52. Walde-H. 1.48 f.

It. *canto, cantone*, also 'edge, side', see 12.353.

## SPATIAL RELATIONS: PLACE, FORM, SIZE

Fr. *coin*, also 'wedge', fr. Lat. *cuneus* 'wedge'. REW 2396.

Sp. *esquina*, prob. through 'edge' (cf. It. *canto* and OHG *ecka* 'corner' and 'edge'): Prov. *esquina*, Fr. *échine* 'spine'. REW 7994 ('begrifflich schwierig', but why?).

Sp. *rincón*, old *rancon*: *ancón* 'bay' fr. Grk. *ἀγκών* 'elbow, bend, bay'. REW 443a. Schuchardt, Z. rom. Ph. 41.256 f.

Rum. *colț*, neut., as masc. 'fang, tusk, shoot (of a plant), bud', prob. Slavic, cf. Ukr. *kol*, Pol. *kiel* 'fang, tusk', Slov. *kal* 'bud', SCr. *kaloc* 'young grass, fang', etc. Tiktin 393.

3. Ir. *uilen* and (MlR.) *uillind*, latter also and both orig. 'elbow', like W. *elin*, etc. (4.32).

Ir. *cern*, *cerna* (NlR. *cearna* 'corner', esp. 'quarter, direction'; cf. also Corn. *Kernow* 'Cornwall') = W. *cern* 'cheek, jaw', Br. *cern* 'top of the head or a hill', prob.: Lat. *cornu* 'horn', ON *horn* 'horn, corner', etc. Pedersen 1.156. Loth, RC 42.354. Otherwise Walde-P. 1.427.

NlR. *cūinne*, early NlR. *cūinne* (cf. K. Meyer, Contrib. 552), apparently fr. ME, early NE *coyne* 'wedge, corner, angle', fr. OFr. *cuigne, coing*, Fr. *coin* (above, 2).

W. *congl* fr. MLat. \**conculus*, dim. of *concus* 'angulus' (DuCange), whence OBr. *conc* 'corner, angle'. Loth, Mots lat. 152. This MLat. *conculus* is fr. Lat. *conchus* (Gloss., cf. Thes., s.v.), beside *concha*, these fr. Grk. *κόγχος, κόγχη* 'mussel-shell', with numerous secondary uses some of which ('kneepan', 'niche', 'apse' in Grk.) must have suggested the notion of 'corner'.

W. *cornel*, fr. ME *corner* (with dissim. in W.; so Parry-Williams 249), or fr. ME, NE dial. *cornel* (NED s.v.), fr. OFr. *cornal* 'corner', deriv. of OFr. *cor(n)* 'horn' and 'corner' fr. Lat. *cornu* 'horn'.

Br. *korn* 'horn' and 'corner' (latter sense prob. fr. OFr. *corn*, above) fr. Lat. *cornu* 'horn'. Loth, Mots lat. 152.

Br. *kogn*, fr. OFr. *coing* (= Fr. *coin*, above). Henry 75.

4. Goth. *waista*, prob.: MHG *veigen* 'vacillate, waver', Lat. *vincire* 'wind around, bind', etc., with semantic development fr. 'bent, crooked' to 'corner'. Walde-P. 1.234. Otherwise (: OHG *winkel*, below) Feist 543.

ON *hýrning*, late ON *hýrni*, Dan. *hjørne*, Sw. *hörn*, OE *hýrne*, ME *hīrne* (cf. ON *hýrna* 'point of an axe-head'), fr. ON *horn* 'horn' and also 'corner', Dan. *horn*, etc. 'horn': Lat. *cornu* 'horn', etc. Walde-P. 1.407. Falk-Torp 413.

OE *hwamm, hwem*, beside *hwemman* 'bend, crook', cf. ON *hwammr*, OSw. *hwamber* 'slope, valley', etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.376, 398.

ME, NE *corner*, fr. Anglo-Fr. *corner* = OFr. *cornier*, deriv. of OFr. *cor(n)* 'horn, corner'. NED s.v.

Du. *hoek* = OE *hōc*, NE *hook* (12.75). Franck-v. W. 222.

OHG *winkil*, MHG, NHG *winkel* (cf. OE *wincel* in place names; (Du. *winkel* 'shop' fr. 'corner', 11.87): OHG *winchan* 'move sideways, stagger, nod', OE *winician* 'close the eyes, wink, nod', *wince* 'a winch', Lith. *vingti* 'shun, avoid', *vingis* 'bend, crook', etc., all fr. common notion of 'bend, turn'. Walde-P. 1.260. Weigand-H. 2.1269.

OHG *ekka*, MHG, NHG *ecke* (OHG, MHG also 'edge' of a weapon): OE *ecg*, ON *egg*, Lat. *aciēs*, etc. 'edge' (12.353).

5. Lith. *kampas*: *kumpas* 'crooked', etc. (12.74).

Lith. *kertė*, etym.? Leskien, Bildung d. Nom. 265. Perh. as orig. 'edge' (cf. It. *canto*, NHG *ecke*): Lith. *kirsti, kertu* 'cut down', Russ. *čerta* 'line', etc.

Lett. *stūris*, prob. with semantic de-

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eral, West Slavic and Catholic, through Gmc. or Romance? (Berneker 619).

3. Goth. *galga* (reg. for *σκαυβός*) = OE *galga*, OHG *galgo*, etc. 'gallows' (these also sometimes for the cross), prob. (as orig. simply the bent limb of a tree): Lith. *žalga* 'rod, pole', Arm. *jalk* 'branch, twig'. Walde-P. 1.540. Falk-Torp 296. Feist 189.

OE *rōd*, orig. 'rod' as in cpd. *segrōd* 'sailyard', but reg. for Lat. *crūz* (ME *rood* 'crucifix', NE in this sense archaic; OE *rood*, NE *rod* fr. a different form; ON *rōða* 'crucifix' fr. OE): OHG *ruota* 'rod' (NHG rule), etc., outside connections

dub. Walde-P. 2.368. Falk-Torp 908. NED s.v. *rood*.

4. ChSl. *kristū* (often written *krīstū*), the reg. word for Grk. *σταυρός* in Gospels, Supr., etc. (cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 203, 356), SCr. *krst*, Russ. *krest* (White Russ. *krist*, East Lett. *kristis*; Lett. *krusts* with *u* by influence of Lat. *crūz*? Mühl.-Endz. 2.290), in orig. the same word as ChSl. *Christū* 'Christ' (fr. Grk. *χριστός* through Goth. *Xristus*), but fr. an untested Goth. *Kristus* (cf. OHG *Krist*), and differentiated in use through 'Christ on the cross, crucifix' to 'cross'. Berneker 634. Stender-Petersen 419 ff.

## 12.78 SQUARE (sb.)

|      |   |       |                             |       |                                  |
|------|---|-------|-----------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>τετράγωνος</i>                           | Goth. | ....                        | Lith. | <i>keturkampis, ketvirtainis</i> |
| NG   | <i>τετράγωνος</i>                           | ON    | <i>ferskeytrr, ferhyndr</i> | Lett. | <i>tetrstūris</i>                |
| Lat. | <i>quadrātum, quadrum</i>                   | Dan.  | <i>frkant</i>               | ChSl. | ....                             |
| It.  | <i>quadrato, quadro</i>                     | Sw.   | <i>fyrkant</i>              | SCr.  | <i>žetverokut</i>                |
| Fr.  | <i>carré</i>                                | OE    | <i>fēower-scēte</i> (adj.)  | Boh.  | <i>čtverec, čtverhran</i>        |
| Sp.  | <i>cuadrado, cuadro</i>                     | ME    | <i>square, fourhyrned</i>   | Pol.  | <i>czworokąt, czworobok</i>      |
| Rum. | <i>pătrat</i>                               |       |                             | Russ. | <i>četyreugol'nik</i>            |
| Ir.  | <i>ceitharchoir, ceitharuil-lech</i> (adj.) | NE    | <i>square</i>               | Skt.  | <i>caturacra</i>                 |
| NlR. | <i>cearnach, cearnóg</i>                    | Du.   | <i>vierhoek</i>             | Av.   | <i>čātru karana-</i> (adj.)      |
| W.   | <i>ygnawr, pedrongl</i>                     | OHG   | <i>fiarscōz</i> (adj.)      |       |                                  |
| Br.  | <i>karrezenn, pevarc'horneg</i>             | MHG   | <i>vierecke</i> (adj.)      |       |                                  |
|      |   | NHG   | <i>vierecke</i>             |       |                                  |

Nearly all the words for 'square' are derivatives or compounds of words for 'four'. The last member of the compounds is usually a word (or deriv. of a word) for 'corner' (12.76), 'edge' (12.353), or 'side' (12.36). Only the NlR. forms are simply from 'corner', without the four.

1. Grk. *τετράγωνος*, neut. of adj. *τετράγωνος*, cpd. of *τετρα-* 'four' and *γωνία* 'corner'.

2. Lat. *quadrātum*, neut. of *quadrātus* (> It. *quadrato*, Fr. *carré*, Sp. *cuadrado* adj. and sb.), pple. of *quadrare* 'make square', fr. *quadrus* (> It. *quadro*, Sp. *cuadro*), rare and late in adj. use (mostly in sb. forms, *quadra* 'square, base of a

pedestal, table', *quadrum* 'square'), all fr. *quattuor* 'four', in form *quadru-* as in *quadru-plex*, etc. Ernout-M. 836.

Rum. *pătrat*, fr. *patru* 'four' (with influence of Lat. *quadrātus*). Tiktin 1134.

3. Ir. *ceithar-choir, ceithar-ochair, ceithar-ochair*, cpd. of *ceithir* 'four' and *ochair* (NlR. *ochar*) 'border, edge'.

Ir. *ceithar-uillech*, cpd. of *ceithir* 'four' and *uillind* 'corner'.

MlR. *cearnach*, NlR. *cearnach, cearnóg*, deriv. of Ir. *cern* 'corner'.

W. *ysgwar* fr. NE *square*. W. *pedrongl*, cpd. of *peduar* 'four' and *ongl* 'angle'.

Br. *karrezenn*, fr. *karre, karrezek*, adj., loanword fr. Fr. *carré*.

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Br. *pevar-c'horneg* (sb. vs. adj. -ek; cf. Vallée), cpd. of *pevar* 'four' and *korn* 'corner'.

4. ON *ferskeytr* (pple. of *ferskeyta* 'make square'), OE *fēower-scēte, -scite*, OHG *fior-scōz*, cpd. of ON *fjörir* (in cpds. *fer-, fjör-*), OE *fēower*, OHG *fior* 'four' and ON *skaut* 'corner (of a piece of cloth), quarter (of the heavens), skirt, sheet', OE *sebat* 'corner, quarter (of heavens, country), region, lap, etc.', OHG *scōz* 'skirt, lappet, lap' (: Goth. *skaut* 'hem of a garment').

ON *ferhyndr*, ME *fourhyndr* (one quot. in NED), cpd. of ON *fer-, ME four* 'four', and ON *hörn*, ME *hīrne* 'corner'. Dan. *frkant*, Sw. *fyrkant*, cpd. of *fir, fyr* 'four' and *kant* 'edge'.

ME, NE *square*, fr. OFr. *esquare, esquire, esquerre*, etc., VLat. \**ezquadra*, fr. \**ezquadrare* 'make square' (for *quadrare*, cf. above, 2). REW 3060. NED s.v.

## 12.81 ROUND (adj.)

|      |                       |       |                                     |       |                           |
|------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>στρογγύλος</i>     | Goth. | ....                                | Lith. | <i>apvalus, apskritas</i> |
| NG   | <i>στρογγύλος</i>     | ON    | <i>sivair, kringlōtr</i>            | Lett. | <i>apvalis</i>            |
| Lat. | <i>rotundus</i>       | Dan.  | <i>rund</i>                         | ChSl. | <i>(o)kruglā</i>          |
| It.  | <i>tondo, rotondo</i> | Sw.   | <i>rund</i>                         | SCr.  | <i>okrugao</i>            |
| Fr.  | <i>rond</i>           | OE    | <i>sin-uæll, -trendel, -hwerfel</i> | Boh.  | <i>okrouhlý, kulatý</i>   |
| Sp.  | <i>redondo</i>        |       |                                     | Pol.  | <i>okrągły</i>            |
| Rum. | <i>rotund</i>         | ME    | <i>round</i>                        | Russ. | <i>kruglyj</i>            |
| Ir.  | <i>crúind</i>         | NE    | <i>round</i>                        | Skt.  | <i>vartula-</i>           |
| NlR. | <i>crúinn</i>         | Du.   | <i>round</i>                        | Av.   | <i>vartula-skarana-</i>   |
| W.   | <i>crwn</i>           | OHG   | <i>sinwel, sinhwerbal</i>           |       |                           |
| Br.  | <i>krenn</i>          | MHG   | <i>sinwel, runt</i>                 |       |                           |
|      |                       | NHG   | <i>rund</i>                         |       |                           |

The common words for 'round', as listed here, are used of both circular and spherical shapes, though several of them were in origin 'circular'. More specific words distinguishing 'circular' and 'spherical' are derived from the words for 'circle' (12.82) or 'sphere' (12.83), e.g. Grk. *κυκλωτής* 'circular', lit. 'circle-turned', cpd. of *κύκλος* 'circle' and the root in *εἶρω* 'rub', *τόπος* 'carpenter's tool for drawing a circle'; 'spherical' fr.

'sphere', Grk. *σφαίρικός* fr. *σφαῖρα*, Lat. *globōsus* fr. *globus*, ON *hōllōtr* fr. *hōllr*, Pol. *kulistý* fr. *kula*, etc.

1. Grk. *στρογγύλος*, NG *στρογγύλος*, prob. 'round' fr. 'twisted': *στραγγός* 'twisted, squeezed', *στράγγε* 'something squeezed out, a drop', *στραγγαλίω* 'strangle', Lat. *stringere* 'draw tight', etc. Walde P. 2.650. Boisaq 917.

2. Lat. *rotundus*, lit. 'wheel-shaped', then 'round' in general (VLat. *retundus*

*cercle*; lit. loanwords It. *circolo*, Sp. *círculo*, dim. of *circus* (> Rum. *cerc* 'circle', but It. *cercio* obs., Sp. *cercio* in secondary uses), which it replaced in the sense 'circle', the latter coming to be the 'circular' (esp. *Circus Maximus*, and then others): Grk. *κύκλος*, *κύκλος* 'ring', fr. the root \**(s)ker-* in Lat. *curvus* 'crooked', etc. (12.74). Walde-P. 2.569. Ernout-M. 188 ff. Walde-H. 1.220 f. REW 1947, 1948.

3. Ir. *cūairt*, perh. loanword fr. Lat. *cohors, -tis* (> *cōrs, -tis*) 'court, enclosure'. Pedersen 1.205.

Ir. *círcul*, NlR. *ciorcal*, fr. Lat. *circulus*. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 124 f.

W. *cylch*, Br. *kelc'h*, fr. Lat. *circ'us* = *circulus*. Loth, Mots lat. 156.

W. *cant*, Br. *kant*, prob.: Gallo-Lat. *cant(h)us* 'iron rim of a wheel', etc. (see 12.353). Walde-P. 1.351 f.

4. ON *hringr*, OHG (*h*)ring, MHG *rinc*, OE *hring* (but the latter mostly 'ring'; this meaning also in ON, OHG, and MHG, and in the modern languages the usual one): Umbr. *eringatro* 'cinctum, band about the shoulder as a sign of office', ChSl. *kragū* 'circle', etc. (below, 6), fr. extensions of the root \**(s)ker-* as in Lat. *circus*, etc. (above, 2). Falk-Torp 901.

ON *kringla, kringr*, Du. *kring*, MLG *krink*, MHG *krine, krane* (NHG *kringen, kringel*): Norw. *krenkja* 'wrench', Lith. *grėži* 'bore', Lett. *griez* 'turn', nasalized forms of the root in ON *krókr* 'hook' (12.75). Walde-P. 1.594. Falk-Torp 580 f. Weigand-H. 1.1153.

Late OHG *creiz*, MHG *kreiz* (> Dan. *kreds*, Sw. *krets*), NHG *kreis*: MLG

6. ChSl. *kragū*, etc., general Slavic: ON *hringr*, etc. 'ring, circle' (above, 4). Berneker 626.

Pol. *kolo* 'wheel' (10.76), also 'circle', mostly replacing the older *krag* in this sense.

7. Skt. *maṇḍala-*, etym. dub., perh.: Ir. *mell* 'globus'. Walde-P. 2.295. Uhlenbeck 211.

Skt. *cakra-*: Grk. *κύκλος* (above, 1).

## SPATIAL RELATIONS: PLACE, FORM, SIZE

> Oit. *ritondo*, It. *tondo*, Fr. *rond*, Sp. *redondo*, Rum. obs. or dial. *rátund*; reformed It. *rotondo*, Rum. *rotund*), deriv. (prob. through a vb. form) of *rota* 'wheel' (10.76). Walde-P. 2.368. Ernout-M. 871. REW 7400.

3. Ir. *crúind*, NlR. *crúinn*, W. *crwn*, OBr. *cron*, Br. *krenn*, fr. \**krund-i-*, fr. IE \*(s)kreu-, extension of \*(s)ker- 'turn, bend', in ChSl. *kragū* 'circle', (o)kruglū 'cylindrical', Boh. *oblý*, Pol. *obły* 'oblong'. Walde-P. 1.303. Mühl.-Endz. 1.74. Trautmann 349.

Lith. *apskritas*: *apskritis* 'circle', etc. (12.82).

6. ChSl. *kruglū, okruglū* (for \**kraglū, \*okraglū*), SCr. *okrugao*, etc., general Slavic, fr. *kragū*, SCr. *krug*, etc. 'circle' (12.82). Berneker 626.

Boh. *kulatý*, fr. *kule, koule* 'ball, sphere' (12.83) and so orig. 'spherical', like Pol. *kulisty*, but now also for 'round, circular'.

7. Skt. *vartula-*: *vrt-*, Lat. *vertere* 'turn', etc. Walde-P. 1.274. Uhlenbeck 275.

Av. *skarana-*: Ir. *crúind*, etc. (above, 3). Barth. 1587.

## 12.82 CIRCLE

|       |                  |       |        |
|-------|------------------|-------|--------|
| Grk.  | κύκλος           | Goth. | ....   |
| NG    | κύκλος           | ON    | hringr |
| Lat.  | circulus         | Dan.  | kreds  |
| It.   | circolo, cerchio | Sw.   | krets  |
| Fr.   | cercle           | OE    | trende |
| Sp.   | circulo          | ME    | cercle |
| Rum.  | cerc             | NE    | circle |
| Ir.   | cūairt, circul   | Du.   | cirkel |
| Nl.r. | ciorcal          | OHG   | (h)rin |
| W.    | cylch, cant      | MHG   | kreiz, |
| Br.   | kelc'h, kant     | NHG   | kreis  |

'bump', etc., guttural extensions of \**geu-* seen also in Skt. *gola-* 'ball, sphere' (below), MHG *kiule* 'ball or knob on the end of a stick, club with a knob on the end' (NHG *keule*), etc. Walde-P. 1.558. Falk-Torp 590.

OE *cliven*, ME *clewe*, OHG *cliuwa*, MHG *kliuwe* (all esp. 'ball of thread or yarn'; hence with further peculiar semantic development NE *clew*, cf. NED) : Skt. *glāu-* 'round lump', NPers. *gulūle* 'ball', fr. \**glew-* (cf. \**glew-d* in Dan. *klode*, etc.). Walde-P. 1.617.

ME *spere*, NE *sphere*, fr. OFr. *espere*, Fr. *sphère* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *kamuolys* : *kamuoti* 'press-together, stuff', Lett. *kams*, Russ. *kom* 'lump', Russ. *komit* 'press into a ball', MHG *hemmen* 'restrain', etc. Walde-P. 1.388. Berneker 557.

Lett. *bamba*, also *bumba* (but the latter rather 'ball, bomb', etc.?); cf. Lith. *bamba* 'navel', *bumbulis* 'bubble', *bumburas* 'bud', Pol. *babel* 'bubble, blister', Boh. *boubel* 'bubble', Skt. *bimba-* 'sphere, orb, disc, rounded part of the body', etc., all prob. based on a syllable imitative of the sound made with puffed-up cheeks. Walde-P. 2.107 f. Mühl-Endz. 1.261.

6. SCr. *kugla*, fr. MHG *kugele*, NHG *kugel* (above, 4). Berneker 641.

Boh. *koule*, Pol. *kula* fr. MHG or

## 12.85 HOLE

|      |               |       |             |       |                |
|------|---------------|-------|-------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | ὀπή, τρύπημα  | Goth. | hairkō      | Lith. | skylė          |
| NG   | τρύπη         | ON    | rauf        | Lett. | cavums         |
| Lat. | forāmen       | Dan.  | hul         | ChSl. | dupina         |
| It.  | buco          | Sw.   | hāl         | SCr.  | rupa           |
| Fr.  | trou          | OE    | þyrel, hol  | Boh.  | díra           |
| Rum. | agujero, hoyo | ME    | hole, thirl | Pol.  | dziura         |
| Rum. | gaurá         | NE    | hole        | Russ. | dyra           |
| Ir.  | toll          | Du.   | gat         | Skt.  | bila-, chidra- |
| Nl.  | poll          | OHG   | loh         | Av.   | ....           |
| W.   | tull          | MHG   | loch        |       |                |
| Br.  | toull         | NHG   | loch        |       |                |

## 910 SELECTED INDO-EUROPEAN SYNONYMS

Boh. *díra*, Pol. *dziura*, Russ. *dyra* : ChSl. *dirati* 'tear' (9.28). Berneker 201, Brückner 113.

## 12.91 EQUAL

|      |                       |       |                       |       |                      |
|------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | ἴσος                  | Goth. | ibna, samaleiks       | Lith. | lygus                |
| NG   | ἴσος                  | ON    | (g)likr               | Lett. | līdz (adv.), līdzens |
| Lat. | aequus, aequalis, pār | Dan.  | lige                  | ChSl. | rajinā               |
| It.  | uguale, pari          | Sw.   | lika                  | SCr.  | stejnak, ravan       |
| Fr.  | égal                  | OE    | gelic                 | Boh.  | stejny, rovný        |
| Sp.  | igual                 | ME    | itike, egall          | Pol.  | równy                |
| Rum. | egal                  | NE    | equal, alike          | Russ. | ravnyj               |
| Ir.  | i(n)no(n)n            | Du.   | gelijk                | Skt.  | sama-, tulya-        |
| Nl.  | ionann                | OHG   | gilth, ebanlih, sama- | Av.   | hama-                |
| W.   | cyfartal              |       | lih                   |       |                      |
| Br.  | ingal, par            | MHG   | gelich                |       |                      |
|      |                       | NHG   | gleich                |       |                      |

The notion 'equal' and the following 'like, similar', and 'change' (vb.) are of course by no means confined to spatial relations (NE *equal* more often of quantity, number, strength, etc.), and least of all 'sign' (sb.). But they are conveniently added here.

The distinction between the absolute 'equal' and the approximate 'like, similar' (12.92) is not always sharply marked. Both notions are sometimes covered by the same word (at the same or different periods) or more often by members of the same cognate groups. This is notably true in the two groups represented by NE *same* and *like*.

Words for 'equal' are cognate with others for 'body, form', 'same, together', 'one', 'balance', etc. Several are used also of 'even, level' ground; and in some of these this is probably the earlier sense.

The notion of identity is also expressed by words for 'same' (in addition to those included in the list), like *Lat. idem* (whence NE *identity*, etc.), NE *same*, etc.

1. Grk. *isos*, Hom. *isos*, dial. *fišfos*, prob., with secondary *σφ*, fr. \**fišro:os* : *ēidos* 'form' (12.51). Bechtel, Phil. Anz. 1886.15. Brugmann, Ber. Sächs. Ges. 1897.29, Grd. 2.205. Otherwise ( : Skt.

7. Skt. *bila-*, etym.? Walde-P. 2.110. Skt. *chidra-* ('hole, opening, flaw, fault') : *chid-* 'cut, split' (9.22, 9.27).

2. Lat. *aequus* (also 'level, even'), *aequalis* (> OIt. *iguale*, It. *uguale*, OFr. *ivel*, *egal*, etc., Fr. *égal*, Sp. *igual*; Rum. *egal* fr. Fr.), etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.7, 102. Ernout-M. 16 f. Walde-H. 1.13. REW 238.

Lat. *pār*, acc. *parem* (> It. *pari*; deriv. VLat. \**pariculus* > Sp. *parjo* in phrase *por parejo* 'on equal terms', Fr. *pareil* 'like, similar'), etym.? Walde-P. 2.40. Ernout-M. 731. REW 6219, 6241.

3. Ir. *i(n)non(n)*, Nl. *ionann* 'the same, equal', orig. 'the one', cpd. of *in(d)* 'the' and *oin* 'one'. Pedersen 2.126, 177. W. *cyfartal*, deriv. of *cyfar* 'co-tillage' (= Ir. *comar* id., cpd. of *ar-* 'plow'). W. *cystadl* (obs.), *cystal* (in NT, but esp. 'equal in goodness'), cpd. of *cy-* 'with' and \**stadlo-*, fr. IE \**stā-* 'stand'. Morris Jones, 139. Many other cpds. of *cy-* 'with' in common use, denoting more specifically 'of equal breadth, height, weight', etc.

Br. *ingal*, fr. a dialect form of OFr. *ivel*, Fr. *égal* (above, 2), like OProv. *en-*

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Several of the words for 'hole' denoted primarily a hollow place (NE *hole* in the ground, foxes' *holes*, etc.) and are cognate with adjectives for 'hollow' or with words for 'pit' or the like. Others, with the primary notion of perforation or opening, are derived from verbs for 'bore, pierce', 'tear' or 'split'. One of the Greek words is cognate with those for 'eye', and the use of 'eye' for the hole in a needle is widespread.

1. Grk. *ὀπή*, fr. the same root as words for 'eye', Skt. *akṣi-*, Grk. *ὄσσε* (dual), Lat. *oculus*, etc. (4.21). Cf. Arm. *akn* 'eye' and 'opening, hole'. Walde-P. 1.170. Boisacq 707.

Grk. *τρύπημα*, fr. *τρῑπάω* 'bore' (9.46), whence also the back-formation Byz., NG *τρύπα*.

2. Lat. *forāmen*, fr. *forāre* 'bore' (9.46).

Lat. *cavum* 'hollow, hole', sb. fr. adj. *cavus* 'hollow' (12.72).

It. *bucco*, prob. fr. VLat. *voc(u)us* = *vacuus* 'empty' (13.22). Cf. Sp. *hucuo* 'hollow' (12.72). REW 9115.

Fr. *trou* (= Prov. *trauc*, Cat. *trau*, Lex Ripuaria *traugum*), orig. dub., perh. Gallic. REW 8864. Gamillscheg 870.

Sp. *agujero*, fr. *aguja* 'needle' (6.37) and must have referred first to the eye of a needle, or possibly to the hole pierced by a needle.

Sp. *hoyo* ('hole' as a hollow place, like one made by a bomb), beside *hoya*, fr. Lat. *fovea* 'pit'. REW 3463.

Rum. *gaurá*, fr. \**cavula*, dim. sb. fr. Lat. *cavus* 'hollow'. REW 1795. Puscaru 701.

3. Ir. *toll* (also adj. 'hollow'), W. *tull*, Br. *tuoll*, perh. (\**tuklos*) : Grk. *ῥίκος* 'mason's hammer', ChSl. *tūknaŭi* 'pierce, prick'. Walde-P. 2.615. Stokes 134.

Nl. *poll* = Gael. *poll* 'hole, pit, pond', W. *pull*, Br. *poull* 'pool', prob. loanwords fr. OE *pōl* 'pool'. In any case

the Ir. use is clearly a secondary extension of 'pool', through 'pit' or the like.

4. Goth. *pairkō* (quotable only in phrase for 'eye of a needle'), OE *þyrel*, ME and NE dial. *thirl*, fr. the root seen in Goth. *pairh*, OE *þurh*, etc. 'through'. Feist 489. NED s.v. *thirl*, sb.

OE *hol*, ME, NE *hole*, Dan. *hul*, Sw. *hål*, in earliest use mostly 'hollow place' (ON, OHG *hol* rarely otherwise), sb. of adj. for 'hollow' (12.72). NED s.v. *hole* sb.

ON *rauf* : ON *rjūfa*, OE *rēofan* 'break' (9.26). Falk-Torp 938.

ON (rare), OS, LG, Du. *gat* = OE *geat* 'gate' (specialization of 'hole, opening'), etym.? Connection with Skt. *had-*, Grk. *χέω* 'void excitement' (Walde-P. 1.571 f., Falk-Torp 302) improbable. Franck-v. W. 176.

OHG *loh*, MHG, NHG *loch* = ON *lok* 'cover, lid', OE *loc* 'lock', etc. : Goth. *galūkan*, OE *lūcan* 'shut, fasten', etc.

Semantic development through 'enclosed place' ('prison' and 'hiding place' attested in MHG) > 'hollow, hole'. Weigand-H. 2.75. Kluge-G. 362.

5. Lith. *skylė* : *skelti* 'split' (9.27). Leskien, Ablaut 341.

Lett. *cavums* : *cours*, Lith. *kiauras* 'full of holes', *kiurti* 'become full of holes', outside root connections? Mühl-Endz. 1.366.

6. ChSl. *dupina* (Supr. = *ὀπή*) : Russ. *duplo* 'hollow' (of a tree, etc.), Lith. *dubus* 'hollow, deep', Goth. *dupps* 'deep', etc. (12.67). Berneker 237 f.

In the Gospels *τρύπημα*, *τρυμαλιά*, in the phrase 'eye of a needle' are rendered by *ucho* 'ear'.

SCr. *rupa* (also Slov., Ukr. for 'hole in the ground, ditch'), fr. an extension of the root in ChSl. *rūpati* 'tear', *ryti* 'dig', like that in Lat. *rumpere*, OE *rēofan* 'break', etc. (9.26). Cf. ON *rauf* 'hole' (above, 4). Walde-P. 2.355.

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*gual*, e(n)gal, Anglo-Norm. *ingal* (Wartburg 1.44).

Br. *par*, fr. Lat. *pār*, acc. *parem* (above, 2). Loth, Mots lat. 192.

4. Goth. *ibna* : *ibns*, OE *efen* 'level, flat', etc. (12.71). Goth. *samaleiks* (*īsos*) beside *galeiks* (*δύοις*) and adv. *analeikō* (*δυοίως*), ON *glīkr*, *likr*, Dan. *lige*, Sw. *lika* ('equal' and 'like'), OE *gelic* (in Gospels renders Lat. *aequalis* and *similis*), ME *ilike*, NE *alike* (now used only predicatively, but stronger than *like*, e.g. *just alike*, *almost alike*), OHG *gilth* (both 'gleich' and 'ähnlich', e.g. Otrf.), MHG *gelich*, NHG *gleich*, also OHG *ebanlih*, *samalih* 'equal', and OHG *analih*, MHG *anelich*, NHG *ähnlich* 'similar', Du. *gelijk* (also 'like'), all cpds. or derivs. of Goth. *leik*, OE *lic*, etc. 'body, form'. Walde-P. 2.398. Falk-Torp 642. Weigand-H. 1.735. NED s.vv. *like*, *alike*, *ylīke*.

ME *egall*, fr. OFr. *egal* (above, 2). NED s.v. NE *equal* (ME rare), fr. Lat. *aequalis* (above, 2). NED s.v. 5. Lith. *lygus*, Lett. adv. *līdz*, *līdzī*, adj. *līdzens*, *līdzīgs* (also 'like, similar'), OPruss. adv. *polīgu* 'likewise' : Goth.

## 12.92 LIKE, SIMILAR

|      |                     |       |                |       |                   |
|------|---------------------|-------|----------------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk. | ὁμοιος              | Goth. | galeiks        | Lith. | panašus           |
| NG   | ὁμοιος              | ON    | likr           | Lett. | līdzīgs           |
| Lat. | similis             | Dan.  | lignende, lige | ChSl. | podobnū           |
| It.  | simile, somigliante | Sw.   | lika           | SCr.  | slīčan, nalik     |
| Fr.  | semblable, pareil   | OE    | gelic          | Boh.  | podobny           |
| Sp.  | semejar, parecido   | ME    | like           | Pol.  | podobny           |
| Rum. | asemenaea           | NE    | like, similar  | Russ. | pokožij, podobnyj |
| Ir.  | cosmail             | Du.   | gelijk         | Skt.  | upama-, pratima-  |
| Nl.  | cosmail             | OHG   | gilth, analih  | Av.   | ....              |
| W.   | tebig, hafal        | MHG   | anelich        |       |                   |
| Br.  | hevel, heñvel       | NHG   | ähnlich        |       |                   |

As already observed in 12.91, the words for 'equal' and those for 'like, similar' are partly overlapping in use. The majority of those for 'like, similar' belong to groups discussed in 12.91, or

## SELECTED INDO-EUROPEAN SYNONYMS

related to others for 'together'. Walde-P. 2.488 ff. Boisacq 702. Ernout-M. 942. REW 7925-28. Pedersen 1.47, 165.

Grk. *ὁμοιος*; Lat. *similis* (in form : Grk. *ὁμαλός* 'even, level'), hence It. *simile* (loanword), OFr. *semble*, and, through Lat. vb. *similāre*, Fr. *sembler*, etc., Fr. *semblable*, *ressemblant*, or, through VLat. \**similiāre*, It. *somigliare*, Sp. *semejar*, the ppl. -adj. It. *somigliante*, Sp. *semejante*; Rum. *asemenaea* (also 'equal', esp. before introduction of *egal* fr. Fr.), fr. vb. *asemenaa*, Lat. *adsimilāre*; Fr. *similaire*, NE *similar*, re-formed as if Lat. \**similāris*; Ir. *samaíl* 'likeness', whence (cpd. with *com-*) *cosmail*, Nl. *cosmail*, *cosmail* 'like'; W. *hafal*, Br. *hevel*, *heñvel*.

2. Fr. *pareil*, fr. VLat. \**pariculus*, deriv. of *pār*, *paris* 'equal' (12.91). Ernout-M. 731. REW 6241.

Sp. *parecido*, fr. *parecer* 'appear' = Fr. *parâtre* id., fr. VLat. \**pārēscere* (= Lat. *pārēre*, *appārēscere*). Ernout-M. 733. REW 6237.

3. W. *tebig* (also adv. 'likely'), perh. : Ir. *doich* 'probable, likely' of uncertain origin. Pedersen 1.129 (but cf. 2.667).

4. Goth. *galeiks*, etc., general Gmc. for either 'equal' or 'like' or both, also

## 12.93 CHANGE (vb.)

|      |                  |       |                              |       |                  |
|------|------------------|-------|------------------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | ἀλλάσσω, ἀμείβω  | Goth. | ismaidjan                    | Lith. | mainyti          |
| NG   | ἀλλάζω           | ON    | skipta (byta)                | Lett. | mainīt, mīt      |
| Lat. | mūtāre           | Dan.  | forandre, bytte, skifte,     | ChSl. | mēniti           |
| It.  | cambiare, mutare |       | veksle                       | SCr.  | mijeniti         |
| Fr.  | changer          | Sw.   | ändra, byta, skifta,         | Boh.  | mēniti           |
| Sp.  | cambiar, mudar   |       | vezla                        | Pol.  | odmienić, mienić |
| Rum. | schimba          | OE    | wrizl(i)an                   | Russ. | menjat           |
| Nl.  | coimclōim        | ME    | cha(u)nge                    | Skt.  | vi-kr-, vi-kīp-  |
| W.   | newid            | NE    | change                       | Av.   | ....             |
| Br.  | kemma, trei      | D     | veranderen, wissen           |       |                  |
|      |                  | OHG   | wehseln                      |       |                  |
|      |                  | MHG   | wehseln, (ver)endern         |       |                  |
|      |                  | NHG   | verändern, wecheln, tauschen |       |                  |

## 914 SELECTED INDO-EUROPEAN SYNONYMS

ON *skipta* 'share, divide' and 'change', Dan. *skifte*, Sw. *skifta* 'change, shift' = OE *sciftan* 'arrange, divide', ME *shifte* id. and (prob. Norse influence) 'change' (NE *shift*), MLG, Du. *shiften* 'divide, sort out', etc., fr. extension of root in ON *skipa* 'put in order, arrange', etc. Walde-P. 2.545. Falk-Torp 993.

ON *byta* 'divide, exchange', Dan. *bytte*, Sw. *byta*, fr. MLG *būten* 'divide, exchange' beside sb. *būte* 'booty', root connection dub. Walde-P. 2.186. Falk-Torp 122.

OE *wrizl(i)an*, with sb. *wrizl* 'change, exchange' : *wrigian* 'turn, move, go'. Walde-P. 1.278.

OHG *wehseln*, MHG *wehseln*, NHG *wecheln* (> Dan. *veksle*, Sw. *vezla*), Du. *wisselen*, fr. sb. OHG *wehsal* 'exchange', etc. (all used esp., though not exclusively, with reference to exchange of money)

: Lat. *vicis* (gen.), *vicem*, etc. 'change'. Walde-P. 1.235. Falk-Torp 1364 f.

ME *cha(u)nge*, NE *change*, fr. Fr. *changer* (above, 3).

MHG *ändern*, *endern*, NHG *ändern* (> Dan. *andre*, Sw. *ändra*) and MHG *verändern*, *-endern*, NHG *verändern*, MLG *voranderen* (> Dan. *forandre*), Du. *veranderen*, fr. MHG, MLG *ander* (OHG *andar*) 'other'. Weigand-H. 1.58, 2.1139. Falk-Torp 253, 1412.

NHG *tauschen*, beside sb. *tausch*, of same orig. as *täuschen* 'deceive', cf. MLG *tāsch* 'joke, trick', so evidently first used of barter involving sharp practice. Weigand-H. 2.1031. Kluge-G. 615.

6. Balto-Slavic words, above, 1.

7. Skt. *vi-kr-* and *vi-kīp-*, cpds. of *kr-* 'do, make' and *kīp-* 'be adapted' with *vi-* 'apart, differently'. Skt. *mi-*, above, 1.

## 12.94 SIGN (sb.)

|      |               |       |               |       |                        |
|------|---------------|-------|---------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | σημα, σημειον | Goth. | taikns        | Lith. | ženklas, žymė          |
| NG   | σημάδι        | ON    | tákn, teikn   | Lett. | zīme                   |
| Lat. | signum        | Dan.  | tegn          | ChSl. | znamenje               |
| It.  | segno         | Sw.   | tecken        | SCr.  | znak, znamen, znamenje |
| Fr.  | signe         | OE    | tācn          | Boh.  | znak, znamení          |
| Sp.  | signo, seña   | ME    | tocken, signe | Pol.  | znak, znamie, cecha    |
| Rum. | semn          | NE    | sign (token)  | Russ. | znak, znamenie         |
| Ir.  | arde, comarde | Du.   | teeken        | Skt.  | lakṣana-, liṣga-       |
| Nl.  | comhartha     | OHG   | zeihhan       | Av.   | dazšta-, dazšāra-      |
| W.   | arwydd        | MHG   | zeichen       |       |                        |
| Br.  | arouez        | NHG   | zeichen       |       |                        |

Words for 'sign' (sb.), denoting something which 'points out, indicates', are from verbs for 'point out, observe, see, know, teach'.

1. Grk. *σημα*, Dor. *σάμα*, fr. \**dyā-men-* : Skt. *dyā-na-* (the oft quoted *dyā-man-* seems to be a ghost word) 'thought, reflection', but orig. 'observation', fr. *dhi-*, *dhyā-* 'think', orig. 'observe' : Av. *dī-* 'look at, observe' (15.51). Walde-P. 1.832. Boisacq 861.

Hence *σημεῖον* (in prose more common than *σημα*, which came to mean esp.

'tomb, grave') and late *σημάδιον*, NG *σημάδι*.

2. Lat. *signum* (> Romance words), generally taken as orig. 'cut mark' fr. the root of *secāre* 'cut' (so Walde-P. 2.478, Ernout-M. 939), but much more probably fr. the root of *in-seque* 'say' in its earlier sense of 'point out' (18.22).

3. Ir. *arde*, cpd. *comarde*, Nl. *comhartha*, W. *arwydd*, Br. *arouez*, fr. \**arwid*-cpd. of *ar* 'before, for' and the root of Lat. *vidēre* 'see', etc. Pedersen 2.6. Henry 18.

## SPATIAL RELATIONS: PLACE, FORM, SIZE

The majority of the words listed cover 'change' in the sense of 'make different, substitute another', and also 'exchange' involving a reciprocal give and take (for which NE *exchange* is now usual). But

## CHAPTER 13

## QUANTITY AND NUMBER

|   |                                    |
|---|------------------------------------|
| 13.11 QUANTITY  | 13.32 ONE                          |
| 13.12 NUMBER  | 13.33 ALONE, ONLY                  |
| 13.13 WHOLE   | 13.34 FIRST                        |
| 13.14 EVERY; ALL (pl.)  | 13.35 LAST                         |
| 13.15 MUCH; MANY  | 13.41 THREE                        |
| 13.16 MORE  | 13.42 THIRD (Ordinal)              |
| 13.17 LITTLE (Quantity); FEW (Number)   | 13.43 A THIRD (Fraction)           |
| 13.18 ENOUGH  | 13.44 THREE TIMES                  |
| 13.19 MULTITUDE, CROWD  | 13.45 OCCURRING THREE TIMES        |
| 13.192 NOTE ON OTHER WORDS FOR A COLLECTIVE BODY (of Persons, Animals, or Things) | 13.46 THREEFOLD, TRIPLE            |
|   | 13.47 CONSISTING OF THREE KINDS    |
|   | 13.48 CONSISTING OF THREE TOGETHER |
| 13.21 FULL  | 13.49 GROUP OF THREE               |
| 13.22 EMPTY   | 13.51 BY THREES                    |
| 13.23 PART (sb.)  | 13.52 THREE APICE                  |
| 13.24 HALF  | 13.53 MISCELLANEOUS                |
| 13.31 NOTE ON THE NUMERALS  |                                    |

## 13.11 QUANTITY

|                |                          |                                      |
|----------------|--------------------------|--------------------------------------|
| Grk. ποσότης   | Goth. (manages)          | Lith. kiekybė                        |
| NG ποσότης     | ON (fyldi, meryð, mengi) | Lett. kvantitate (daudzums)          |
| Lat. quantitas | Dan. kvantitet           | ChSl. (mīnogiostvo)                  |
| It. quantità   | Sw. kvantitet            | SCR. kolčina                         |
| Fr. quantité   | OE (meniga)              | Boh. kolikost                        |
| Sp. cantidad   | ME quantite(e)           | Pol. ilość                           |
| Rum. cantitate | NE quantity              | Russ. količestvo                     |
| Ir. méit       | Du. hoeveelheid          | Skt. pra-māna, pari-māna, māna, etc. |
| Nl. méit       | OHG (managi)             | Av. ....                             |
| W. maint       | MHG (menige)             |                                      |
| Br. maint      | NHG quantitat            |                                      |

'Quantity' in the abstract is a sophisticated notion. It was expressed in Greek by ποσότης, perhaps a coinage of Aristotle, meaning literally the 'how-much-ness', which the Romans rendered by the equivalent *quantitas*, whence, directly or by further semantic borrowing, most of the European terms.

The nearest equivalent, preceding the adoption of these terms, would be the words for 'great quantity or number',

which might come to be used for 'quantity' in general, just as words for 'great size' furnished most of the words for 'size' (12.52). Some of them are quotable for 'quantity, amount' or 'number' in the abstract, as Grk. πλῆθος ('amount' of the penalty, 'number' of the ships, etc.), Lat. *magnitudo* or *multitudo*, Russ. *mnōžestvo*, etc. Accordingly, such words are entered in the list (but in parentheses) where abstract forms are lacking or

## 918 SELECTED INDO-EUROPEAN SYNONYMS

in Grk. ἀριθμός, etc. (above, 1). Walde-P. 1.75. Pedersen 1.51.

4. Goth. *raþjō* : *garabjan* 'count', Gmc. *\*raþa* 'number' in ON *hund-raþ* 'hundred', etc., fr. the root in Grk. ἀριθμός, etc. (above, 1). Walde-P. 1.74. Feist 394.

ON *tala*, Dan. *tal*, *antal*, Sw. *antal*, OE *getel*, ME *tale* (OE *talū* only 'account, tale'), Du. *getal*, OHG *zala*, MHG *zal(e)*, NHG *zahl* : ON *tala* 'speak, talk', OE *talian* 'consider, reckon, account', OHG *zalōn* 'count, relate, pay', etc., (perh. Grk. δόλος, Lat. *dolus* 'guile, deceit', but see 16.68). Walde-P. 1.808. Falk-Torp 1243. Walde-H. 1.366.

OE *rīm*, ME *rime*, OHG *rīm* : Ir. *rīm*, etc. (above, 3). ME *no(u)mbe*, NE *number*, fr. Fr. *nombre* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *skaitčius*, *skaitlius*, Lett. *skaitis*, *skaitlis* : Lith. *skaityti*, Lett. *skaitīt*

## 13.13 WHOLE

|  |   |   |
|--|---|---|
| Grk. ὅλος, πᾶς                                     | Goth. <i>alls</i>                             | Lith. <i>visas</i> (čielas)                       |
| NG ὅλος, ὁλόκληρος, ὁλόκερος                       | ON <i>allr</i>                                | Lett. <i>viss</i>                                 |
| Lat. <i>tōtus</i> , <i>omnis</i> , <i>integer</i>  | Dan. <i>hel</i> , <i>al</i>                   | ChSl. <i>vist</i>                                 |
| It. <i>intero</i> , <i>tutto</i>                   | Sw. <i>hel</i> , <i>all</i>                   | SCR. <i>cio</i> , <i>sav</i>                      |
| Fr. <i>entier</i> , <i>tout</i>                    | OE <i>eall</i> (t)                            | Boh. <i>celý</i> , <i>všecken</i>                 |
| Sp. <i>entero</i> , <i>todo</i>                    | ME <i>hole</i> , <i>all</i>                   | Pol. <i>cały</i> , <i>wszystek</i>                |
| Rum. <i>întreg</i> , <i>tot</i>                    | NE <i>whole</i> , <i>all</i>                  | Russ. <i>celýj</i> , <i>ves'</i>                  |
| Ir. (h)uile  | Du. <i>geheel</i> , <i>gansch</i> , <i>al</i> | Skt. <i>saṃa-</i> , <i>kṛtsna-</i> , <i>saka-</i> |
| Nl. <i>iomlān</i> , <i>go lēir</i> , <i>ar fad</i> | OHG <i>al</i> , <i>ganz</i>                   | la-, <i>viṣa-</i>                                 |
| W. <i>holl</i> , <i>cubl</i> , <i>cyfan</i>        | MHG <i>al</i> , <i>ganz</i>                   |   |
| Br. <i>holl</i>                                    | NHG <i>ganz</i> , <i>all</i>                  |   |

On the various notions involving totality, and their expressions, cf. Brugmann, *Ausdrücke für den Begriff der Totalität*, and Sapir, *Totality* (Language Monograph 1930). The broad distinction between the collective 'whole' and the individualizing 'every', pl. 'all', is the most important, and even this is only partially observed in linguistic expression (cf. NE *all* in *all day* and *all men*).

In several cases 'whole' comes from an earlier attested 'whole in body, sound, well' (so NE *whole* and its cognates; NHG *ganz*, etc.; Lat. *integer* 'intact, whole' most commonly in body), and these, and a few of the other words listed, there is no confusion with 'every, all'. In some others, 'whole' is clearly the more original and mainly the dominant sense, but with secondary develop-

doubtful. But they are omitted from the discussion, since they are obvious derivatives or cognates of the words for 'much, many' (13.15) or 'great, large' (12.55).

Among other near equivalents to 'quantity' are NE *amount*, fr. vb. *amount*, orig. 'mount' (fr. OFr. *amonter*, Lat. *ad montem*), hence 'rise in quantity or number' (similarly Fr. *montant*, etc.); Lat. *summa* 'sum, amount' (> Fr. *somme*, NE *sum*, NHG *summe*, etc.), fem. of *summus* 'highest'.

1. Grk. ποσότης (Aristot.), fr. πόσος 'how much?' which served as a model for Lat. *quantitas* fr. *quantus*. Hence the

|                                       |  |   |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| Grk. ἀριθμός                          | Goth. <i>raþjō</i>                             | Lith. <i>skaitčius</i> , <i>skaitlius</i> |
| NG ἀριθμός                            | ON <i>tala</i>                                 | Lett. <i>skaitis</i> , <i>skaitlis</i>    |
| Lat. <i>numerus</i>                   | Dan. (an)tal                                   | ChSl. <i>číslo</i> , <i>čísme</i>         |
| It. <i>numero</i>                     | Sw. <i>antal</i>                               | SCR. <i>broj</i>                          |
| Fr. <i>nombre</i>                     | OE <i>getal</i> , <i>rīm</i>                   | Boh. <i>počet</i> , <i>číslo</i>          |
| Sp. <i>número</i>                     | ME <i>no(u)mbe</i> , <i>tale</i> , <i>rime</i> | Pol. <i>liczba</i>                        |
| Rum. <i>număr</i>                     | NE <i>number</i>                               | Russ. <i>číslo</i>                        |
| Ir. <i>lín</i> , <i>rīm</i> , (n)umir | Du. <i>getal</i>                               | Skt. <i>saṃkhyā-</i>                      |
| Nl. <i>uimhir</i>                     | OHG <i>zala</i> , <i>rīm</i>                   | Av. ....                                  |
| W. <i>rhif</i> , <i>nifer</i>         | MHG <i>zal(e)</i>                              |   |
| Br. <i>niver</i>                      | NHG <i>zahl</i>                                |   |

Many of the words for 'number' are connected with the words for 'reckon, count', these of various sources. Some rest on the notion of 'arrangement, order', or 'distribution'.

1. Grk. ἀριθμός, beside νήριος 'uncounted', Arc. Ἐκάρητοι 'picked soldiers', fr. the root of ἀραρίσκω 'fit together' and its cognates in other languages, which often reflect such secondary uses as 'arrange, reckon, count', hence 'number', prob. through 'arrangement, order'. Cf. Skt. *ṛta-* 'suitable, proper', *ṛtu-* 'fixed time, season', Lat. *rēri* 'reckon, judge', *ratōi* 'reckoning', and esp. Ir. *rīm*, OE *rīm* 'number' (below, 3, 4). Walde-P. 1.75. Persson (Beiträge 742.

## QUANTITY AND NUMBER

ment of pl. 'all' and, through that, in part also sg. 'every' (Grk. ὅλος only 'whole', but NG pl. ὅλοι 'all', and the cognate Skt. *sarva-* 'whole' and 'every', pl. 'all'; Lat. *tōtus* 'whole', but later extended to cover 'every', pl. 'all').

In still other groups, of uncertain origin but probably with similar development from 'whole', the singular is used for 'whole' or 'every', the plural for 'all' (so Grk. πᾶς. Lat. *omnis*, the Gmc. *all-* group, and the group Lith. *visas*, ChSl. *vist*, Skt. *viṣva-*, etc.). All these words though appearing also and more conspicuously in the list for 'every', pl. 'all', are discussed here.

1. IE *\*sol-wo*, *\*sol-no*, etc. Walde-P. 2.510 f. Ernout-M. 891. Pedersen 1.413.

Grk. ὅλος, Hom. οἶλος (\*ὄλος) 'whole', NG ὅλος (also οἶλος) 'whole', but pl. ὅλοι 'all'; Lat. *salvus* early 'whole', usually 'safe, well, sound', Osc. *sullus*, pl. 'all'; Ir. (h)uile, W., Br. *holl*, Corn. *oll* 'whole', pl. 'all'; but Nl. mostly *gach uile* 'every' (*gach* 'each'), with pl. *na h-uile* 'all'; Skt. *sarva-* 'whole' and 'every', pl. 'all', Av. *haurva-*, OPers. *haruwa-* 'whole'; Alb. *gjallë* 'strong, lively, gay'; Arm. *otj* 'sound, well, whole'; Toch. A *salu*, B *solme*, advs. 'entirely' (SSS 278 f.).

2. Grk. πᾶς 'whole' and 'every', pl. 'all' (rarely also 'whole'), prob. through 'comprehensive' or the like fr. a participial form of the root seen in Dor. *πείσμαι* 'possess', Skt. *ṣā-* 'swell', Grk. *κύω* 'be pregnant', *κῦρος* 'power', etc. Walde-P. 1.366 f. Brugmann, Totalität 60 ff.

Grk. ὅλος (above, 1) has been partly displaced by other, orig. more emphatic, terms for 'whole', as follows: Grk. ὁλόκληρος 'complete, perfect, sound', compound of ὁλῶς 'lot' is simply 'whole' in late times (cf. quotations in LS) and lit. NG. Grk. ἀκέραιος 'un-

Romance and Germanic words, It. *quantità*, Fr. *quantité* (> ME *quantite(e)*, NE *quantity*), Sp. *cantidad*, Rum. *canitate*; Dan., Sw. *kvantitet*, NHG *quantität* (> Lett. *kvantitate*; so Drawneek, not in Mühl-Endz.); further, by semantic borrowing, Du. *hoeveelheid* ('hoeveel' 'how much?'), Lith. *kieka*, *kiekybė* ('kiek' 'how much?'), SCR. *kolichina*, Boh. *kolikost*, Russ. *količestvo* (ChSl. *koliko* 'how much?', etc.), Pol. *ilość* ('ile' 'how much?').

2. Ir. *mēit*, Nl. *mēid*, W. *maini*, Br. *ment*, also 'size' (12.52).

3. Skt. *māna-* and *cpds.*, *pra-māna-*, *pari-māna-*, all also 'size, measurement' (of any sort) : *mā-* 'measure' (12.54).

## 13.12 NUMBER

|                                       |  |   |
|---------------------------------------|--|---|
| Grk. ἀριθμός                          | Goth. <i>raþjō</i>                             | Lith. <i>skaitčius</i> , <i>skaitlius</i> |
| NG ἀριθμός                            | ON <i>tala</i>                                 | Lett. <i>skaitis</i> , <i>skaitlis</i>    |
| Lat. <i>numerus</i>                   | Dan. (an)tal                                   | ChSl. <i>číslo</i> , <i>čísme</i>         |
| It. <i>numero</i>                     | Sw. <i>antal</i>                               | SCR. <i>broj</i>                          |
| Fr. <i>nombre</i>                     | OE <i>getal</i> , <i>rīm</i>                   | Boh. <i>počet</i> , <i>číslo</i>          |
| Sp. <i>número</i>                     | ME <i>no(u)mbe</i> , <i>tale</i> , <i>rime</i> | Pol. <i>liczba</i>                        |
| Rum. <i>număr</i>                     | NE <i>number</i>                               | Russ. <i>číslo</i>                        |
| Ir. <i>lín</i> , <i>rīm</i> , (n)umir | Du. <i>getal</i>                               | Skt. <i>saṃkhyā-</i>                      |
| Nl. <i>uimhir</i>                     | OHG <i>zala</i> , <i>rīm</i>                   | Av. ....                                  |
| W. <i>rhif</i> , <i>nifer</i>         | MHG <i>zal(e)</i>                              |   |
| Br. <i>niver</i>                      | NHG <i>zahl</i>                                |   |

2. Lat. *numerus* (> Fr. *nombre*, Rum. *număr*, It. *numero*, and as literary words It., Sp. *numero*; also Ml. *numir* and *umir*, Nl. *uimhir* with loss of *n-* by sentence phonetics; W. *nifer*, Br. *niver*) prob. : Grk. *νέμω* 'distribute, share', Walde-P. 2.331, Ernout-M. 686. REW 5994. Pedersen 1.196. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 159 f.

3. Ir. *lín* (also 'part') : *línaim* 'fill', *lān* 'full', Lat. *plēnus* id., etc. Walde-P. 2.64, Pedersen 1.50. Semantic development through 'number fulfilled, reached' (cf. NE *amount*)?

Ir. *rīm*, W. *rhif* : OE *rīm* 'number', OHG *rīm* 'number, series', ON *rīm* 'computation, calculation', fr. the root seen

above); similarly MHG *iet-welich*, *ietes-welich*, cpd. of *ie-* (= OHG *eo*, above) and OHG *et(t)es*, *et(t)e(h)welich* (adj.) 'aliquis'.

OHG *eo(h)wedar* 'each' (of two), MHG *ieweder* (and *iet-weder*, for *iet-*, see above) also 'each, every' (of several), NHG *jeder* (replacing *jeglich*, MHG *iege-lich*, etc., in late MHG). Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 272 f. Weigand-H. 1.946.

5. Lith. *kiekvienas*, fr. *kiek* 'how much?' and *vienas* 'one'.

Lett. *ikviena*, cpd. of *ik* 'ever' (: Lith. *\*jiek* in obs. *jiekas* 'something', and parallel to *kiek*, above) and *viens* 'one'; for use of *ik* alone with gen. in locutions

expressing 'each, every', cf. Mühl-Endz. 1.703.

Lett. *ikkatrs*, cpd. of *ik* and *katrs* interrog. 'who, which (of two)?', used also as indef. 'each' (of two), and generally now also 'every' (of several). Mühl-Endz. 2.172.

Lett. *ikkur's*, cpd. of *ik* and *kur's* 'who' (interrog. and rel.), also used alone as indef. 'each, every'. Mühl-Endz. 2.327.

6. ChSl. *kūž(i)do* (Supr., etc. for *ekasros*, which in Gospels is rendered by *visekū*), Boh. *každý*, Pol. *každy*, Russ. *každyj*, all derivs. of the interrog.-indef. stem in ChSl. *kū-to* 'who, what?', etc. Berneker 675.

6. ChSl. *kūž(i)do* (Supr., etc. for *ekasros*, which in Gospels is rendered by *visekū*), Boh. *každý*, Pol. *každy*, Russ. *každyj*, all derivs. of the interrog.-indef. stem in ChSl. *kū-to* 'who, what?', etc. Berneker 675.

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6. ChSl. *kūž(i)do* (Supr., etc. for *ekasros*, which in Gospels is rendered by *visekū*), Boh. *ka*



| 13.16 MORE |                      |       |                             |
|------------|----------------------|-------|-----------------------------|
| Grk.       | πλείων, πλῆον        | Goth. | managisa (maizo, mais adv.) |
| NG         | περισσότερος         | Lith. | daugiau                     |
| Lat.       | plūs                 | ON    | meiri; fleiri (pl.)         |
| It.        | più                  | Dan.  | mer; flere (pl.)            |
| Fr.        | plus de              | Sw.   | mer; flere (pl.)            |
| Sp.        | mas                  | OE    | mā                          |
| Rum.       | mai mult             | ME    | mo; more (sg.)              |
| Ir.        | mō; lia (pl.)        | NE    | more                        |
| Nir.       | tuilleadh; lia (pl.) | Du.   | meer                        |
| W.         | muy                  | OHG   | mēr, mēro; manigiron        |
| Br.        | mut, muioe'h         | NHG   | mē, mēre                    |
|            |                      |       | mehr                        |

For the most part, forms of the same word (or the same indeclinable form) are used with the singular for 'more' in quantity and with the plural for 'more' in number. But some words are mainly, if not absolutely, restricted to one or the other of these uses and are marked in the list as (sg.) or (pl.).

Many of the words for 'more' are comparatives, in form as well as in meaning, of words for 'much, many', though not always of those in use in the same languages (e.g. Lat. *multus* but *plūs*). Most of these have been included in the discussion of the latter (13.15), leaving only the following for notice here.

1. Grk. *περισσότερος*, comp. of *περισός* 'beyond the usual quantity or number, superfluous' (deriv. of *περί*), is in NT sometimes 'more' (mostly in adv.) and the reg. word for 'more' in NG (*πλείων* archaic even in lit.; adv. *πλέον* pop. but 'more' in sense of 'in addition, any longer', etc.).

2. Sp. *mas*, fr. Lat. *magis* adv. 'more': *magis* 'great', etc.

Rum. *mai mult* (pl. *mai mult*), comp. of *mult* 'much'; *mai* fr. Lat. *magis* (above).

3. Ir. *mō*, W. *muy*, Br. *mui*, *muioe'h*, comp. of Ir. *mōr*, W. *mawr*, Br. *meur* 'great' (12.55).

struction', Lith. *liga* 'sickness', etc. Walde-P. 2.398. Boisacq 697.

Grk. *βραχύς* 'short' (12.59) is also sometimes used for 'little' in size or quantity, and 'few' esp. 'few words', like NE *in short* (LS s.v.).

3. Rum. *puțin* 'little', pl. 'few', fr. some variety of the VLat. forms *pisinnus*, *pitinnus*, *pusillus*, etc., 'small' (12.56). REW 6550, 6890.

4. Ir. *becc* 'little' of size or quantity (cf. 12.56), Nir. *beag* with gen. sg. or *de'n* with dat. sg. 'little' in quantity, as *beag airgid*, *beag de'n airgead* 'little money', with nom. sg. 'few' as *beag capall* (*padir*) 'little horse (prayer)' = 'few horses (prayers)'; hence sb. Mfr. *becân*, Nir. *beagân* 'small quantity' with gen. sg. 'little' in quantity *beagân airgid* (*arân*) 'little money (bread)'.

Ir. *terc*, Nir. *tearc* 'scarce', used often in the sense of 'little' and 'few' (e.g. *terca gl.* 'exigua' ML 48c30; *ba terc* for *bith mnai* 'few women in the world', Passions and Homilies 1.830, p. 64, etc., Nir. sometimes used for 'few' like *beag* above, perh. : Lat. *tesca*, *tesqua* 'waste, uncultivated regions'. Pedersen 1.81. Ernout-M. 1035.

Ir. *uath* 'few' (e.g. *is-na hualthib laithib-se* 'in paucis istis diebus', Passions and Homilies 1.4992, p. 180), more usually sb. *uathad* 'fewness' (with gen.).

W. *ychydyg*, for *ychydyg*, mutated form of MW *bychydyd* : *bychod* 'small quantity', *bach*, *bychan* 'small' (12.56). Morris Jones 129, 312.

Br. *nebeud* : W. *nebaud* 'somebody, anybody', derivs. of Br. *nep* 'none', W.

*neb* 'any, none' = Ir. *nech* 'any(one)', fr. *\*ne-k\*os* (neg. and pron. stem *\*k\*o-*, cf. Ir. *cach* 'every', 13.14). Pedersen 2.212.

5. Goth. *leitil* (neut. sg. of adj. *leitils* 'small' with gen., e.g. *weinis leitil* = *οἶνω ὀλίγω* 1 Tim. 5.23; ON *litill* (adj.), Dan. *lidt*, Sw. *litet* (neut. sbs. with noun in apposition), OE *lġtel*, ME *litel*, NE *little* (adj. and sb. with gen. or *of*, ME also rarely with coll. or pl. sb. 'few'), OHG *luzzil*, MHG *lützel* (adj. and sb. with gen., OHG also with pl. 'few', e.g. *uuirāit biffilit luzzen fillungon* = *plagis vapulabit paucis* Tat. 108.6), cf. Goth. *leitils*, ON *litill*, OE *lġtel*, etc. 'small' (12.56).

Du. *weinig*, NHG *wenig* (adjs.), MHG *wēnec* (both adj. and sb. with gen.), lit. 'weeping, unhappy, weak', hence 'little' (also of size) : OHG *wēnag* 'pitiable, unhappy, needy', Goth. *wainahs* 'wretched', OHG *weinōn*, etc. 'weep'. Weigand-H. 2.1241. Franck-v. W. 784.

6. Lith. *maž(a)*, Lett. *maz* (adv. with gen.) : Lith. *mažas*, Lett. *mazs* 'small' (12.56).

7. ChSl. *malō*, etc. (advs. with gen.; Boh. *malō* indecl. but used like *mnōho* 'much', 13.15) : ChSl. *malŭ*, etc. 'small' (12.56).

8. Skt. *alpa* 'small' (12.56), also 'little' in quantity, pl. 'few'.

Av., OPers. *kamna-* 'little' in amount (Av.) or number (OPers. of an army), OPers. pl. 'few' (*hadā kamnašiš marti-* 'gaidiš 'with few men'; cf. also Av. cpd. *kamnā-nar-* 'having few men'), NPers. *kam* 'little, few', fr. *\*kamna-* (cf. Av. *kambīštam* superl. adv. 'least', prob. : OHG *hammēr* 'mutilated', ON *skammr* 'short', etc. Walde-P. 2.601.

Ir. *uath* 'few' (e.g. *is-na hualthib laithib-se* 'in paucis istis diebus', Passions and Homilies 1.4992, p. 180), more usually sb. *uathad* 'fewness' (with gen.).

W. *ychydyg*, for *ychydyg*, mutated form of MW *bychydyd* : *bychod* 'small quantity', *bach*, *bychan* 'small' (12.56). Morris Jones 129, 312.

Br. *nebeud* : W. *nebaud* 'somebody, anybody', derivs. of Br. *nep* 'none', W.

*vayas* 'strength', etc. Mühl-Endz. 4.442.

6. ChSl. *bolŭjŭ* 'greater' and 'more' (renders *μείζων* and *πλείων*), Russ. *bol'she* comp. adv. with gen., beside *bol'sij* adj. 'greater', etc. : Skt. *balīyas-* 'stronger', *bala-* 'strength', etc. Walde-P. 2.110. Berneker 72.

ChSl. *vešle*, neut. only (but renders *πλείονα* Mt. 20.10, *πλείους* Mt. 26.53),

### 13.17 LITTLE (Quantity); FEW (Number) (Where only one form is entered, this is also used, either in pl. or with pl., for 'Few')

|      |                                |       |                       |             |        |
|------|--------------------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------------|--------|
| Grk. | ὀλίγος (οἶκος)                 | Goth. | leitil; fawai         | Lith.       | maž    |
| NG   | ὀλίγος                         | ON    | litil; fair           | Lett.       | maz    |
| Lat. | parvus; paucē                  | Dan.  | lidt (sb.); faa       | ChSl.       | malō   |
| It.  | poco                           | Sw.   | litet (sb.); fā       | SCr.        | malō   |
| Fr.  | peu de                         | OE    | lġtel; fawae          | Boh.        | malō   |
| Sp.  | poco                           | ME    | litel; fewe           | Pol.        | mało   |
| Rum. | puțin                          | NE    | litel; few            | Russ.       | malō   |
| Ir.  | becc, terc; uath, uathad, terc | Du.   | weinig                | Skt.        | alpa-  |
| Nir. | beagān, beag; beag, tearc      | OHG   | luzzil; luzzil, fōhe  | Av., OPers. | kamna- |
| W.   | ychydyg                        | MHG   | lützel; lützel, wēnec |             |        |
| Br.  | nebeud                         | NHG   | wenig                 |             |        |

Several of the words for 'small, little' in size (12.56) are used also for 'little' in quantity, either in the same declined form (as Lat. *parvus*) or more commonly in a neut. sg. or adv. form with following gen. sg. for 'small quantity of, little' or gen. pl. for 'small number of, few' (as Goth. *leitil* with gen. sg., Lith. *maž*, ChSl. *malō*, etc., with gen. sg. or pl.).

But there are others of which the prevailing use is in the sg. 'little' in quantity, in the pl. 'few'. Such words are also occasionally used with reference to number even in the sg., that is, with a sg. coll. in sense of 'not numerous'.

1. IE *\*pau-* with various suffixes. Walde-P. 2.75 f., Ernout-M. 742. Feist 147. NED s.v. *few*.

Grk. *παῦρος*, poet. word for usual

Boh. *vice*, *vic*, Pol. *wiecej* (SCr. *veći* 'greater') adv., and as sb. with gen. 'more', etym.? Miklosich 381. Brückner 620 f.

SCr. *više*, comp. of *visok* 'high' (12.31). 13.162. Words for the superlative 'most' generally go with those for 'more', as Grk. *πλείστος* beside *πλείων*, Lat. *plūrimus* beside *plūs*, Goth. *managists* beside *managisa*, ON *flestr* beside *fleiri*, OE *māst* beside *mā*, etc.

### 13.17 LITTLE (Quantity); FEW (Number) (Where only one form is entered, this is also used, either in pl. or with pl., for 'Few')

|      |                                |       |                       |             |        |
|------|--------------------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------------|--------|
| Grk. | ὀλίγος (οἶκος)                 | Goth. | leitil; fawai         | Lith.       | maž    |
| NG   | ὀλίγος                         | ON    | litil; fair           | Lett.       | maz    |
| Lat. | parvus; paucē                  | Dan.  | lidt (sb.); faa       | ChSl.       | malō   |
| It.  | poco                           | Sw.   | litet (sb.); fā       | SCr.        | malō   |
| Fr.  | peu de                         | OE    | lġtel; fawae          | Boh.        | malō   |
| Sp.  | poco                           | ME    | litel; fewe           | Pol.        | mało   |
| Rum. | puțin                          | NE    | litel; few            | Russ.       | malō   |
| Ir.  | becc, terc; uath, uathad, terc | Du.   | weinig                | Skt.        | alpa-  |
| Nir. | beagān, beag; beag, tearc      | OHG   | luzzil; luzzil, fōhe  | Av., OPers. | kamna- |
| W.   | ychydyg                        | MHG   | lützel; lützel, wēnec |             |        |
| Br.  | nebeud                         | NHG   | wenig                 |             |        |

ὀλίγος, in sg. 'little' in quantity, time, or number (*οἶκος* *ἀδός*), pl. 'few'; Lat. *parvus* (fr. *\*pauros*, like *nervus* : Grk. *νεῖρος*, and Gall. *tarvos*, Ir. *tarb* : Lat. *taurus*, Grk. *ταῦρος*) 'little' in size, quantity, or time; Lat. *pauci* 'few', sg. *paucius* rare in class. Lat. but reg. in VLat. for *parvus* with reference to quantity (in late Lat. texts sometimes *parvi* for *pauci* by overcorrection), hence It., Sp. *poco*, Fr. *peu*; Goth. *fawai*, ON *fair*, Dan. *faa*, Sw. *få*, OE *fæwa*, *fæwa*, ME *fewe*, NE *few*, OHG *fōhe* (sg. ON *får* 'scarce, not numerous' with collectives; sg. forms in Goth., OHG rare); cf. also Lat. *paullus* 'little', *pauper* 'poor'.

2. Grk. *ὀλίγος* 'little' (also 'small' of size, esp. in Hom.), pl. 'few' (not Hom. in this sense), perh. : *λιγός* 'ruin, de-

### 13.18 ENOUGH (adj. or adv.)

|      |                       |       |           |       |          |
|------|-----------------------|-------|-----------|-------|----------|
| Grk. | ἰκανός, ἀρκούν        | Goth. | ganōhs    | Lith. | gana     |
| NG   | ἀρκέος                | ON    | g'noðr    | Lett. | gana     |
| Lat. | satis                 | Dan.  | nok       | ChSl. | dovolŭnā |
| It.  | abbastanza            | Sw.   | nog       | SCr.  | dosta    |
| Fr.  | assez                 | OE    | genōð     | Boh.  | dost(i)  |
| Sp.  | bastante              | ME    | inoh      | Pol.  | dość     |
| Rum. | destul                | NE    | enough    | Russ. | dovol'no |
| Ir.  | lour                  | Du.   | genoeg    | Skt.  | alam     |
| Nir. | dōthain, sāilth, leor | OHG   | ginuoc(i) | Av.   | ...      |
| W.   | digon                 | MHG   | genuoc    |       |          |
| Br.  | a-walc'h              | NHG   | genug     |       |          |

'Enough' is in part expressed by a declinable adj., but more commonly by an adv. form which is used also in the function of an adj. or sb. Such forms are given preference in the list even where there are also adj. forms in less common use.

Besides the words listed, there are others that answer more nearly to NE *sufficient* (fr. pres. pple. of Lat. *sufficere* 'put into, make take the place of', and so also 'suffice'), which with reference to quantity or number is only a less colloquial equivalent of *enough* but which carries the notion of 'adequate' and is used in many phrases where *enough* could not be substituted.

Semantic sources are notions of 'reaching, attaining', 'satiety' (orig. with reference to food), 'fulness, plenty', what is 'fitting', 'desirable, preferable', hence 'suitable', what will 'do' (cf. NE *that will do* or 'hold out, last'(?)).

1. Grk. *ἰκανός* : *ἴκω*, *ἰκάνω*, *ἰκάνομαι* 'come, reach, attain to', Lith. *at-siekti* 'reach, attain'. Walde-P. 2.465, Boisacq 372. Cf. NHG *ausreichend*, *hinreichend*, *hin-länglich* 'sufficient'. In the NT *ἰκανός* is mostly an emphatic 'enough', that is, 'much, many', 'long' (time), etc., and so in NG or 'capable, adequate'.

Grk. *ἀρκέω* 'ward off, assist' and 'suffice, be enough' : Lat. *arcēre* 'inclose, contain', then esp. 'ward off'. Walde-P.

1.80. Ernout-M. 67 f. Hence *ἀρκούν* *διαρκής*, *ἐξαρκής* 'enough', and late *ἀρκέος* 'enough' in NT, etc., and the reg. word in NG.

NG also very commonly the vbl. *φράνει* 'is enough', 3sg. of *φράνω* 'arrive' (10.55).

Grk. *ἄλς*, adv. 'in plenty' and often 'enough' (cf. also *γάλς* *ἰκανόν* Hesych.) : *ἄλς* 'crowded', *εἰλως* 'press', etc. Walde-P. 1.295, Boisacq 45, 223 ff.

2. Lat. *satis*, adv. (phrase cpd. *ad satis* > Fr. *assez*) : *satur* 'sated, full of food', Ir. *sāilth* 'satiety, sufficiency', Goth. *saþs*, ON *saðr*, OHG *sat*, Lith. *sotus* 'sated' (ChSl. *syty* 'sated' apparently here, but difficult), Grk. *ἄω* 'satiare', Skt. *a-sinva-* 'insatiable'. Walde-P. 2.444. Ernout-M. 897 f.

It. *abbastanza*, used as adv., adj., and sb. (also *bastante* adj. and *basta* 'enough, stop!'), Sp. *bastante*, adj. and adv., fr. It. *bastare*, Sp. *bastar* 'suffice' (cf. also Sp. *basto* 'supplied with provisions, coarse, rude', Port. *basto* 'pressed'), orig. disputed but best through It. fr. Grk. *βασιζω*, late *bastrō* 'lift, carry, endure', then also 'hold out, last'. (Cf. NG *ἔνδραστῆ* 'it won't hold out, last, be enough'.)

Schuchardt, Z. rom. Ph. 33.339 ff. Wartburg 1.277. REW 984.

Rum. *destul*, adj. and adv., fr. cpd. of *de* and *satul* 'satiated', fr. Lat. *satullus* id. : *satur*, *satis*, etc. (above, 2). Pușcariu 1531. REW 7620.

3. Ir. *lour*, *lōr*, Nir. *leor* : W. *llawer* 'much, many' (13.15).

Nir. *dōthain* (South Ir.) sb. 'sufficiency, plenty', used with gen. to express 'enough', e.g. *ata mo dōthain araín agam*, lit. 'is my sufficiency of bread with me' = 'I have enough bread'; Mfr. *dōthain* (Windisch 495), orig. 'what comes to one', hence 'suffices' : *do-ethaim* 'go to, approach' (Zimmer, KZ 30.72. Pedersen 2.514).

Nir. *sāilth* (North Ir.) 'sufficiency, satiety' (used exactly as *dōthain*, above) : Lat. *satis*, etc. (above, 2).

W. *digon*, MW *digawn*, orig. vbl. form fr. a phrase like *digawn hynny* 'that will do' : OW *digoni* 'make, do' (etym.?). Morris Jones 375. Loth, RC 37.43.

Br. *a-walc'h*, adv., lit. 'in sufficiency', fr. *gualc'h* 'sufficiency', MBr. *gualch* 'superfluity', W. *guala* 'fulness' : Lat. *vulgus* 'the common people', Skt. *varga-* 'group'. Walde-P. 1.296. Pedersen 1.34.

4. Goth. *ganōhs* adj. (renders *ἰκανός* only in sense 'much, many', e.g. Lk. 7.11, 12, etc.; also once *ganōh* = *πολλά* Jn. 16.12, but in sense 'enough' *ni ganōhai sind þaim* = *οὐκ ἀρκούντο αὐτοῖς* Jn. 6.7), ON *nōgr*, *gnōgr* adj., OE *genōg* adj. and adv., etc., general Gmc. (Dan. *nok* fr. MLG *nōch*) : Goth. *ganah*, OE *geneah*, OHG *ginah* 'it suffices' (fr. 'reaches'), Lat. *nancisci* 'reach, obtain', Skt. *na-*

'reach, attain', etc. Walde-P. 1.129. Falk-Torp 769. Feist 92,196.

5. Lith. Lett. *gana* (or shortened *gan*) : ChSl. *gonŭti* 'suffice', Skt. *ghana-* 'compact, tight, thick', *ā-hanas* 'swelling, exuberant', Grk. *εὐ-θενέω* 'thrive, bloom', etc. Walde-P. 1.679.

6. ChSl. *dovolŭnā*, adj. beside *dovŭlŭti* 'suffice', SCr. *dovoljno*, Russ. *dovol'no* advs., cpds. of *do-* 'to' and second member : ChSl. *volja* 'will', *voliti* 'wish, prefer' (: Lat. *velle*, etc.). Miklosich 377. Semantic development through 'desirable, preferable, suitable'.

SCr. *dosta*, *dosti*, Boh. *dost*, *dosti*, Pol. *dość*, *dosyć*, fr. a phrase like ChSl. *do syti* 'eis κόπον, to satiety' (Supr., etc.) : ChSl. *syty*, etc., 'sated' (cf. Lat. *satis*, above, 2). Brückner 94. Gebauer 1.286, 392.

Boh. *dostatečný*, Pol. *dostateczny*, Russ. *dostatočnyj*, adjs. (with corresponding adverbial forms), fr. *dostati* in sense of 'suffice' (as ChSl.), orig. 'reach, attain' (whence 'obtain, get' in Boh., Pol., Russ.), cpd. of *do-* 'to' and *stati* 'stand'. Brückner 514.

7. Skt. *alam*, adv. used also as adj., prob. = *aram* 'suitable, right, sufficient', Av. *aram* 'suitable, corresponding' : Grk. *ἀραρίσκω* 'join together, fit', Skt. *ṛta-* 'fitting', etc. Walde-P. 1.69 (without *alam*). Uhlenbeck 14, 12.

Br. *engroez*, deriv. of *enk* 'narrow' (12.62), with semantic development as in NE *throng*, *crowd*. Henry 114.

4. Goth. *managai*, ON *mengi*, OE *menige*, OHG *menigi*, etc., general Gmc. (but lost in ME, NE), fr. Goth. *manags* 'much, many', etc.

ON *margr*, sb. use of adj. *margr*, pl. *margir* 'many'.

ON *þrong*, OE *geþrang*, ME *þrang*, NE *throng*, Du. *gedrang*, OHG *githrengi* (Otr.), NHG *gedränge*, all orig. involving the notion of pressure : ON *þrongr* 'narrow', etc. (12.62).

Dan. *hob*, Sw. *hop*, fr. LG *hōp* 'heap' (= OE *hēap*, etc.). Cf. the colloq. use of NE *heap* for a large number (NED s.v. 4, but rarely of persons), NHG *haufe*. Falk-Torp 413.

ME, NE *press* (in this sense now mostly replaced by *crowd*), fr. Fr. *presse*, back-formation fr. *presser*, Lat. *pressāre*, frequent. of *premere* 'press'. NED s.v.

NE *crowd*, fr. vb. *crowd*, this fr. OE *crūdan* 'press' = MDu. *crūdan* 'press, push', MHG *kroten* 'oppress', etc. NED s.v.

5. Lith. *daugybė*, Lett. *daudzums*, fr. *daug*, *daudz* 'much, many'.

Lith. *minia*, fr. *mini* 'tread, trample on'. Leskien, Ablaut 336.

Lett. *pulks* (= Lith. *pulkas* 'regiment', 'flock, herd' of animals, etc.), fr. Slavic, esp. Pol. *pulk* 'regiment' (late ChSl. *plūkŭ* 'crowd, band', etc.), the Slavic words fr. Gmc., OHG *folc*, etc. 'people, army'. Stender-Petersen 194 ff. Mühl-Endz. 3.407.

6. ChSl. *mūnožstvo* (in Gospels for *πλήθος*), etc., general Slavic, fr. ChSl. *narodŭ* (in Gospels for *ὄχλος*), reg. Slavic word for 'people' (19.21).

| 13.22 EMPTY |                               |       |                                  |
|-------------|-------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|
| Grk.        | <i>κενός</i>                  | Goth. | <i>laus</i>                      |
| NG          | <i>άκενος, άδειαρός</i>       | ON    | <i>tōmr (lausa)</i>              |
| Lat.        | <i>vacuus, inditus, vānus</i> | Dan.  | <i>tom</i>                       |
| It.         | <i>vuoto</i>                  | Sw.   | <i>tom</i>                       |
| Fr.         | <i>vide</i>                   | OE    | <i>idel, æmīg, tōm, (gē)lære</i> |
| Sp.         | <i>vacio</i>                  | ME    | <i>em(p)ti, toom, idel, lere</i> |
| Rum.        | <i>gol, deșert</i>            | NE    | <i>em(p)ti, toom, idel, lere</i> |
| Ir.         | <i>fás, folam</i>             | Du.   | <i>ledig</i>                     |
| Nl.         | <i>folamh</i>                 | OHG   | <i>ital, lāri, zuomig</i>        |
| W.          | <i>gwag</i>                   | MHG   | <i>itel, lār(e)</i>              |
| Br.         | <i>goulo</i>                  | NHG   | <i>leer</i>                      |

Several of the words for 'empty' are cognate with words for 'loose, free', some of them more specifically derivs. of words for 'freedom from duties' or 'leisure', being first applied to persons who were unoccupied and then extended to things. Some others must have been first applied to land that was 'waste, wild' or 'stripped of crops'. Several are obscure. Specialization of 'empty' to 'vain' or 'idle' is frequent, as in NE *vain*, *idle*, NHG *eitel*.

1. Grk. *κενός*, Ion. *κενός* (\**κενός*) beside Hom. *κενός*, Cyp. *κενερός* (\**κενερός*) : Arm. *sin* 'empty, vain', root connection? Walde-P. 1.390.

NG *άκενος* (hence vb. *άδειάζω* 'empty'), *άδειαρός*, derivs. of Grk. *άδεια*, orig. 'freedom from fear' (: *άδός* 'fear'), then as technical term 'security, immunity, license', NG 'permission' and 'leisure'. The adj. *άδειος* must have been applied first to persons who enjoyed freedom from duties, leisure, and so were unoccupied, whence it was extended to objects that were unoccupied 'empty'. Buck, Cl. Ph. 15.198.

2. Lat. *vacuus* : *vacāre* 'be empty, be free', prob. fr. an extension of the root in Lat. *vānus* 'empty, idle, vain', Goth. *wans*, ON *vannr* 'lacking', Skt. *āna-*, Av. *āna-* 'insufficient', NPers. *vang*, Arm. *unayn* 'empty'. Walde-P. 1.108. Ernout-M. 1068 f.

Lat. *inānis*, plainly neg. cpd. with

*in-*, but last member obscure. Walde-P. 1.57. Ernout-M. 482. Walde-H. 1.688. It. *vuoto*, Fr. *vide*, OFr. *uide* (also OFr. *uide* > ME *uide*, NE *void*), fr. VLat. \**vocitus*, deriv. of VLat. *vocius*, for Lat. *vacuus* (above). Cf. Lat. *vocius* Plaut. and inscr. *vacōtū* = *vacātū*. Ernout-M. 1069. REW 9429.

Sp. *vacio* fr. Lat. *vacuus* (Plaut., Ter.) beside *vacuus* (above). REW 9113. Rum. *gol*, also 'naked, bald', fr. Slav. cf. ChSl. *golū*, etc. 'naked, bare' (4.99). Tiktin 691.

Rum. *deșert* (= Fr. *désert* 'desert', etc.), fr. Lat. *desertus* 'deserted, abandoned'. REW 2592.

3. Ir. *fás* : Lat. *vāstus* 'waste, desert', OHG *wuosti*, etc. 'waste', prob. fr. an extension of the root in Lat. *vacuus*, etc., above, 2. Walde-P. 1.219. Ernout-M. 1075 f.

Ir. *folam*, Nl. *folamh*, Br. *goulo* (cf. OW *gwallaw* 'pour out', W. *gollwng* 'let go, loose'), fr. a cpd. of Ir. *fo-*, etc. (\**upo-*), but second part dub. Pedersen 1.34 (: Ir. *lām* 'hand'; semantic development?). Ernault, Dict. étym. s.v. *gollo* (: Lat. *languēre* 'be weary', *laxus* 'slack', etc.).

W. *gwag* fr. Lat. *vac(u)s* (above, 2). Loth, Mots lat. 174 f.

4. Goth. *laus* = ON *lauss* 'loose, free', also 'empty', cf. *sigla lausu skipi* (*lausum kili*) 'sail with empty ship (keel)', cf. also Nicel. *laust embetti* 'vacancy in an

office'; similarly Du. *een loze noot* 'a hollow nut' (cf. van Wijk, IF 35.265), OE *lēas* 'loose, free from, without', etc. : Skt. *lu-* 'cut off', Grk. *λῶω* 'loose, free', etc. Walde-P. 2.408. Feist 325.

ON *tōmr*, Dan., Sw. *tom*, OE *tōm*, ME *loom*, with suffix OS *tōmig*, OHG *zuomig*, cf. ON *tōm* 'leisure', etym.? Falk-Torp 1269 f. NED s.v. *toom*, adj.

OE *idel*, ME *idel* (NE *idle*), OS *idal*, OHG *idal*, MHG *itel* (NHG *eitel*), etym. dub., but perh. as orig. 'going freely' (> 'loose' > 'empty'), fr. the root \**ei-* 'go' (Grk. *εἶμι*, Lat. *ire*, etc.); better than orig. 'merely appearing' : Grk. *αἰθω* 'burn', etc. Walde-P. 1.5, 103 (but favoring the latter connection). Van Wijk, IF 35.266. Wood, MLN 17.6.

OE *æmetig*, *æmtig* (also 'at leisure' and 'unmarried'), ME *amti*, *em(p)ti*, NE *empty*, deriv. of OE *æmta*, *æmtta* 'leisure', etym. dub., but perh. a cpd. of *æ-* (neg. pref. as in *æ-wūde* 'unclothed', etc., OHG *ā-*) and deriv. of root in *metan* 'measure, mete out' (12.54) hence orig. 'lack of assignment', then 'leisure'. Buck Cl. Ph. 15.198.

OE *lære*, *gelære*, ME *lere*, OHG *lāri*, MHG *lār(e)*, NHG *leer*, perh. : OE, OHG *lesan* 'collect, gather, glean' and first used of a field whose crop had been harvested and hence was 'empty'. Kluge-G. 350.

Du. *ledig*, leeg : NHG *ledig*, MHG *ledec* 'free (from difficulty), unmarried', etc. (above, 5).

OE *lære*, *gelære*, ME *lere*, OHG *lāri*, MHG *lār(e)*, NHG *leer*, perh. : OE, OHG *lesan* 'collect, gather, glean' and first used of a field whose crop had been harvested and hence was 'empty'. Kluge-G. 350.

Du. *ledig*, leeg : NHG *ledig*, MHG *ledec* 'free (from difficulty), unmarried', etc. (above, 5).

Skt. *rikta-*, ppl. of *ric-* 'empty, leave, release' : Grk. *λείρω*, Lat. *linquere* 'leave, let', etc. Walde-P. 2.396.

Skt. *tuccha-*, *tucchya-* : ChSl. *tūšiti*, etc. (above, 5).

## 13.23 PART (sb.)

|      |                          |       |                     |       |                     |
|------|--------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | <i>μέρος</i>             | Goth. | <i>dails</i>        | Lith. | <i>dalis</i>        |
| NG   | <i>μέρος, κομμάρι</i>    | ON    | <i>hlutr, deild</i> | Let.  | <i>dal'a</i>        |
| Lat. | <i>pars</i>              | Dan.  | <i>del</i>          | ChSl. | <i>čestī (dē'ā)</i> |
| It.  | <i>parte</i>             | Sw.   | <i>del</i>          | ScR.  | <i>dio, čest</i>    |
| Fr.  | <i>partie</i>            | OE    | <i>dæl</i>          | Boh.  | <i>dil, čest</i>    |
| Sp.  | <i>parte</i>             | ME    | <i>deæl, part</i>   | Pol.  | <i>część, dział</i> |
| Rum. | <i>parte</i>             | NE    | <i>part</i>         | Russ. | <i>čas'</i>         |
| Ir.  | <i>rann, cuil, pairt</i> | Du.   | <i>deel</i>         | Skt.  | <i>bhāga, bhāṣa</i> |
| Nl.  | <i>cuid</i>              | OHG   | <i>teil</i>         | Av.   | <i>baga-, aṣa-</i>  |
| W.   | <i>rhan</i>              | MHG   | <i>teil</i>         |       |                     |
| Br.  | <i>rann</i>              | NHG   | <i>teil</i>         |       |                     |

## 13.24 HALF

(Adj. Except as Noted)

|      |                            |       |                    |       |                              |
|------|----------------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>ἡμισυς; ἡμι-μέρος</i>   | Goth. | <i>halbs</i>       | Lith. | <i>pusė (sb.), pus-</i>      |
| NG   | <i>dimidiatus; sēmi-</i>   | ON    | <i>halfr</i>       | Let.  | <i>puse (sb.), pus-</i>      |
| Lat. | <i>dimidiatus; sēmi-</i>   | Dan.  | <i>halv</i>        | ChSl. | <i>polū (sb.)</i>            |
| It.  | <i>mezzo; metà (sb.)</i>   | Sw.   | <i>halv</i>        | ScR.  | <i>po (sb.)</i>              |
| Fr.  | <i>demi; moitié (sb.)</i>  | OE    | <i>healf; sām-</i> | Boh.  | <i>polovint; půl (sb.)</i>   |
| Sp.  | <i>medio; mitad (sb.)</i>  | ME    | <i>half</i>        | Pol.  | <i>polowiczny; poł (sb.)</i> |
| Rum. | <i>jumătate (sb.)</i>      | NE    | <i>half</i>        | Russ. | <i>pol-(polu-)</i>           |
| Ir.  | <i>leth (sb.), leth-</i>   | Du.   | <i>half</i>        | Skt.  | <i>ardha-; sām-</i>          |
| Nl.  | <i>leath (sb.), leath-</i> | OHG   | <i>halp; sām-</i>  | Av.   | <i>naēma-</i>                |
| W.   | <i>hanner</i>              | MHG   | <i>halp</i>        |       |                              |
| Br.  | <i>hanter</i>              | NHG   | <i>halb</i>        |       |                              |

In contrast to the words for 'a third', 'a fourth', and other fractions, which are all numeral derivs., those for 'half' (adj.) or 'a half' have no connection with a numeral. There is an inherited group which probably rests on the notion of a single or even division, and in Latin 'divided in the middle' was 'half'. Other words, some of them used also for 'side' and some cognate with verbs for 'cut, divide', etc., must have gained the meaning 'half' through specialization of 'part, division'.

1. IE \**sēmi-* in cpds., prob. with reference to a single or even division : IE \**sem-*, \**somo-*, etc., in Grk. *ὁμός*, Skt. *sama-*, Goth. *sama* 'same', Lat. *semel* 'once', Grk. *εἰς* 'one', etc. Walde-P. 2.493 (with doubt of the connection with \**sem-*, etc.). Ernout-M. 921 f.

Grk. *ἡμι-* in cpds., hence *ἡμι-τυς*, orig. sb. 'a half', then as adj. (cf. Cret. *ἡμι-εκτος*), Att. *ἡμισυς* (adj., with neut. *ἡμισυ* as sb.), many dial. also *ἡμισσος* (\**ἡμι-ρος*), Cret. *ἡμίνα* sb. 'half'; *ἡμισυς* > NG pop. *μισός* (adj., *τὸ μισό* sb.; Lat. *sēmi-*, OE, OS *sām-*, OHG *sāmi-*, Skt. *sāmi-* in cpds.

Of similar ultimate orig. prob. W. *hanner*, adj. and sb. (in cpds. *haner-*), Br. *hanter* adj. and sb. (fr. \**sn̥-tero-*) : Grk. *ἄρετος*, Att. *ἔρετος* 'one or the other of two'. Walde-P. l.c. Pedersen 1.138 (with different root connection).

5. Lith. *puse*, Lett. *puse* sb. (with gen.), also freq. Lith., Lett. *pus-* in cpds. : OPruss. *possasawile* 'mittwoch', *esse* ... *pausan* 'on the part of', Toch. A *poši* 'side, wall'. Mühl.-Endz. 3.426. Fraenkel, IF 50.229.

6. ChSl. *polū*, ScR. *po* (dial. *pol*), Pol. *poł*, Boh. *půl* sbs., Russ. *pol-* (in cpds.

ON *liðugr* 'free, unhindered, easily moved', prob. as more orig. in the latter sense fr. OHG *lid*, ON *liðr*, etc. 'limb, joint'. Walde-P. 1.158 f. Falk-Torp 630. Van Wijk, IF 35.265.

5. Lith. *tuščias*, Lett. *tukšs*, disputed, but prob. : ChSl. *tūšiti* (renders *κενός*), Skt. *tuccha-*, *tucchya-* 'empty, vain', Av. *tuš-* in caus. *taošaya-* 'let loose, free', etc. Mühl.-Endz. 4.256 ff. Trautmann 333. Walde-P. 1.714.

6. ChSl. *tūšiti* : Skt. *tuccha-*, etc. (above, 5).

ChSl. *prazdnī* (in Gospels renders *ἀργός* 'idle', but 'empty' in neg. cpd. *ne-prazdnīa* 'pregnant'), ScR. *prazan*, Boh. *prazdný*, Pol. *próżny*, etym.? Miklosich 259 f. Brückner 439.

Russ. *pustoj* : ChSl. *pustū* 'desert, waste' (and so in most modern Slavic languages), OPruss. *pausto* 'wild', ChSl. *pustiti*, Russ. *pustit'* 'let, let go', Grk. *παύω* 'cause to cease'. Walde-P. 2.1. Trautmann 208 f.

7. Skt. *cūnya-* (the source, through Arab. *ṣifr*, of NE *cipher* and zero, with the other similar Eur. forms) : *ṣū-* 'swell' (ppl. *cūna-*), but line of semantic development not clear. Walde-P. 1.365. Günther, KZ 68.139 ff.

Skt. *rikta-*, ppl. of *ric-* 'empty, leave, release' : Grk. *λείρω*, Lat. *linquere* 'leave, let', etc. Walde-P. 2.396.

Skt. *tuccha-*, *tucchya-* : ChSl. *tūšiti*, etc. (above, 5).

only in nom. and acc. with gen. of second member, in other cases *polu-* with second member regularly inflected), also adjs. Boh. *poloviční*, Pol. *polowiczny*; Slavic *polū* 'half' = *polū* 'side, shore' (cf. above Ir. *leth* 'side, half') : ChSl. *ras-platiti*, OHG *spallan* 'split', Skt. *spālaya-*

## 13.31. NOTE ON THE NUMERALS

No class of words, not even those denoting family relationship, has been so persistent as the numerals in retaining the inherited words.

Except for some suffix-variation and actual substitution in the case of 'one' (13.32), the IE words for 'one' to 'ten' have persisted everywhere with only slight changes other than phonetic; likewise the IE word for 'hundred', while for 'thousand' there are several different groups.

The '-teens' are expressed by cop. cpds. of the digits with 'ten', with the exception of the Gmc. words for 'eleven' and 'twelve' (Goth. *ain-lif*, *twa-lif*) and the whole Lith. series (*vienio-lika*, *drylika*, *trylika*, *keturi-lika*, etc. for 11-19), which are cpds. with a form of IE \**leik-* 'leave, remain' (Grk. *λείρω*, etc., Walde-P. 2.396 f.), hence orig. 'one over' (the ten), etc.

For 20-90 certain IE cpds., the second part of which seems to be obscurely related to the numeral for 'ten', have been partly retained (for 20 Grk. *είκοσι*, Dor. *ἑκατι*, Lat. *viginti*, Skt. *viṅcati-*, etc.; for the others Grk. *-κοττα*, Lat.

'split', etc. Walde-P. 2.678. Miklosich 256 f. Brückner 429.  
7. Skt. *ardha-*, beside sb. *ardha-* 'side, part, half' : Lith. *ardyti* 'divide, split', etc. Walde-P. 1.143. Uhlenbeck 14.  
Av. *naēma-* (NPers. *nēm*) : Skt. *nema-* 'the one, the other', also 'half', orig. dub. Barth. 1036. Uhlenbeck 151.

## 13.32. NOTE ON THE NUMERALS

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| 13.32 ONE |             |       |             |       |                                    |
|-----------|-------------|-------|-------------|-------|------------------------------------|
| Grk.      | <i>εἰς</i>  | Goth. | <i>ains</i> | Lith. | <i>vienas</i>                      |
| NG        | <i>ένας</i> | ON    | <i>ainn</i> | Let.  | <i>viens</i>                       |
| Lat.      | <i>ūnus</i> | Dan.  | <i>en</i>   | ChSl. | <i>jedinū</i>                      |
| It.       | <i>uno</i>  | Sw.   | <i>en</i>   | ScR.  | <i>jedan</i>                       |
| Fr.       | <i>un</i>   | OE    | <i>ān</i>   | Boh.  | <i>jeden</i>                       |
| Sp.       | <i>uno</i>  | ME    | <i>oon</i>  | Pol.  | <i>jeden</i>                       |
| Rum.      | <i>un</i>   | NE    | <i>one</i>  | Russ. | <i>odin</i>                        |
| Ir.       | <i>ōen</i>  | Du.   | <i>een</i>  | Skt.  | <i>eka-</i>                        |
| Nl.       | <i>aon</i>  | OHG   | <i>ein</i>  | Av.   | <i>aēva-</i> , OPers. <i>aiva-</i> |
| W.        | <i>un</i>   | MHG   | <i>ein</i>  |       |                                    |
| Br.       | <i>unan</i> | NHG   | <i>ein</i>  |       |                                    |

1. IE \**oi-no-*, etc., derivs. of a pronominal *oi-* beside *i-* in Lat. *is*, etc. Walde-P. 1.101. Ernout-M. 1127 f.

\**oi-no-*. Grk. *οἷός*, *οἷός* 'one on the dice, ace', but as numeral replaced by *εἰς*; OLat. *oinos*, *oenus*, Lat. *ūnus* (> It., Sp. *uno*, Fr., Rum. *un*); Ir. *ōen*, *ōen*, Nl. *aon*, W. *un*, Br. *unan*, *eun*; Goth. *ains*, OE *ān*, etc., general Gmc.; OPruss. *ains*, Lith. *vienas*, Lett. *viens* (init. *v* obscure); ChSl. *ino-* in cpds., otherwise *jedinū* (*jed-*, *ed-* prefixed pronominal element), ScR. *jedan*, Boh., Pol. *jeden*, Russ. *odin*; cf. Skt. pron. *ena-*.

\**oi-wo-*. Av. *aēva-*, OPers. *aiva-*; cf. Grk. *οἷός*, Cyp. *οἷός* 'alone', and Skt. *eva* 'thus'.  
\**oi-ko-*. Skt. *eka-*, cf. *aika-* in Indic text in Hittite records.  
2. Grk. *εἰς*, gen. *ένός*, fr. *έως* (Cret.), \**έως*, fem. *μία* fr. \**μία*; Toch. A *sas* masc., *sām* fem., B *se* : Grk. *ὁμός*, Skt. *sama-*, Goth. *sama* 'same', Grk. *ἀμα* 'together', Lat. *semel*, Skt. *sa-kr̥t̥* 'once', etc. Walde-P. 2.488 ff. NG pop. *ένας* with new nom. to acc. *ένα*.

## 13.33 ALONE, ONLY (adj.; adv.)

|      |   |       |   |       |   |
|------|---|-------|---|-------|---|
| Grk. | <i>μόνος; ὁμόνος</i>                          | Goth. | <i>ains, ainaha; patai-</i>                     | Lith. | <i>vienas (sau), vienatimis; tik(tai)</i> |
| NG   | <i>μόνος, ὁμόνος</i>                          | ON    | <i>einne, einga-</i>                            | Let.  | <i>viens pats, vienigs</i>                |
| Lat. | <i>solus, ānus, ānicus</i>                    | Dan.  | <i>alene, eneste; alene</i>                     | ChSl. | <i>jedinū, jedino</i>                     |
| It.  | <i>solo, unico; solo, solamente, soltanto</i> | Sw.   | <i>allena, ende; allenast, blott</i>            | Boh.  | <i>sām, jedinj; jen, toliko</i>           |
| Fr.  | <i>seul, unique; seules, ment</i>             | OE    | <i>āna, ānga, ānlic; ān alone, onely; onely</i> | Pol.  | <i>sam, jedyny; jeno, tyko</i>            |
| Sp.  | <i>solo, único; solo, solamente</i>           | ME    | <i>alone, only; only, but</i>                   | Russ. | <i>odin, jedinstvennyj; tol'ko</i>        |
| Rum. | <i>singur, unic; numai</i>                    | Du.   | <i>alleen, eenig; alleen, slechts</i>           | Skt.  | <i>eka-, ekaka-</i>                       |
| Nl.  | <i>aonar, aon; amhain</i>                     | OHG   | <i>eino, etnac; ekkorodo</i>                    | Av.   | <i>aēva-</i>                              |
| W.   | <i>unig; ym unig</i>                          | MHG   | <i>aleine, einec; ni</i>                        |       |   |
| Br.  | <i>e-unan, unan-penn; nemet, hep-ken</i>      | NHG   | <i>were, niver</i>                              |       |   |

Where the adjectives 'alone' and 'only' are distinguished as in NE *alone* vs. *only*, NHG *allein* vs. *einzig*, etc., the differentiation is idiomatic and mainly one of position, predicative vs. attributive. In many languages the same word is used in both ways, e.g. Grk. *μόνος*, Lat. *solus*, Fr. *seul*, Goth. *ains*, etc. The underlying notion is an emphatic 'one', and it is most commonly expressed by

ME, NE *slight*, etc.), with adj. development through 'evenly, directly, wholly' > 'only'. Franck-v. W. 614.

OHG *ekkorodo*, *ekrodo* : ON *ekla* 'dearth, want', adv. 'scarcely', Lat. *egere* 'be in need'. Walde-P. 1.114.

MHG *ni wære*, *ni wer*, NHG *nur*, orig. phrase 'were it not, unless'. Weigand-H. 2.319. Kluge-G. 421.

## 13.34 FIRST

|      |                |       |                              |       |                 |
|------|----------------|-------|------------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | <i>πρῶτος</i>  | Goth. | <i>frumist, fruma</i>        | Lith. | <i>pirmas</i>   |
| NG   | <i>πρῶτος</i>  | ON    | <i>fyrst</i>                 | Let.  | <i>pirmas</i>   |
| Lat. | <i>primus</i>  | Dan.  | <i>først</i>                 | ChSl. | <i>prāvū</i>    |
| It.  | <i>primo</i>   | Sw.   | <i>först</i>                 | ScR.  | <i>prvi</i>     |
| Fr.  | <i>premier</i> | OE    | <i>fyrst, forma, fyrmest</i> | Boh.  | <i>první</i>    |
| Sp.  | <i>primero</i> |       | <i>ærest</i>                 | Pol.  | <i>pierwszy</i> |





this notion, though few of them are in such common use as NHG *dreierlei*.

1. Grk. (Ion.) δι-φάσιος, τρι-φάσιος, e.g. Hdt. διφασίους δὲ γράμμασι χρώεται 'they [the Egyptians] use two kinds of writing', μονομαχία τριφασία 'a duel of three kinds' (man vs. man, horse vs. horse, dog vs. dog), fr. -φάσιος (cf. διφάσιος Hesych.), this : φαίνωμαι 'appear'. So Brugmann, Grd. 2.2.71 vs. 2.1.186, followed by Walde-P. 1.680, Boisacq 191).

τρι-(δι-)φώνης and -φώνιος (: φώνος 'nature'), e.g. Hdt. ἐχιδνα διφώνης 'viper of double form' (woman and snake), Theophr. διφώνεις καὶ τριφώνεις ('date-palms) of double and triple form'. But Elean γύφωος is used in proportional sense = Att. διτλάσιος.

2. Late Lat. trifarius. Both adj. form and the sense 'of three kinds' are some three centuries later than the adv. form in -fāriam. The latter (prob. : fās and fā-ri 'speak') occur from Plautus on, e.g. Plaut. edixit mihi ut disparitērem obsonium hic bifariam 'told me to distribute the food in two parts', Liv. castra bifariam facta, trifariam adortus castra 'the camp in two, three sections'. Adjectives formed from these appear in the second century A.D. in the sense 'of three kinds, in three ways' and are common in late and medieval Latin, including multi-fārius whence NE multifarious. Skutsch IF 14.488 ff. Walde-H. 1.105.

3. NHG dreierlei, indeclin. adj. and sb., based upon MHG phrase with lei 'manner, condition', e.g. nach irer ley, deiner lei, einer lei, etc., the word being borrowed fr. OFr. lei (Fr. loi), which is often used in the same way, e.g. a la lei de sa tere. Kluge-G. 352. Weigand-H. 2.42. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 319 (with strange denial of the obvious Fr. origin).

4. Lith. trejokas, formed on the analogy of toks 'talis', koks 'qualis', is used in

16th- and 17th-cent. writings, but is now replaced by trejopas, formerly only proportional (13.46). Thus in Jeremiah 15.3 Luther's mit vierlei Plagen was rendered by Bretkun ketuokais vagais, where a modern version has ketuopomis slogomis. Leskien, Bildung d. Nom. 515, 589.

Lett. trijāds, formed after tāds 'talis', kāds 'qualis'.

5. ChSl. trojakū (late), SCr. trojak, Pol. trojaki, Russ. trojaki, formed fr. the coll. adjs. troji, etc. (13.48) after the analogy of ChSl. takū 'talis', kakū 'qualis', exactly like Lith. trejokas (above).

But Boh. trojaky has been in this sense mostly replaced by troji belonging to the coll. type (13.48).

6. Skt. trividha-, cpd. of vidhā- (vi-dhā- 'set apart') 'manner, kind', forming thus a distinctive series used mostly in sense of NHG dreierlei, etc.

13.48. The notion 'consisting of three together, three in a group' is included among the various uses of the multiplicative adjs. for 'threefold, triple' (13.46), e.g. Grk. τριπλάζιμαξίτοι 'the meeting of three roads', Lat. triplex murus 'a triple wall' = 'a set of three walls'. But in several of the IE languages there are also types with more distinctive coll. force. Thus Lat. trīni, etc. were orig. coll., as in Lat. bovēs trīni 'a pair of oxen', trīni anni 'a period of three years', and (beside their secondary distrib. use, 13.52) are preferred to the cardinal with pluralia tantum or plurals that differ in sense from the singular, as Lat. bīna castra 'two camps', bīnae litterae 'two letters' (epistles) in contrast to duae litterae 'two letters' (of the alphabet). Hence they may become merely variant forms of the cardinals and tend to disappear. Cf. Brugmann, Die distribu-

tion und die kollektiven Numeralia der idg. Sprachen 30 ff.

1. IE \*treyo-, \*troyo-.

Lith., Lett. treji; ChSl. troji, neut. sg. troje, the latter esp. general Slavic; Skt. traya-, as in Ved. trayī vidyā 'the triple science', the group of three holy actions. This type is represented in Greek only by doús 'double', esp. in pl. doúoi 'both', mostly poetical.

2. With suffix -no-. Lat. trīni (also in part terni, though mostly distrib.); ON þrennir (for use cf. Sievers ap. Brugmann op. cit. 71 ff.), OE þrinna (prob. fr. ON), Goth. tveihnai. Cf. Lith. dvymai 'twins' (formerly dual dvyni), trynuciai 'triplets'.

3. Grk. τρισός, Att. τριτός fr. \*τρι-χίος, also τριός (Ion., but τετραός, πενταός also in Aristotle), fr. \*τριχίος, formed fr. the advs. τριχία and τριχθά 'in three parts'. In use often not distinguishable from τριπλός in its various uses (which include the coll.) or in pl. from the simple cardinal. But the coll. sense seems dominant. Cf. Hdt. διξός λόγος 'twofold account' = 'two accounts', Aristot. Metaph. ἐπιτέδα τριτά, γραμμαὶ τετραταί, στίγμαί πενταταί 'three (four, five) classes of planes (lines, points)', and esp. the frequent use in the papyri for triplicate (etc.) copies, as πρῶσις τρισή γραφεῖσα 'triplicate bill of sale' (POxy. 1698.23), γράμματα τετρασά (τεκτασά) γραφέντα 'contract in four (eight) copies' (POxy. 1638.30, 171.4), etc.

Grk. συνδύο, συντρεῖς (both Hom.), cpds. with σύν 'together'.

4. Nlr. triürach, deriv. of sb. triür 'group of three persons' (13.52).

5. Skt. trika- (dvika-, etc.), in part coll., deriv. of the cardinal with suffix -ka-.

Ved. gatin-, sahasrin- 'in hundreds, thousands', with common suffix -in-,

also daṣagva-, daṣagvin-, ḡaḡagvin-, for which see M. Bloomfield, AJPh. 17.42 ff.

13.49. Nouns for a 'group of three', etc., are formed either from the cardinals with a coll. suffix or from the coll. adjs. (13.48).

Such terms tend to become specialized according to the nature of the things grouped, as the general Eur. ecclesiastical 'trinity' or musical 'trio'; the political Grk. τριτρίς; the mathematical ternion, quaternion; the It., Sp. ternio in dice-playing, lottery, etc.; NE quartette in music, quattrain in verse, foursome in golf, decade of years; Russ. trojka 'three-horse team'.

It is only in such specialized uses that these words belong to popular speech. A truly generic coll. sb. may be only a rare sophisticated term or may even be lacking in some of the IE languages. We have listed those that are generic or come nearest to this in that they cover a variety of specialized uses (like Sp. ternio). Words for the 'trinity' are omitted, except as they are also sometimes used in a wider sense or are the only ones available.

1. Grk. τριάς, gen. -άδος, etc., full series, prob. starting from forms like δεκάδ- parallel to Skt. daḡd- 'decade'. Used for a triad, the number three, and in Christian times for the 'trinity', as in NG pop. τριάδα. Hence in its wider sense (as 'trinity') it was rendered by trīnīlās late Lat. trias, It., Fr. triade, NE triad.

Att. τριτρίς, used for a sacrifice of three animals and for a division of the tribe, fr. \*τρικτρίς (with ττ after τριτός), like τετρακτρίς, formed fr. the adverbs τριχία, τέτραχα (or fr. \*τρικω-, like Skt. trika- 13.48) with suffix -τς-, as also in πεντηκστρίς 'group of 50', etc.

tre, Du. drie en drie (obs.); Skt. dvā-dvā (Ved.).

3. Preposition and repetition. Late Grk. ἀνὰ δύο δύο (Ev. Petr. 35); It. tre a tre, Fr. trois à trois, Sp. tres a tres, Rum. trei câte trei or câte trei trei; Nlr. 'na driür is 'na driür (with triür 'trio' 13.52); NE three by three, Du. drie aan drie.

4. Miscellaneous. Ir. trēdaib, dat. pl. of the coll. sb. trēde (13.49).

W. bob yn dri, or simply bob dri, with pob 'every', also and orig. distrib. (13.52). Morris Jones 260.

OHG io dri, NHG je drei, orig. and still mainly distrib., cf. 13.52.

Skt. triḡas (so ekaḡas 'one by one', ḡaḡaḡas 'by hundreds', etc.), with adv. suffix -ḡas : Grk. -ας in ἀνδρακας 'man by man'.

13.52. Three each, three apiece. In general, the distrib. notion is not expressed by any distinctive deriv. of the numeral itself, but independently in the context.

1. Numeral with words for 'each one, every one'. Thus in Grk. with forms of ἕκαστος according to construction, and esp. καθ' ἕκαστον or καθ' ἑνα. Similarly in the Romance languages except Rum. (Fr. chacun, etc.), Celtic (Ir. each, W. pob, etc.), and most of the Gmc. (OE ælc, NE each, Dan. hver, etc.). And even where other expressions are usual (as listed) this form is always a possible alternative, e.g. NHG jedem gab er drei beside ihnen gab er je drei.

NE apiece is virtually the same thing, orig. a pece 'a piece'; likewise Nlr. an ceann 'the head' (cf. McKenna p. 371, col. 1, bottom).

2. In a sentence like NE the pails held ten quarts each, the ten quarts might be felt as coll. (cf. ten-quart pail, gallon jug, bushel basket) and so expressed. This is

conspicuously the case in Latin, where the orig. colls. bini, etc. (13.48), were regularly so used (with usual but not complete differentiation of terni and trini) and thus came to be called 'distributives'. [In Umbrian the multiplicatives like Lat. duplus, triplus are used with a following distrib. phrase, as numer tupler (tripler) pusti kastruva 'nummis binis (ternis) in singulos fundos'.] Similarly, ON tvennir, þrennir are used in distrib. phrases but usually in connection with a form of hverr 'each, every one' (cf. Sievers ap. Brugmann, Distrib. 71). So Goth. tveihnōds paidōs haban = ἀνὰ δύο χιτώνας 'have two coats apiece' Lk. 9.3.

3. Many of the adv. phrases that have been listed under the coll. 'by threes' are also used in distrib. sense, and in some the latter is probably the more original. Thus OHG io dri (io siben quotable), MHG ie dri, NHG je drei, with io, je 'always, in each case'. Lith. po tris, etc., general Balto-Slavic, with the same distrib. use of po as in Lith. ten raste koḡnas po lovā 'there you will find each a bed, a bed apiece' (Leskien, Lit. Lesebuch, p. 4), or ChSl. po often = Grk. καθά.

Byz., NG ἀπὸ τρεῖς, quotable from 7th. century, is unequivocally distrib. (not coll.), e.g. τοὺς ἑδῶσα ἀπὸ τρία μῦλα 'I gave them three apples apiece'.

4. Skt. trayas prati- (quotable?) with distrib. use of prati as in pratyekam 'one by one', yajñam prati 'at each sacrifice', etc.

13.53. Miscellaneous. Various types of numeral derivs. are used with special-application, e.g. to the sequence of days or years.

Grk. τριήρας 'on the third day', and so a whole series, πεμπήρας (Hom.), ἑκάριας, δεκαράιας, etc., derivs. of the ordinal with suffix -αίος.

Grk. τριεῖς 'third part of a μέδιμος', and so also as a measure τετραεῖς and ἑκρέις (but δωδεκαεῖς 'twelfth month').

Grk. τριεῖα, τὰ 'third place, third prize', and so δευτερεῖα, πρωτεῖα.

Grk. τεῖος, τετῶος 'three (four) on the dice' (μύσος 'ace' Ion. form of μόνος 'alone').

Lat. with suffix -ārius; fr. the cardinal, trīārii 'soldiers in the third rank'; fr. the ordinal, tertīārius 'of the third part', hence NE tertiary in geology, mathematics, etc.; fr. the coll., ternārius 'consisting of sets of three', hence NE ternary (binary, etc.) in mathematics and other sciences; the same formation with different specialization, late octōgenārius, nōnāgenārius 'eighty (ninety) years old', hence NE octogenarian, nonagenarian (both also -ary); with suffix -ānus fr. ordinal, tertīāni 'soldiers of the third legion' and tertīānae febrēs 'tertiary fever', whence NE tertian.

Lat. triēns 'third part' mostly as a measure, and similarly quadrāns, sex-tāns, dōdrāns, participial formations. Thurneysen, IF 39.201.

For years of age (aside, of course, from cpds. with words for year), cf. (beside Lat. octōgenārius, above) Ir. nōich-tech 'ninety years old' (Pedersen 2.130, 136); Lith. treigys 'three years old' (so dveigys, ketvergys, penkergys, etc.; Leskien, Bildung d. Nom. 524); Skt. śaṣṭika-, śāptatika 'sixty (seventy) years old', with the same suffix as the multiplicative trika-, etc., but with vṛddhi in the forms of the cardinal (Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. 3.421).

|        |                           |       |                     |
|--------|---------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| 14.11  | TIME                      | 14.43 | DAWN                |
| 14.12  | AGE                       | 14.44 | MORNING             |
| 14.13  | NEW                       | 14.45 | NOON                |
| 14.14  | YOUNG                     | 14.46 | EVENING             |
| 14.15  | OLD                       | 14.47 | TODAY               |
| 14.16  | EARLY (adv.)              | 14.48 | TOMORROW            |
| 14.17  | LATE (adv.)               | 14.49 | YESTERDAY           |
| 14.18  | NOW                       | 14.51 | HOUR                |
| 14.19  | SOON; IMMEDIATELY         | 14.52 | MINUTE; SECOND      |
| 14.21  | SWIFT, FAST, QUICK        | 14.53 | CLOCK; WATCH        |
| 14.22  | SLOW (adj.)               | 14.61 | WEEK                |
| 14.23  | HASTEN, HURRY (vb. intr.) | 14.62 | SUNDAY              |
| 14.24  | DELAY (vb. intr.)         | 14.63 | MONDAY              |
| 14.25  | BEGIN; BEGINNING          | 14.64 | TUESDAY             |
| 14.252 | LAST (vb.)                | 14.65 | WEDNESDAY           |
| 14.26  | END (sb., temporal)       | 14.66 | THURSDAY            |
| 14.27  | FINISH (vb.)              | 14.67 | FRIDAY              |
| 14.28  | CEASE                     | 14.68 | SATURDAY            |
| 14.29  | READY                     | 14.71 | MONTH               |
| 14.31  | ALWAYS                    | 14.72 | NAMES OF THE MONTHS |
| 14.32  | OFTEN                     | 14.73 | YEAR                |
| 14.33  | SOMETIMES                 | 14.74 | WINTER              |
| 14.34  | NEVER                     | 14.75 | SPRING              |
| 14.35  | AGAIN                     | 14.76 | SUMMER              |
| 14.41  | DAY                       | 14.77 | AUTUMN              |
| 14.42  | NIGHT                     | 14.78 | SEASON              |

|      |                  |       |                            |       |                   |
|------|------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk. | χρόνος           | Goth. | þeihs, mēl, hweila         | Lith. | laikas (ėšas)     |
| NG   | καρπός           | ON    | tið, timi, stund           | Lett. | laiks             |
| Lat. | tempus           | Dan.  | tid                        | ChSl. | vreme, časū, godū |
| It.  | tempo            | Sw.   | tid                        | SCr.  | vrijeme (doba)    |
| Fr.  | temps            | OE    | tid, tima, hweil, stund    | Boh.  | čas (doba)        |
| Sp.  | tiempo           | ME    | time, tide, while, stounde | Pol.  | czas (doba)       |
| Rum. | timp, vreme      | NE    | time (while)               | Russ. | vremja            |
| Ir.  | amm, aimsir, tan | Du.   | tijd                       | Skt.  | kāla-             |
| Nlr. | am, aimsir       | OHG   | zit, (h)wila, stunda       | Av.   | zrvan-            |
| W.   | amsir, pryð      | MHG   | zit, stunde, wile          |       |                   |
| Br.  | amzer, pred      | NHG   | zeit (zeile)               |       |                   |

<sup>1</sup> Words for several of the notions classified under "Spatial Relations" or "Quantity and Number", like 'long', 'short', 'first', 'last', are applied equally to time, or in some cases specialized in this direction, e.g. Lett. ilgš 'long' only of time, NE brieš 'short' mostly of time.

NG δεκαριά, ἑκοσταρία, etc. formed fr. the cardinals with suffix -αριά, Byz. -αρία, fem. of -άριος (fr. Lat. -ārius, 13.53). These are coll. equivalents of the numerals, like Fr. dizaine, etc. or NE dozen (fr. Fr. douzaine) and score, e.g. καμιά πενήνταριά 'some fifty' = 'about fifty'. Cf. also δεκάρα 'ten-centime piece' and δεκάρι 'ten-spot' in cards.

2. In classical Latin the only numeral coll. sbs. are decuria and centuria for groups of 10 or 100. This type prob. started in a *quattuor-ia* or the like (with second syllable of *quattuor* in weak grade, as in Skt. catu-). Another type is seen in Umbr. *pentes* 'pentads', formed like Skt. *pañk-ti* 'group of five'.

Late Lat. *terniō* and *triniō* 'the number three', deriv. of *terni*, *trini* (13.48). Similarly, *quaterniō*, *quaterniō*, etc. Hence NE *ternion*, *quaternion*, mostly math., but also of persons (cf. NED).

From forms of Lat. *terni* also It., Sp. *terno* (in a variety of highly specialized uses), Fr. *terne*, NE *tern*.

Late Lat. *triniāds*, deriv. of *trini* and used for 'triad', but esp. the 'trinity'. Hence, mostly in latter sense, It. *trinità*, Fr. *trinité*, NE *trinity*, etc.

Still another type derived fr. the coll. adjs. is seen in Fr. *centaine* 'group of 100' (by analogy *dizaine*, etc.), fr. VLat. *centēna*, orig. neut. pl. of *centēni*.

It. *trio*, a musical term formed after the analogy of *duo* 'duet'. As a musical term it spread to many of the modern Eur. languages (Fr., NE *trio*, etc.) but has also developed a wider use, e.g. It. *trio sorelle*, NE *trio of cousins*, etc. (cf. NED).

Rum. *treime* (and so *cincime*, *optime*, etc.), formed fr. the cardinal with the abstract suffix -ime. Meyer-Lübke, Rom. Gram. 2.486.

3. Ir. *trēde*, neut. sg. of adj. *trēde*

'threefold' (13.46). Thurneysen, Gram. 243.

Ir. *triār*, Nlr. *triür* 'group of three persons', cpd. of the cardinal with *fer* 'man'. Thurneysen, Gram. 243 f. Otherwise Pedersen 2.51, 136 (suffix -aro-).

W. *tri* 'three' is also used as sb., pl. *trioedd* 'threes'.

Br. *trioz*, pl. *trioed*, the latter = W. *trioedd*.

4. ON *þrenning*, used for the 'trinity' but also in wider sense, deriv. of *þrennr* 'threefold' (13.46).

OE *þrines*, OHG *drinissa*, mostly the 'trinity', fr. the cardinal with suffix = NE -ness. Later OE *þriniss* with *nn* fr. *þrinna*, ME *brinnes* (cf. NED).

MHG *driheit*, NHG *dreiheit*, Dan. *trehed*, Sw. *trehet*, fr. the cardinal with coll. suffix.

NE *triad*, *trio*, above, 1, 2.

ME *thresum* (*tuasum*, *hundredsome*, etc.), NE *threesome*, etc., now chiefly Sc., whence the familiar *foursome* in golf, cpds. with -sum = OE indef. pron. *sum* as used after numerals. NED s.v. -some.

5. Lith. *trejetas* (so *dvejetas*, *penketas*, etc.), deriv. of the coll. adj. *treji*. Leskien, Bildung d. Nom. 571. Cf. Lett. *trijats* 'three-leaved clover' (also generic?), adv. *trijātā* 'by threes'. Mühl-Endz. 4.233.

6. ChSl. *trojica*, Boh. *trojice*, Pol. *trojca*, Russ. *troica*, but SCr. *trojstvo*, all mostly but not exclusively the 'trinity', derivs. of the coll. adj. *troji*.

7. Skt. *trayam*, neut. sb. of the coll. adj. *traya-*.

Other types in *pañkti-* 'group of five', with abstract suffix -ti- (cf. Umbr. *pentes*, above, 2), and *daḡad-* 'group of ten' (cf. Grk. *hekás*, above, 1).

13.51. 'By threes'. The coll. notion is expressed more commonly by adv.

phrases than by the adjs. (13.51). These may consist (1) of a preposition with the cardinal (or coll.), (2) of a repetition of the cardinal, (3) a combination of the two preceding ('three by three').

Several of these phrases are also used, and more originally, for the distrib. 'three apiece' (13.52). In fact, they are all commonly called "distributive phrases."

It is remarkable that Brugmann, Die distributiven und die kollektiven Numeralia, while clearing up the relations of the distrib. and coll. uses of Lat. *bini*, etc., failed to make a similar distinction in the adv. phrases and lumped together phrases so distinct as NE *by threes*, *three by three*, and *three each*, *three apiece*. They are all distrib. in a loose sense (distributed in groups of three), but only the latter type in a technical sense. The former type 'by threes' is obviously co-ordinate with the coll. adjs. and sbs.

1. With preposition. Grk. ἀνὰ τρεῖς or κατὰ τρεῖς; It. a tre, Fr. à trois, etc. (but more commonly with repetition, below, 3); Goth. *bi twans* 'by twos' (1 Cor. 14.27; but Mk. 6.7, Lk. 10.1 *twans hwanzuh*, as if distrib.), ME *by thres*, NE *by threes*, in *threes*, NHG *zu (je) dreien*, Du. *bij drieën*; Lith. *po tris*, Lett. *pa trim*; ChSl. *po trīmū*, SCr. *po tri*, Boh. *po třech*, Pol. *po trzech*, w *trzech*, Russ. *po tri*.

2. Repetition, with or without 'and'. Grk. *μία μία* 'one by one' (Soph.), but common only in late times, e.g. in NT *δύο δύο* Mk. 6.7 (= ἀνὰ δύο Lk. 10.1, κατὰ δύο 1 Cor. 14.27), *τρία τρία* POxy. 121, NG *τρεῖς τρεῖς*; late Lat. *duo et duo*, also *duo duo* (cf. Arch. f. lat. Lex. 2.323); Br. *tri ha tri*; OE *þrim and þrim* (so Aelfric, Gram. for Lat. *terni*), NE *three and three*, NHG *drei und drei*, ON *þrír ok þrír*, Dan. *tre og tre*, Sw. *tre och*

*tre*, Du. *drie en drie* (obs.); Skt. *dvā-dvā* (Ved.).

3. Preposition and repetition. Late Grk. ἀνὰ δύο δύο (Ev. Petr. 35); It. *tre a tre*, Fr. *trois à trois*, Sp. *tres a tres*, Rum. *trei câte trei* or *câte trei trei*; Nlr. 'na driür is 'na driür (with triür 'trio' 13.52); NE *three by three*, Du. *drie aan drie*.

4. Miscellaneous. Ir. *trēdaib*, dat. pl. of the coll. sb. *trēde* (13.49).

W. *bob yn dri*, or simply *bob dri*, with *pob* 'every', also and orig. distrib. (13.52). Morris Jones 260.

OHG *io dri*, NHG *je drei*, orig. and still mainly distrib., cf. 13.52.

Skt. *triḡas* (so ekaḡas 'one by one', ḡaḡaḡas 'by hundreds', etc.), with adv. suffix -ḡas : Grk. -ας in ἀνδρακας 'man by man'.

13.52. Three each, three apiece. In general, the distrib. notion is not expressed by any distinctive deriv. of the numeral itself, but independently in the context.

1. Numeral with words for 'each one, every one'. Thus in Grk. with forms of ἕκαστος according to construction, and esp. καθ' ἕκαστον or καθ' ἑνα. Similarly in the Romance languages except Rum. (Fr. chacun, etc.), Celtic (Ir. each, W. pob, etc.), and most of the Gmc. (OE ælc, NE each, Dan. hver, etc.). And even where other expressions are usual (as listed) this form is always a possible alternative, e.g. NHG jedem gab er drei beside ihnen gab er je drei.

NE apiece is virtually the same thing, orig. a pece 'a piece'; likewise Nlr. an ceann 'the head' (cf. McKenna p. 371, col. 1, bottom).

2. In a sentence like NE the pails held ten quarts each, the ten quarts might be felt as coll. (cf. ten-quart pail, gallon jug, bushel basket) and so expressed. This is

Some of the words for 'time' are from roots for 'stretch' or 'measure



## 14.19 SOON; IMMEDIATELY

|      |                                    |       |                         |       |                       |
|------|------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | τάχα, αὐτίκα, εὐθέως               | Goth. | sprautō; suna           | Lith. | greit; tuojau         |
| NG   | οὐ λίγος, γρήγορα, γλῆγορα; ἀμέσως | ON    | bratt, fljót            | Lett. | driž; tālīn           |
| Lat. | moz; statim                        | Dan.  | snart; straks           | ChSL  | skorā; abtje          |
| It.  | presto; subito                     | Sw.   | snart; straz            | SCr.  | skoro; odmah          |
| Fr.  | bientôt; aussitôt, tout de suite   | OE    | sōna, hrædlice          | Boh.  | brzo; hned            |
| Sp.  | luego, presto, pronto              | ME    | some                    | Pol.  | rychło; zaraz         |
| Rum. | îndată                             | NE    | soon; immediately, etc. | Russ. | tolčas; makšy; sadyas |
| Ir.  | mas-                               | Du.   | weltra, spoedig; dade-  | Skt.  | mošu                  |
| Nir. | go gairid; lāithreach              | OHG   | sār, baldō              | Av.   |                       |
| W.   | yn fuan; yn y fan                  | MHG   | sā, baldē               |       |                       |
| Br.  | hebdale, bremaik, kerkent          | NHG   | bald; sofort, sogleich  |       |                       |

Words for 'soon' (in a short time) and 'immediately, at once' (without any delay) are separated in the list by a semi-colon. But in some cases there is no sufficiently clear differentiation to justify this, the same word being used to cover the mild 'soon' and the emphatic 'immediately'. A positive transition from the latter to the former is seen in the history of OE *sōna*, NE *soon*.

The majority of the words for 'soon' are, or were once, simply 'quickly', advs. to adjs. for 'swift, quick'. There are generally alternative expressions, mostly not included in the list, parallel to NE *in a little while*, in a short time, shortly, e.g. Lat. *brevi tempore* or simply *brevi*, It. *poco tempo* or *poco* (*poco dopo* 'soon after'), Pol. *wkrótce* (: *krótka* 'shortly, briefly'), and formerly NHG *kürzlich* (now obs. in this sense and only 'shortly before').

Expressions for 'immediately' are too numerous to be listed in full (cf. NE *immediately*, *at once*, *directly*, the now archaic *straightway*, *forthwith*, etc.), and of the most diverse orig. They may come from words for 'straight', 'immediate', 'actually, exactly', 'place', with specialization to temporal sense, or from words for 'time' ('this time' or 'in time'), or again from the pronoun for 'this' with 'time' understood.

1. IE \**mōks*. Walde-P. 2.303 f., Ernout-M. 635. Pedersen 1.78.

Lat. *moz*; Ir. vbl. particle *mos-* (*mo-*, *mu-*), MW *moch*; Skt. *makṣū*, Av. *mošu*.

2. Grk. *τάχα*, *ταχῶς*, *ταχέως* : *ταχύς* 'swift, quick'.

Grk. *αὐτίκα* : *αὐτός* in intensive sense. Grk. *εὐθέως* : *εὐθύς* 'straight'.

NG *γρήγορα*, *γλῆγορα* 'quickly' : *γρήγορος* 'quick' (14.21) may serve for 'soon'; or, more exactly, *σέ λίγο* (lit. *ἐντός ὀλίγου*) 'in a little while'.

NG *ἀμέσως* : *ἀμέσος* 'immediate', neg. cpd. of *μέσος* 'middle'. Used reg. of time, like NE *immediately*.

3. Lat. *moz*, above, 1.

Lat. *statim* : *status* 'standing', hence in early use 'steadfastly', then 'immediately', like NE *on the spot* in temporal sense (NED s.v. *spot* 9), Fr. *sur le champ* (now obs. in this sense and only 'shortly before').

It., Sp. *presto* (mostly stronger than 'soon'), fr. Lat. *praestō* 'at hand, ready' (14.29). REW 6726.

It. *subito*, fr. Lat. *subitō* 'suddenly', adv. to *subitus* 'sudden', pple. of *sub-ire* 'come upon'. REW 8366.

OFr. *tost*, Fr. *tôt*, now mostly in *bientôt* 'soon', *aussitôt* 'immediately', *plutôt* 'sooner, rather', It. *tosto* 'soon' in some phrases) fr. Lat. *tostus* 'roasted, baked', semantic development uncertain, but prob. through 'hard, firm' (attested in

It. dialects), hence somewhat as in Lat. *statim* (above) and NE *fast* in sense of 'swift' (14.21). REW 8814. Gamillscheg 851.

Fr. *tout de suite*, lit. 'all in succession', fr. *suite* 'succession, sequence', etc. fr. VLat. \**sequita* : Lat. *sequi* 'follow'.

Sp. *luego* 'presently, soon, immediately', fr. Lat. *locō* 'at the right place or time', abl. of *locus* 'place'.

Sp. *pronto* 'ready' (14.29), also 'quickly, soon'.

Rum. *îndată*, cpd. of *în* 'in' and *dată* in phrases *odată* 'once', etc., fr. Lat. *data* neut. pl. of *datus* 'given'. Tiktin 507 f.

4. Ir. *mos-*, above, 1.

NIr. *go gairid*, lit. 'shortly' : *gairid* 'short'.

NIr. *lāithreach*, adv. use of *lāithreach* 'spot, site'.

NIr. also for 'immediately' *ar an mbail* 'on the spot', *ar aíl na mbonn* 'on the spot of the sole', etc.

W. *yn fuan* : *buan* 'swift, quick' (14.21).

W. *yn y fan*, lit. 'on the spot' : *man* 'spot, place'.

Br. *hebdale*, lit. 'without delay', fr. *hep* 'without' and *dale* 'delay'.

Br. *bremaik* ('bientôt' Ernault; 'tout de suite' Vallée p. 66) : *brema* 'now' (14.18).

Br. *kerkent*, fr. *ken*, *ker* 'so', and *kent* 'before'. Henry 63.

5. Goth. *sprautō* 'quickly, soon' (cf. 1 Tim. 3.14 'soon'), see 14.21.

Goth. *suna* 'immediately, at once' ('*εὐθέως*' Mk. 1.21, etc.), as also OE *sōna* (ME *some*, NE *soon* with gradual weakening to 'soon'), OS, OFris. *sān*, OHG *sār* (also *sān*), MHG *sār*, *sā*, outside connections? Feist 460. NED s.v. *soon*.

ON *bratt* (*bráðum*, *bráðan*), advs. fr. *bráðr* adj. 'sudden, hasty, hot (of tem-

per'), Dan. *brad*, Sw. *bråd* 'sudden' : OE *bræþ* 'vapor, breath', OHG *brādam* 'steam, breath, heat', etc. Semantic development prob. through 'hot'. Cf. NE *a hot race*. Falk-Torp 96.

ON *fljót*, esp. comp. and superl. *fljótara*, *fljótast*, advs. : adj. *fljót* 'swift' (14.21).

Dan., Sw. *snart*, adv. to *snar* 'swift, quick' (14.21).

Dan. *straks*, Sw. *straz*, fr. MLG *strakes* (Du. *straks*) = MHG *strackes*, adv. gen. of *strack* 'straight'. Falk-Torp 1176.

OE (beside *sōna*, above) *hrædlice*, adv. to *hrædlic* beside *hræd* 'swift, quick' (14.21).

NE *immediately*, formed with adv. *-ly* fr. MLat. *immediāte*, adv. of MLat. *immediātus* : Lat. *medius* 'middle'. NED s.v.

NE *at once*, *directly*, *straightway*, all of obvious derivation, with temporal sense secondary.

Du. *weltra*, fr. MDu. *wel drāde*, with *wel* 'well' and *drāde* = MLG *drade* (MHG *drāte*, OHG *drāto*) 'quickly'. Franck-v. W. 129, 785.

Du. *spoedig*, adv. use of *spoedig* 'speedy' (14.21).

Du. *dadelijk*, fr. *daad* 'deed, act', and in earlier use 'actually'. Franck-v. W. 104.

Du. *onmiddellijk*, fr. neg. cpd. of *mid-del* 'middle', and so parallel to NE *immediately*.

OHG *baldō*, MHG *balde* 'impetuously, boldly' and 'quickly, immediately', NHG *bald* 'soon' : adj. MHG *bald* 'bold' and 'swift, quick', OE *beald*, *bald* 'daring, bold', NE *bold*, Goth. *balpei* 'boldness', etc., outside connections dub.

Walde-P. 2.179. Falk-Torp 91. Weigand-H. 1.141. Kluge-G. 34.

NHG *sofort*, lit. 'so forth' (without delay).

NHG *gleich* 'alike, exactly', hence also 'immediately' (*gleich kommen*), and in this sense esp. *sogleich*.

6. Lith. *greit* : *greitas* 'swift, quick' (14.21).

Lith. *tuojau*, fr. *two*, old instr. sg. of *tas* 'this'; hence lit. 'with this' (moment).

Lett. *driž* : *drižs* 'swift, quick' (14.21).

Lett. *tālin*, prob. through a \**tū-le* (like *nū-le* beside *nā* 'now'), fr. \**tū* : *tas* 'this' (cf. Lith. *tuojau*, above). Mühl-Endz. 4.280.

7. ChSL, SCr., Russ. *skoro* : ChSL *skorā* 'swift, quick' (14.21).

ChSL *abtje*, perh. with init. vowel lengthening fr. \**obj* *je* (*obū* 'at' and *je* acc. sg. neut. of sem *jō* 'this'), hence 'at this' (time), like Lith. *tuojau*, etc. Walde-P. 1.52. Berneker 23.

SCr. *odmah*, fr. *od* 'from' and *mah* 'blow, stroke', also 'time' in phrases *jedan mah* 'once', etc. Berneker 2.4.

Boh. *brzo* : *brzyj* 'swift', ChSL *brīzo*, SCr. *brzo* 'quickly', etc. (14.21).

Boh. *hned* (also OPol. *hnet*, Pol. *wnet*), fr. *nhd*, *inhd*, fr. *in* : ChSL *inū* 'one', and second part : ChSL *-gda* in *tū-gda* 'then'. Gebauer 1.230, 545.

Brückner 627.

Pol. *rychło* : *rychty* 'early', Boh. *rychlý* 'swift, quick' (14.21).

Pol. *zaraz*, fr. *za* 'in, on' and *raz* 'time', as in *teraz* 'now' (14.18), etc.

Russ. *tolčas*, fr. *tot* 'this' and *čas* 'time, hour' (14.11).

8. Skt. *makṣū*, Av. *mošu*, above, 1.

Skt. *sadyas*, lit. 'on the same day', fr. cop. *sa-* and second part : *div-*, *dyu-* 'sky, day'.

## 14.21 SWIFT, FAST, QUICK

|      |                              |       |                                      |       |                         |
|------|------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | ταχύς, ὀκίς, θάως, ὀκίς      | Goth. | sprautō (adv.)                       | Lith. | greitas, skubus         |
| NG   | γρήγορος, γλῆγορος           | ON    | fljót, skjót, hraðr, snarr           | Lett. | ātrs, žigs              |
| Lat. | celer, vclōz, citus, rapidus | Dan.  | rask, hurtig, snar                   | ChSL  | skorā; jēdro, brzo      |
| It.  | rapido, presto, veloce       | Sw.   | snabb, snar, rask                    | Boh.  | rychly                  |
| Fr.  | rapide, vite (adv.)          | OE    | hred, swift, snel(l)                 | Russ. | bystryj, skorij, šibkij |
| Sp.  | rápido, presto, veloz        | ME    | swift, rad, snel, spede              | Pol.  | przyski, szybki         |
| Rum. | repede, vite                 | NE    | fast, swift, quick                   | Skt.  | śvāpī                   |
| Ir.  | dian, lūath, crīb            | Du.   | spedig, snel, gauw, sūn(ch), spoedig | Av.   | šāwān                   |
| Nir. | lūath, tapadh                | OHG   | sniumi, (h)rad, snel, rase           |       |                         |
| W.   | buan, cyflym, chwyryn, clau  | MHG   | snel, rasch, sliume, geschwinde      |       |                         |
| Br.  | buan, herrus                 | NHG   | schnell, rasch, geschwind            |       |                         |

There is a wealth of words denoting rapid motion (besides those listed, e.g. NE *rapid*, NHG *schleunig*) from which it is not always easy to select the most generic and usual and between which the choice is too idiomatic, according to the context, to permit any generalization. NE *swift* or the now more common *fast* may apply to rapid motion of

any duration, while in *quick* (in accord with its original sense of 'live, lively') there is a notion of 'sudden' or 'soon over'. We speak of a *fast* horse or runner in a race, a *quick* starter but not a *quick* horse. A somewhat similar feeling may distinguish NHG *schnell* and *rasch*, or it may be more a matter of local preference (for which cf. Kretschmer,

Wortgeogr. 385). And so in the other languages one could show the differentiation only by quoting phrases in great number.

The semantic sources are too diverse to summarize.

1. IE \**ōku-*. Walde-P. 1.172. Ernout-M. 696.

Grk. *ὀκίς* (poet.); Skt. *ācu-*, Av. *āsu-*; Lat. *ocior*, *ocissimus* 'swifter, swiftest'; OW *di-auc*, W. *diog*, Br. *diek* 'lazy' (lit. 'not swift').

2. Grk. *ταχύς*, beside *τάχος* 'speed', *τάχα* 'quickly, soon, at once', etym. dub. Boissacq 946. G. S. Lane, Language 11.191.

Grk. *θαός* (poet.) : *θεω* 'run', etc. (10.46). Boissacq 342 f.

Grk. *ὀκίς* 'sharp' (15.78), but also (post-Hom., Hdt., etc.) 'swift'.

Byz., NG *γρήγορος*, pop. *γλήγορος*, through 'prompt, ready' (and perh. first in adv. *γρήγορα*), fr. Grk. *ἐγρήγορα* 'am awake', perf. of *ἐγείρω* 'awaken'.

3. Lat. *celer* : Grk. *κῆλος* 'courser (horse), fast sailing ship', *κῆλομαι* 'drive on, incite', Skt. *kal-* 'drive', etc. Walde-P. 1.443 f. Ernout-M. 170. Walde-H. 1.194 f.

Lat. *vēlōx* (> It. *veloce*, Sp. *veloz*), cf. *vēles* 'light-armed infantryman', etym. dub., perh. (\**weg-slo-*) fr. the root of *vegēre* 'move, excite', *vegetus* 'live, animate' (cf. the semantic development of NE *quick*, below, 5); or (\**wegh-slo-*) : *vehere* 'drive, transport?'. Ernout-M. 1082.

Lat. *citus*, pple. of *ciere* 'set in motion, excite' : Grk. *κίω* *gō*, *κίτω* 'move'. Ernout-M. 185 f. Walde-H. 1.213 f.

Lat. *rapidus* (> It. *rapido*, Sp. *rápido*, Rum. *repede*; Fr. *rapide* > NE *rapid*), orig. 'violent, tearing away' (esp. of swift-flowing currents), fr. *rapere* 'snatch, carry off, plunder'. Ernout-M. 854. REW 7054.

It., Sp. *presto* (Fr. *prêt* 'ready'), fr. late Lat. *praestus* fr. adv. *praestō* 'at hand, ready' (14.29). REW 6726.

Fr. *vite* (adv., but until 17th cent. also adj.), OFr. *viste* : It. *visto*, *vispo* 'quick, brisk, smart', prob. of imitative orig. REW 9379a. Otherwise Gamillscheg 894.

Rum. *iute*, also 'violent, impetuous', fr. the Slavic, cf. ChSL *ljutō* 'cruel, fierce', etc. Tiktin 862.

4. Ir. *diān*, beside *dēne* 'swiftness', prob. : Grk. *διω* 'flee', Skt. *dī-* 'fly', etc. Walde-P. 1.775.

Ir. *lūath*, NIr. *luath*, also Ir. *luam* id., beside *luas* 'speed', fr. *lu-* 'move' (10.11).

Ir. *crib* (*cribb*, *crip*), etym. dub. Pedersen 1.161. Walde-P. 1.472, 2.568.

NIr. *tapaidh* = Gael. *tapaidh* 'clever, active' : NIr. *tap* 'a start or fight, an accident' (Dinneen), orig. dub. Possibly fr. a vbl. cpd. \**to-ad-ben-* : *benim* 'strike' (cf. OIr. *taipe* 'epitome', Pedersen 2.461).

W., Br. *buan*, etym. dub. Pedersen 2.56. Henry 47. Loth, RC 36.143.

W. *cyflym*, cpd. of *llym* 'sharp, keen' (arch. also 'quick', cf.; Spurrell, s.v.) = Br. *lemm* 'sharp', etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.391, 435.

W. *chwyrn*, often with implication of a whirling sound (Evans, s.v.; cf. *chwyr-nu* 'whiz, whirl, snore'), prob. based on an imitative syllable, like that in Skt. *svar-* 'make a sound', Lat. *susurrus* 'humming', NE *swearm* 'swarm', Walde-P. 2.528 (adversely). Loth, RC 23.117.

Morris Jones 146 (: Skt. *sphur-* 'jerk, dart'; improbable).

W. *clau* : Ir. *clō* 'whirlwind', root connection? Loth, RC 38.159.

Br. *herrus*, fr. *herr* 'speed, impulse', older *err*, fr. OFr. *erre* 'journey, way', course' in phrases like *de grant erre*, *de bonne erre*, etc. (cf. Godefroy, s.v.). Henry 116.

5. Goth. *sprautō*, adv. (renders *ταχύς*, *ταχέως*, etc.) : OE *ā-sprātan*, *spryttan* 'sprout', MHG *sprizen* id., W. *ffrust* 'haste', Lett. *sprausties* *pruojam* 'clear out'. Walde-P. 2.671. Feist 446.

ON *fljót* : *fljóta* 'float', etc., Grk. *πλέω* 'sail, swim' (cf. Ir. *lūath*, above, 4). Falk-Torp 242.

ON *skjót* (OE *scōt* 'quick, ready' not common) : *skjōta*, OE *scōtan*, etc. 'set in motion, shoot', Skt. *cud-* 'drive, press'. Walde-P. 2.554. Falk-Torp 1045.

ON *hraðr*, OE *hrad*, *hraþ*, ME *rad*, OHG (*h)rad*, (*h)rad* : Lith. *api-kratai* 'quickly', *krestī* 'shake, shake out', *kretėti* 'move back and forth, waver', Ir. *crothaim* 'shake'. Walde-P. 1.484. Falk-Torp 870.

ON *snarr* 'swift, keen' (of eye, etc.), Dan., Sw. *snar*, lit. 'twisted tight, hard-pun' (of a cord), so rarely ON *snarr* (cf. Vigfusson, s.v.) : ON *snara* 'twist, wring, turn quickly'. Walde-P. 2.701. Falk-Torp 1090. Hellquist 1011.

Dan. *hurtig* (Sw. *hurtig* 'cheerful, brisk, agile'), fr. NHG *hurtig* 'brisk, quick (at work), alert', deriv. of MHG *hurt* 'shove, drive' fr. OFr. *hurt* 'shove'. Falk-Torp 433.

Sw. *snabb*, prob. : MHG *snaben* 'hurry' = *snaben* 'snap, hop, jump, shove', etc., beside *snappen* 'snap', NE *snap*, etc., all fr. a Gmc. \**snab-*, \**snap-* indicating various types of quick motion, but root connection dub. Hellquist 1009 f. Falk-Torp 1089 f.

OE-NE *swift* : OE *swifan* 'move, sweep', ON *swifa* 'swing, turn, drift', OHG *swēibōn* 'sway, swing', etc. Walde-P. 2.520. NED s.v.

OE *snell*(l), ME *snel*, Du., OHG, MHG *smel*, NHG *schnell* : Sw. *snäll* 'good, nice', older 'quick, capable', Dan. *snild* 'shrewd', root connection dub. Falk-Torp 1096. Weigand-H. 2.764.

NHG *sofort*, lit. 'so forth' (without delay).

NE *quick*, in this sense rarely also ME

but mostly 'vigorous, lively, alive, etc.', OE *cwicu* 'alive' : ON *kvikr*, OHG *quec*, Lat. *vivus*, etc. 'alive'. NED s.v.

NE *fast*, orig. as still also 'firm', fr. OE *fast* 'firm' : ON *fastr*, OHG *festi*, NHG *fest*, etc. 'firm'. The sense of 'swift' (for which it is now the pop. word) seems to have developed first in the adv. (quoted in NED from 1205) in phrases like *run fast* (cf. *run hard*). NED s.v.



NG βιάζομαι (beside lit. σπείδω), lit. 'be forced', mid. of βιάζω 'force, compel': βία 'force'.

2. Lat. *festināre*, beside *festinus* 'hasty', *confestim* 'hastily, at once', perh. fr. *\*fers-ti* : W. *brys* 'haste', *brysiō* 'hasten', Mir. *bras* 'quick, active', etc. Walde-P. 2.175. Ernout-M. 353 f. Walde-H. 1.488.

Lat. *properāre*, fr. *properus* 'hastening, speedy', fr. *pro-* 'before' and (prob.) deriv. of *\*per-* in Grk. *πέραν* 'beyond', Lat. *portāre* 'carry', etc. Ernout-M. 815 f.

It. *affrettarsi*, refl. of *affrettare* 'dispatch, speed up', fr. *fretta* 'haste', deriv. of VLat. *\*fricāre* 'rub', frequent. of *fricāre*. REW 3505.

Fr. *se hāter*, refl. of *hāter* 'hasten', OFr. *haster* 'press on, pursue', fr. *hāte* 'haste', OFr. *haste* fr. the Gmc., cf. Goth. *haifsts* 'quarrel', OE *hast* 'enmity', OFris. *hāst* 'haste', etc. OFr. *haste* is the source of the sbs. ME *haste*, MLG *hast*, etc., whence (or in part fr. OFr. *haster*) the vbs. ME *haste*, NE *hasten*, MLG *hasen* (> NHG *hasen*), Du. *haasten* (Dan. *haste*, Sw. *hasta* through sb. fr. MLG), W. *hastu*, Br. *hastla*. REW 3990. Falk-Torp 384. Franck-v. W. 224. NED s.v.v. *haste*, *hasen*.

Fr. *se dépêcher*, refl. of *dépêcher* 'expedite, dispatch', for *\*desempêcher* fr. *empêcher* 'hinder' (Lat. *impedicāre*). REW 4296. Gamillscheg 306.

Fr. *se presser*, refl. of *presser* 'press, squeeze', Sp. *darse prisa* 'make haste', with *prisa* 'haste, urgency', Sp. *apresurarse*, refl. of *apresurar* 'hasten, speed up', fr. *presura* 'anxiety, haste' (Lat. *pressura* 'pressure'), all fr. Lat. *pressāre* 'press'. REW 6741.

Rum. *se grābi*, refl. of *grābi* 'drive on, press, dispatch', fr. the Slavic, cf. ChSl. *grabīti* 'seize, plunder'. Tiktin 694 f.

3. Ir. *diánaigur* (e.g. imperat. *dia-*

*naigthe* 'celera', Ml. 49d.9), fr. *diān* 'swift' (14.21).

Nlr. *brostuighim*, as trans. 'excite, goad', Mir. *brostaim*, and *brostaigim* 'incite, stir up' (K. Meyer, Contrib. 270 f.), prob. : Ir. *brot* 'goad' (sb.), but relation complicated. Stokes ap. Macbain 52.

W. *brysiō*, see under Lat. *festināre*, above, 2.

W. *hastu*, Br. *hasta*, see under Fr. *se hāter*, above, 2.

Br. *buanaat*, fr. *buān* 'swift' (14.21).

4. Goth. *sniumjan* (fr. *\*sniu-m-* in OHG *sniumi* 'swift', etc., 14.21), *snīwan*, OE *snēowan*, ON *snýjða* (rare) : ON *snúa* 'turn', *snúðr* 'noose' and 'swiftness', OE *snūd* 'haste', ON *snúðigr* 'turning, swift', prob. Skt. *snāvan* 'band', etc. Notion of swiftness fr. 'turning'. Walde-P. 2.696. Falk-Torp 1097. Feist 440 f.

ON *skynda* (> ME *skinde*, rare), *skunda*, Dan. *skynde*, Sw. *skynda*, OE *scyndan* (OS *farskundian* 'incite, urge', OHG *scuntan* 'incite, stimulate') : OE *scūdan* 'shake, tremble', OS *scuddian*, OHG *scutten* 'shake, swing', ChSl. *skytati* se 'wander about', etc. Walde-P. 2.601 f. Falk-Torp 1046.

OE *efestan*, *efstan*, fr. *ofost*, *ofst*, *efest* 'haste, speed' (cf. OS *oðastico* 'swiftly'), prob. a cpd. *\*of-aist-* : ON *eisa* 'dash along, tear through', Lat. *ira* 'wrath', Skt. *iṣ-* 'set in motion, incite'. Walde-P. 1.107. Holthausen, IF 20.320.

OE *higian* (mostly 'strive, exert oneself'), ME *hye*, NE *hie* (arch. and poet.) : MLG *higen*, etc. 'pant', outside connection (as with Skt. *ciḡhra-* 'swift') dub. Walde-P. 1.363. Franck-v. W. 252. NED s.v. *hie* vb.

ME *haste*, etc., see under Fr. *se hāter*, above, 2.

NE *hurry*, only NE in this sense but

now the common word vs. *hasten*, earlier 'carry or cause to go with haste', so ME *horye* (dub. quotation in NED), cf. MHG, NHG *hurren* 'whir', etc., all of imitative origin. NED s.v. Falk-Torp 432.

Du. *zich spoeden* (NHG *sich spulen* fr. LG) = OS *spōdian* 'grant success', OHG *gispuōtōn* 'cause to succeed', refl. *sih gispuōtōn* 'hasten', fr. Du. *spoed* 'speed', etc. (see 14.21).

OHG, MHG *ilen* (MLG *ilen* > Dan. *ile*, Sw. *ila*), NHG *eilen*, *sich beeilen*, OS *ilian*, perh. fr. a form with l-suffix of IE *\*ei-* 'go'. Walde-P. 1.104. Falk-Torp 461. Weigand-H. 1.414.

MHG *schern*, *scheren* (NHG refl. *sich scheren*) : Grk. *σκαίρω* 'jump, hop, dance', Skt. *kirati* 'strews, scatters', etc. Walde-P. 2.566.

5. Lith. *skubintis* (refl.) : *skubus* 'swift' (14.21).

Lett. *steigties*, refl. of *steigt* 'hasten, expedite' : Grk. *στειχω* 'walk, stride, march', Goth. *steigan* 'ascend', etc. Walde-P. 2.614. Mühl.-Endz. 3.1058 f.

Lett. *traukti*, also refl. *traukties*, lit. 'strike down', also 'fall upon (suddenly), frighten' : *trākti* 'come in two, break', Lith. *trukti* 'tear, break, burst', ON *bruga* 'threaten', OE *bryccan*, OHG *drucken* 'press'. Walde-P. 1.731. Mühl.-Endz. 4.224 f.

6. ChSl. *potūšlati* se (for σπειδω Lk. 19.5, 6) : Skt. *tuj-* 'press, shove, drive', Du. *stuken* 'pound', etc., fr. *\*(s)teu-g-*, beside *\*(s)teu-k-* in ChSl. *tūknaŭti* 'prick, beat', Grk. *ρίκος* 'hammer, chisel', etc. Walde-P. 2.616.

ChSl. *podvignati* se (*podvigūs* se = σπείσας Lk. 2.16, elsewhere for *σ-*

*λείομαι*, refl. of perfect. of *dvignati* 'move' (10.11). Walde-P. 1.235. Berneker 240 f.

ChSl. *spěšiti*, Boh. *spěchati*, Pol. *spieszyć*, Russ. *spěšiti*, fr. ChSl. *spěchā*, Boh. *spěch*, etc. 'haste' : ChSl. *spěti* 'be successful' (in modern Slavic also 'hasten'), Du. *spoeden*, etc. 'hasten' (above, 4). Walde-P. 2.657. Brückner 509.

SCR. *hiŭjeti* : *hilati* 'seize, throw' also 'hasten', ChSl. *chytati* 'tear', *chvatiti* 'seize', Boh. *chvátiti* 'seize' (11.14), *chvátati* 'hasten', etc. Berneker 407, 414. For the development of 'hasten' from 'seize', cf. Rum. *se grābi* (above, 2) and NHG *sich packen*.

SCR. *brzati*, fr. *brz* 'swift' (14.21).

SCR. *žuriti* se, prob. : *gurati* 'thrust, press', ON *keyra* 'drive, thrust'. Petersen, IF 24.253 f.

Boh. *kvapiti*, Pol. *kwapić* się, prob. (through notion of hasty, unsteady motion) : ChSl. *kypěti* 'boil up, run over', Boh. *kypěti* 'boil up', etc. (general Slavic in this sense), Skt. *kup-* 'be excited, heave, boil (with rage), etc.'. Walde-P. 1.380. Berneker 655, 677 f.

Russ. *toropit'sja*, refl. of *toropit'* 'hasten' (trans.), beside *torop* 'haste' : Ukr. *toropyty* 'incite, frighten, torment', Boh. *trápit* 'torment', Slavic *\*torpiti*, perh. caus. to ChSl. *trápěti* 'suffer', Lat. *torpēre* 'be stiff, numb'. Walde-P. 2.631.

7. Skt. *tvar-* (in mid.) : OHG *dweran* 'turn swiftly, stir', OE *pueran* 'twirl, stir', Grk. (Hom., poet.) *δ-τρῶω* 'rouse, stir up, egg on', mid. 'hasten'. Walde-P. 1.749.

Skt. *jā-* (in mid.; act. 'drive on, incite, etc.'), Av. *jav-* (Barth. 504), cf. Skt. *jāva-* 'swift' (14.21).

Pol. *ociagać się* : *ciag* 'draught, course of time', *ciągnąć* 'draw, pull' (9.33).

Pol. *odulekać*, *zwoloczyc*, cpds. of the root in *wlec* 'drag', ChSl. *vlesti* 'draw, pull' (9.33), are used also for 'delay'.

Russ. *medlit'* : *medlennyj* 'slow' (14.22).

7. Skt. *vi-lamb-*, cpd. of *lamb-* 'hang down', also sometimes 'remain behind, delay'.

14.25 BEGIN; BEGINNING

|      |  |       |  |       |   |
|------|--|-------|--|-------|---|
| Grk. | ἀρχομαι; ἀρχή                          | Goth. | duginnan, ana-, du-                                | Lith. | pradėti; pradžia                                  |
| NG   | ἀρχίζω, ἀρχινῶ; ἀρχή                   | Lat.  | stodjan; anastodeins, frumisti                     | Lett. | (ie)sākti; (ie)sākums                             |
| Lat. | incipere, coepere; initium, principium | ON    | hefja (upp), byrja; upphaf                         | ChSl. | nacęti; načlo, načētākā                           |
| It.  | incominciare, principiare; principio   | Dan.  | begynde; begyndelse                                | ScR.  | počėti; početak                                   |
| Fr.  | commencer; commencer; début            | Sw.   | börja, begynna; början, begynnelse                 | Boh.  | začeti; počáti; začátek, počátek                  |
| Sp.  | empezar, comenzar; principio           | OE    | anginnan; angin; fruma, frymþ                      | Pol.  | zacząć, uzszyć; początek                          |
| Rum. | incepe; inceput                        | ME    | (a-, be-)ginne, commence; beginnunge, commencement | Russ. | načat'; načalo                                    |
| Ir.  | doimscanna; tossach, tuus              | NE    | (a-, be-)ginne, commence; beginnunge, commencement | Skt.  | ārahb-; ārambha-aivigard-; fratauruna-, aivigati- |
| Nlr. | tosnuighim; tossach (fās)              | NE    | begin, commence; beginning commencement            | Av.   |   |
| W.   | dechreu; dechreuad                     | Du.   | beginnen, aanvangen; aanvang, begin                |       |   |
| Br.  | deraoui, derou                         | OHG   | biginnan, anafāhan; anagin, anafang                |       |   |
|      |  | MHG   | beginnen, anāhen; anane, begin, anegin             |       |   |
|      |  | NHG   | anfangen, beginnen; anfang                         |       |   |

Words for 'begin, beginning' are most commonly based upon notions like 'seize upon' or 'enter upon', but there are also other and diverse sources.

1. Grk. ἀρχομαι (act. ἀρχω in this sense more freq. in Hom., but in Att. prose mostly 'be first, rule'), NG ἀρχίζω and also (pop.) ἀρχινῶ, beside sb. ἀρχή ('beginning' Hom.+; 'rule' later), perh. through an old aor. form : ἀρχομαι 'come' ('come to > started, began'). McKenzie, Cl.Q. 15.44 f. Fraenkel, IF 49.203.

2. Lat. *incipere* (> Rum. *incepe* with sb. *inceput*), cpd. of *capere* 'take, seize' (11.13). Ernout-M. 148. REW 4353. Lat. *coepere*, orig. only perf. *coepi*

with pres. sense 'I begin' but which early acquired perf. sense 'I have begun', hence the formation of a new pres.; cpd. of *\*ēpi*, perf. of *apere* 'fasten, attach', hence *coēpi* orig. 'have fastened together' > 'begin'. Ernout-M. 202. Walde-H. 1.57 f.

Lat. *initium*, fr. *inire* 'go into', whence 'enter upon', 'begin', cpd. of *ire* 'go'; hence late Lat. *initiare* 'begin, initiate', VLat. cpd. *\*comitiāre* > It. (in)cominciare, fr. *commencer* (sb. commencement), Sp. *comenzar*. Ernout-M. 304 f. REW 2079.

Lat. *principium* (> It., Sp. *principio*, with deriv. vb. It. *principiare*), fr. *princeps* lit. 'taking the first (place, rank, etc.)' whence 'chief, first person, etc.',

al, cpd. of *garad-* : Lat. *gradī* 'step, go', etc. Cf. Lat. *ingredi* 'enter upon' and freq. 'begin', esp. a speech. Barth. 514 f. Walde-P. 1.651 f.

Av. sb. *fratauruna-*, prob. as 'en-

trance', fr. *tar-* 'cross over'. Barth. 980. (Walde-P. 1.733).

Av. sb. *aivigati-*, lit. 'entrance, coming forward', fr. *aivi-gam-* 'come forward'. Barth. 88.

14.252 LAST (vb.)

|      |                      |       |                 |       |                |
|------|----------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | διαρκέω              | Goth. | ....            | Lith. | testis, trukti |
| NG   | διαρκέω, βασιῶ, κραῶ | ON    | haldask         | Lett. | ilgt, būt ilgī |
| Lat. | dūrāre               | Dan.  | vare            | ChSl. | trajati        |
| It.  | durare               | Sw.   | vare            | ScR.  | trajati        |
| Fr.  | durer                | OE    | laston          | Boh.  | trvati         |
| Rum. | dura                 | ME    | laste, (en)dure | Pol.  | trwać          |
| Ir.  | maraim               | NE    | last (endure)   | Russ. | dlit'sja       |
| Nlr. | mairim               | Du.   | duren           | Skt.  | enti (sthā-)   |
| W.   | parhau               | OHG   | wären           | Av.   | ....           |
| Br.  | padout               | MHG   | dären, wern     |       |                |
|      |                      | NHG   | dauern (währen) |       |                |

The verbal notion of 'last', that is, 'continue', with special reference to the lapse of time, is mostly either included in the scope of, or specialized from, vbs. for 'continue, follow, remain, hold out, prolong', the last derived from adjs. for 'long'.

1. Grk. διαρκέω, cpd. of ἀρκέω 'ward off, assist' (poet.), mostly 'suffice', also sometimes 'hold out, last' : Lat. *arcēre* 'inclose' (old sense, but rare), 'keep off'. Walde-P. 1.80. Ernout-M. 67 f.

NG βασιῶ 'support, carry' (10.61), also 'bear' = 'endure', and intr. 'hold out, last'.

NG κραῶ 'hold, keep' (11.85), also 'last'.

2. Lat. *dūrāre* (> Romance words, etc.), orig. 'make hard', then 'make ready, incur' and intr. 'endure, hold out, last', fr. *dūrus* 'hard' (15.74), also 'hardy'. Ernout-M. 291 (but with needless assumption of two orig. different vbs.). Walde-H. 1.386. REW 2805.

3. Ir. *maraim* 'remain' (12.16), also 'live, survive' and 'hold out, last', likewise Nlr. *mairim*.

W. *parhau* 'continue' and 'last', prob., like *paru* 'suit, match', deriv. of

cpd. of *primus* 'first' and *capere* 'take'. Ernout-M. 809 f.

Fr. *début*, back-formation fr. *débiter* 'make first move at a game', fr. *būt* 'goal', but prob. in sense of 'point from which the play is made', cf. *de but en blanc* (artillery), where *blanc* indicates the center of target aimed at. Bloch, s.v. *būt*. Warburg 1.652.

Sp. *empezar*, prob. fr. *pieza* 'piece' (= It. *pezza*, Fr. *pièce*, etc.), perh. through notion of 'break open', cf. It. *spezzare* 'break in pieces'. REW 6450.

3. Ir. *doimscanna* 3sg. (*\*to-ind-scann-*), and *intinscanna* 3sg. (*\*ind-to-ind-scann-*), cf. *fa-scannat* (*fo-scann-*) 'they toss it', Nlr. *joscnann* 'toss, winnow, purge, cleanse', etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.564. Pedersen 2.613.

Ir. sb. *tosach*, Nlr. *tosach*, fr. the shorter form Ir. *tuus*, Nlr. *tūs*, lit. 'a leading forth' : W. *tyuws* 'lead' (10.64). Hence Nlr. *tosnuighim* (also *tosuigim*, etc.). Pedersen 1.308.

W. *dechreu*, Br. *deraoui*, with sbs. W. *dechreuad*, Br. *derou*, etym. dub. Pedersen 1.484 (as perh. orig. 'draw blood' = 'begin battle' : Lat. *cruo*, etc.).

4. Goth. *duginnan*; OE *anginnan*, *aginnan*, rarely *beginnan*, ME *aginne*, *beginne* (and with dropping of prefix simply *ginne*), NE *begin*, with sbs. OE *angin*, *ogin*, ME *beginnunge*, *-ynge*, NE *beginning*; Du. *beginnen* (MLG *beginnen* > Dan. *begynde*, Sw. *begynna*, with sbs. *begyndelse*, *begynnelse*), OHG *biginnan*, *inginnan*, MHG, NHG *beginnen*, sbs. Du., MHG *begin*, OHG *anagin*, MHG *anegin*, etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.589. Falk-Torp 58. Feist 128.

Goth. *anastōdjan*, *dustōdjan*, with sb. *anastōdeins*, cpds. of *-stōdjan* (ON *stazða* 'cause to stand, establish'), caus. of *standan* (pret. *stōþ*) 'stand', etc. Feist 44 f.

Goth. *frumisti*, fr. *frumists* superl. of

*fruma* 'first', OE *frum* id. (mostly in cpds. *frum-*), whence *fruma*, *frymþ* 'beginning' : Lith. *pirmas*, Grk. *πρῶμος* 'first', etc. Feist 170. Walde-P. 2.37.

ON *hefja* 'lift' (10.22), also 'begin', in the latter sense esp. *hefja upp* (hence *upphaf* 'beginning').

ON *byrja* (not so freq. in older language in this sense as *hefja*, but reg. in Nlcel., also 'be fitting' and 'beget'), Sw. *börja* = MLG *boren* 'lift, carry' and 'be due', OHG *burien* 'lift up', *giburien* 'happen, be fitting', etc. : ON *bera*, Goth. *bairan*, etc. 'bear, carry'. Walde-P. 2.156. Falk-Torp 118. Hellquist 125.

ME, NE *commence*, *commencement*, fr. OFr. *commencer*, *commencement* (above, 2).

Du. *aanvangen*, OHG *anafāhan*, MHG *anwāhen*, NHG *anfangen*, beside sbs. Du. *aanvang*, OHG *anafang*, MHG *anvanc*, NHG *anfang*, cpd. of Du. *vangen*, OHG *fāhan*, NHG *fangen* 'seize, grasp, take' (like Lat. *incipere* fr. *capere*, cf. above, 2).

5. Lith. *pradėti*, also refl. *prasidėti*, sb. *pradžia*, cpd. of *dėti* 'put, place, lay'.

Lett. *sākt*, and cpd. *iesākt* with sbs. *sākums*, *iesākums*, prob. = Lith. *šokti* 'jump' (10.43), rarely also 'begin'; semantic development through 'jump' = 'hasten (eagerly to do something)', hence 'begin', Mühl.-Endz. 3.801. Fraenkel, IF 49.203 f.

6. ChSl. *nacęti* (*zaccęti* 'conceive'), SCR. *početi*, Boh. *začėti*, *počíti*, etc., general Slavic in cpds. only, with sbs. ChSl. *načelo*, *načětükü*, etc.; Ir. *cinim* 'spring from, be born', Grk. *καῖος* 'new', etc. (14.13). Walde-P. 1.398. Berneker 168.

7. Skt. *ārahb-*, and *pra-ārahb-*, with sbs. *ārambha-*, *prārambha-*, cpds. of *rahb-* 'take, grasp, seize'.

Av. *aivigard-*, lit. 'go toward', esp. 'begin' a hymn or some part of the ritu-

|      |                          |       |                             |       |                                |
|------|--------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|
| Grk. | μᾶλλον, χρονίζω, βραδύνα | Goth. | latjan, sainjan             | Lith. | gaišti, užtrukti               |
| NG   | βραδύνα                  | ON    | dvelja(s), seina            | Lett. | vēlcināties, kavēties          |
| Lat. | cunctāri, morārī         | Dan.  | nple, tpe                   | ChSl. | maštiti, kšmāti                |
| It.  | tardare, indugiare       | Sw.   | droja                       | ScR.  | oklijevati                     |
| Fr.  | tarder                   | OE    | ildan                       | Boh.  | prodětiati, meškati, odkladati |
| Sp.  | tardar, demorarse        | ME    | tarie                       | Pol.  | ociagać się, odkładać          |
| Rum. | întîrzia, zăbovi         | Du.   | dralen, toeven, talmen      | Russ. | medlit', meškať                |
| Ir.  | foregar, arfuiregar      | OHG   | twellen, twälön, lazön      | Skt.  | vi-lamb-                       |
| Nlr. | moillighim, doghnim      | MHG   | twellen, twälen, sich sümen | Av.   | ....                           |
| W.   | oedi                     | NHG   | zögern, säumen              |       |                                |
| Br.  | dalea                    |       |                             |       |                                |



## 14.34 NEVER

|      |  |       |                             |       |                                     |
|------|--|-------|-----------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>olēore, olēore</i>                      | Goth. | <i>ni hwanhun, ni aiw</i>   | Lith. | <i>niekad (-a, -os)</i>             |
| NG   | <i>pari</i>                                | ON    | <i>aldri</i>                | Lett. | <i>niekad</i>                       |
| Lat. | <i>nunquam</i>                             | Dan.  | <i>aldri</i>                | ChSl. | <i>nikolīze, nikūdaže, nikūdaše</i> |
| It.  | <i>giamaia</i>                             | Sw.   | <i>aldri</i>                | SCR.  | <i>nikada</i>                       |
| Fr.  | <i>jamaia</i>                              | OE    | <i>nāfre</i>                | Boh.  | <i>nikdy</i>                        |
| Sp.  | <i>nunca, jamas</i>                        | ME    | <i>neuer(e)</i>             | Russ. | <i>nigdy</i>                        |
| Rum. | <i>niel-odată</i>                          | NE    | <i>never</i>                | Av.   | <i>nie, nimmer</i>                  |
| Ir.  | <i>ni riam, ni caedche</i>                 | Du.   | <i>nooit, nimmer</i>        | Sk.   | <i>(na) kada cana, na kadācit</i>   |
| Nir. | <i>ni riamh, ni choidheche</i>             | OHG   | <i>nio, niomēr</i>          | ...   | ...                                 |
| W.   | <i>ni, (ni) byth</i>                       | MHG   | <i>nie, nimmer</i>          |       |                                     |
| Br.  | <i>nepre, biskoaz, bir- viken (birken)</i> | NHG   | <i>nie, niemals, nimmer</i> |       |                                     |

'Never' is expressed by combinations of the neg. with advs. for 'at any time, ever', many of these of pronominal origin, others cognate with words for 'time', 'age, lifetime', 'more', etc.

But in many cases the neg. sense has been absorbed and the formal neg. omitted—the familiar phenomenon observed in Fr. *pas* 'not', rien 'nothing', NG *niore* 'nothing', *kavēnas* 'no one', etc.

1. Grk. *olēore, olēore*, neg. of *porē* 'at some time', indef. beside *porē* 'when'. NG *porē* with neg. notion absorbed.

2. Lat. *nunquam* (> Sp. *nunca*), fr. neg. *ne* and *unquam* 'at any time, ever'. Ernout-M. 1123.

It. *giamaia*, Fr. *jamaia*, Sp. *jamás*, fr. Lat. *iam* 'already' and *magis* 'more'. Used orig. and still in part for 'at any time, ever', but mostly after neg. and with neg. notion absorbed.

Rum. *niel-odată*, fr. *niel* 'not' (fr. Lat. *neque* and *odată* 'once'). Tiktin 507 f.

3. Ir. *nī caedche*, Nir. *nī choidheche* ('never' in future), neg. of *caedche* 'always' (14.31).

Ir. *nī riam*, Nir. *nī riamh* ('never' in past time) neg. of Ir. *riam* 'formerly', Nir. *riamh* 'always, at any time' in past (14.31).

W. *ni byth*, neg. with *byth* 'ever' = Ir. *bith* 'world' used also in cpds. for 'ever' (K. Meyer, Contrib. 220. Pedersen 1.24). Also either *ni* alone or *byth* alone used for 'never'.

Br. *nepre* ('never' in pres.), neg. with *pred* 'time' (14.11).

Br. *biskoaz* ('never' in past), fr. *bis* = W. Corn. *byth* (above) and *choaz* 'still' = Corn. *whath, wheth* id., with neg. notion absorbed. Cf. MCorn. *nythgueth* 'never'. Pedersen 1.379. Henry 36.

Br. *birviken, birken* ('never' in future), fr. MBr. *bizhuuyken* = Corn. *bys tycken* 'forever', with *biz* as in *biskoaz* (above) + *huy*, Corn. *vy* (form of the vb. 'be') + *quen* 'as much, so', the whole with neg. notion absorbed. Henry 36. Ernault, Glossaire 61, Diet. étym. s.v. *bizhuuyken*.

4. Goth. *ni hwanhun*, neg. with deriv. of *hwan* 'when' and 'at any time', like *ni hwanhun* 'no one', etc. Feist 281.

Goth. *ni aiw*, neg. with *aiw* adv., orig. acc. of *aiws* 'age, eternity'. Cf. OE *ā*, OHG *eo* 'always, at any time' (14.31), and OHG *nio* 'never'.

ON *aldri*, *aldri*, Dan., Sw. *aldrig*, fr. dat. sg. of *aldr* 'age, lifetime' (14.12) + indef. particle *-gi*, and with neg. notion absorbed, so orig. '(not) in a lifetime'. Falk-Torp 20. Hellquist 10.

OE *nāfre*, ME *neuer(e)*, NE *never*, fr. neg. with OE *nāfre*, etc., 'always' and 'at any time' (14.31).

Du. *nooit*, neg. with *ooit* 'at any time, ever', this fr. forms corresponding to OE *ā*, Goth. *aiw* and OE *giet* 'yet', and so like OE *nāfre giet* (NED s.v. *yet*, 4.a). Franck-v. W. 475.

## 14.35 AGAIN

|      |                              |       |  |       |                   |
|------|------------------------------|-------|--|-------|-------------------|
| Grk. | <i>πάλιν, πάλιν</i>          | Goth. | <i>aftra</i>                               | Lith. | <i>vėl</i>        |
| NG   | <i>πάλιν, πάλιν</i>          | ON    | <i>aptr</i>                                | Lett. | <i>atkal</i>      |
| Lat. | <i>iterum, denuo, rursus</i> | Dan.  | <i>igen, atter</i>                         | ChSl. | <i>paky</i>       |
| It.  | <i>ancora</i>                | Sw.   | <i>igen, åter</i>                          | SCR.  | <i>opet</i>       |
| Fr.  | <i>encore</i>                | OE    | <i>eft</i>                                 | Boh.  | <i>opet</i>       |
| Sp.  | <i>otra vez</i>              | ME    | <i>az en</i>                               | Pol.  | <i>opół, zase</i> |
| Rum. | <i>iar</i>                   | NE    | <i>again</i>                               | Russ. | <i>opiat'</i>     |
| Ir.  | <i>arithissi, aris</i>       | Du.   | <i>veer</i>                                | Skt.  | <i>punar</i>      |
| Nir. | <i>aris</i>                  | OHG   | <i>uider</i>                               | Av.   | ....              |
| W.   | <i>eilwaith, drachefn</i>    | MHG   | <i>uider</i>                               |       |                   |
| Br.  | <i>choaz</i>                 | NHG   | <i>wieder(um), noch-mal(s), abermal(s)</i> |       |                   |

Several of the words for 'again' have such obvious semantic sources as 'another time, a second time', or 'anew'. But the most striking development is from the notion of 'back' or 'against', through 'back again, returning'.

1. Grk. *πάλιν*, in early use 'backwards', orig. acc. sg. of a \**πάλιν* 'turn' : *πάλιν* 'pivot', etc. Walde-P. 1.515. Boisacq 743.

NG *zavā*, fr. the freq. prefix *zavā-*, orig. *zavā-* denoting repetition.

2. Lat. *iterum*, fr. \**i-tero-*, pron. stem *i-* of *is* and suffix *-tero-* of contrasting relation (*dexter*, etc.). Walde-P. 1.100. Ernout-M. 499. Walde-H. 1.723 f.

Lat. *denuo* 'anew' and so freq. 'again', fr. *dē novō* (*novus* 'new'). Cf. Fr. *de nouveau*, and similar phrases elsewhere (not entered in the list except where the usual term, as Pol. *znowu*).

Lat. *rursus, rursus* 'backwards, in return' and often (Plautus+) 'again', fr. pass. ppl. of *revertere* 'turn back'.

Ofr. *encore*, Fr. *encore* (> It. *ancora*), fr. *unquam hōra*. REW 4176, 9051.

Sp. *otra vez*, lit. 'another time', like Fr. *autrefois* 'formerly'.

Rum. *iar, iard*, etym.? REW 2886. Tiktin 748. Pușcariu 756.

3. Ir. *arithissi, aris*, etym.? Macbain 292.

## 14.42 NIGHT

|      |                      |       |              |       |                               |
|------|----------------------|-------|--------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>νύξ</i>           | Goth. | <i>nakht</i> | Lith. | <i>naktis</i>                 |
| NG   | <i>νύκτα</i>         | ON    | <i>nōit</i>  | Lett. | <i>nakht</i>                  |
| Lat. | <i>nox</i>           | Dan.  | <i>nat</i>   | ChSl. | <i>nošit</i>                  |
| It.  | <i>notte</i>         | Sw.   | <i>nat</i>   | SCR.  | <i>noč</i>                    |
| Fr.  | <i>nuît</i>          | OE    | <i>nihl</i>  | Boh.  | <i>noc</i>                    |
| Sp.  | <i>noche</i>         | ME    | <i>night</i> | Pol.  | <i>noc</i>                    |
| Rum. | <i>noapte</i>        | NE    | <i>night</i> | Russ. | <i>noč'</i>                   |
| Ir.  | <i>adaig (nocht)</i> | Du.   | <i>nacht</i> | Skt.  | <i>rātri-, kṣap-, nakṣap-</i> |
| Nir. | <i>oidheche</i>      | OHG   | <i>nacht</i> | Av.   | ....                          |
| W.   | <i>nos</i>           | MHG   | <i>nacht</i> |       |                               |
| Br.  | <i>noz</i>           | NHG   | <i>nacht</i> |       |                               |

Most of the words for 'night' belong to an inherited group, pointing clearly to an IE word for 'night'. In Irish, except for an adv. relic, and in Indo-Iranian, except in Vedic and a classical Skt. adv. relic, the old word was displaced by others, but elsewhere has persisted as the usual word to the present day.

1. IE \**nokt(i)-*. Walde-P. 2.337 ff. Ernout-M. 682. Sturtevant (connecting this group and that for 'naked', 4.99) JAOS 52.10, Hitt. Gram. 122 f.

Grk. *νύξ, νύκτος*, NG *νύκτα* (v prob. fr. a reduced grade); Lat. *nox, noctis* (> Romance words); Ir. *nocht* (in *in-nocht* 'tonight'), W. nos, Br. *noz*; Goth. *nahls*, ON *nōit*, etc., general Gmc.; Lith. *naktis*, Lett. *naktis*; ChSl. *nošit*, etc.,

2. Ir. *adaig, aidche*, Nir. *oidheche*, etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.34. Walde-H. 1.61. Stokes 326.

3. Skt. *rātri-* : Grk. *Ἀτρίω*, Dor. *Ἀτρίω* 'Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis', orig. personification of the night, perh. fr. the root in Grk. *λῆθω* 'be hidden', etc. Walde-P. 2.377. Boisacq 555. Uhlenbeck 248.

Skt. *kṣap-, Av. zṣap-, zṣapan-, zṣapar-, OPer. zṣap-* (Barth. 548 f.) : Grk. *ψέφος*, *ψέφος* 'darkness'. Walde-P. 1.524 f.

## 14.43 DAWN

|      |                                  |       |                                  |       |  |
|------|----------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|-------|--|
| Grk. | <i>ἄως, ὄρθρος</i>               | Goth. | ....                             | Lith. | <i>aušra, brėkšta</i>                  |
| NG   | <i>ἀνὰ ἡμέραν, ἡμέραν</i>        | ON    | <i>dağan, dagsbrūn</i>           | Lett. | <i>riā blāzma, rīa krėsla, ausma</i>   |
| Lat. | <i>aurora, prima lūx</i>         | Dan.  | <i>dagning, daggy</i>            | ChSl. | <i>ranō(adv.), -brėzgū, sorė (pl.)</i> |
| It.  | <i>alba, aurora</i>              | Sw.   | <i>dagning, gryning</i>          | SCR.  | <i>zora, zoranė</i>                    |
| Fr.  | <i>aube, aurora</i>              | OE    | <i>dagred, dægriema</i>          | Boh.  | <i>svitlání, úsvit</i>                 |
| Rum. | <i>alba, aurora</i>              | ME    | <i>dagung</i>                    | Pol.  | <i>świt, brzask, zorza</i>             |
| Sp.  | <i>zori, aurora</i>              | NE    | <i>dagung, dawning</i>           | Russ. | <i>zaria, razsvet</i>                  |
| Ir.  | <i>deidil</i>                    | Du.   | <i>dagraue, etc.</i>             | Skt.  | <i>uṣas-, aruṣa-, bhāla-</i>           |
| Nir. | <i>fáinne an lae</i>             | OHG   | <i>dagraad</i>                   | Av.   | <i>uṣah-, asūr-</i>                    |
| W.   | <i>guawr</i>                     | MHG   | <i>morgenrōt, -rōta, tagarōt</i> |       |  |
| Br.  | <i>goulou-deiz, tarz an deiz</i> | NHG   | <i>morgenrōt, -rote, tagarōt</i> |       |  |

general Slavic; Ved. *nakt-* (nom. sg. *nak*, acc. sg. *naktam*), *nakti-* (class. Skt. only adv. *naktam* 'by night', cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. 3.233 ff.); Alb. *natē*;— with *e-grade* Hitt. *nekuz* 'evening', *nekuzi* 'goes to bed' (Sturtevant, Hitt. Gloss. 108).

2. Ir. *adaig, aidche*, Nir. *oidheche*, etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.34. Walde-H. 1.61. Stokes 326.

3. Skt. *rātri-* : Grk. *Ἀτρίω*, Dor. *Ἀτρίω* 'Leto, mother of Apollo and Artemis', orig. personification of the night, perh. fr. the root in Grk. *λῆθω* 'be hidden', etc. Walde-P. 2.377. Boisacq 555. Uhlenbeck 248.

Skt. *kṣap-, Av. zṣap-, zṣapan-, zṣapar-, OPer. zṣap-* (Barth. 548 f.) : Grk. *ψέφος*, *ψέφος* 'darkness'. Walde-P. 1.524 f.

Words for 'dawn' denote strictly the period just before sunrise, but some of them may be extended to cover 'sunrise' or even 'morning'. They are mostly, including the inherited group, connected with words meaning 'grow bright, shine, light', or 'white, gray, red', or in a few cases with the word for 'day'.

1. IE \**ausos-*, etc., fr. a root seen in the vbl. forms Skt. *ucchatī*, Av. *usaiti* 'it grows bright, shines (of the dawn)', Lith. *aušta*, Lett. *aušt* 'it dawns', etc. Cf. also \**aus-tero-* in words for 'east' (12.45). Walde-P. 1.26 f. Ernout-M. 93. Walde-H. 1.86. Pedersen 1.82.

Grk. Hom. *ἥως*, Aeol. *āws*, Att. *ἥως*; Lat. *aurōra* (mostly poet., as also the lit. It., Sp. *aurora*, Fr. *aurore*, Rum. *auroră*); Ir. *fāir* ('sunrise'), W. *guawr* (Br. *guere-laouen* 'morning star'); Lith. *aušra*, Lett. *ausma* (new formation fr. *aus*, above); Skt. *uṣas-*, Av. *uṣah-* (also Skt. *uṣ-, uṣa-*, Av. *uṣ-*, but secondary).

2. Grk. *ὄρθρος*, prob. 'dawn' fr. 'sunrise' : *ὄρθρος* 'upright, straight', Skt. *vrdh-* 'grow', ChSl. *rano* 'early in the morning', etc. (14.16). Walde-P. 1.289 f.

Grk. *ἀνὰ ἡμέραν*, MHG *tagerāt* (-rāt), fr. the words for 'day', but the orig. of the second part (impossible to combine with the words for 'red', OE *rēad*, Du. *rood*, etc.; OHG *-rōt*, secondary association) dub. Franck-v. W. 104. Holthausen 69. Graff 2.486 ff. Bremer, PBB 13.33.

OE *dagrima*, ME *dairime*, lit. 'day-rim'. ME *dayrawe*, lit. 'day-row', where *row*, ME *raw(e)* has the arch. sense 'beam, ray'. NED s.v.

ME *day-spring* now obs., but still freq. in early NE.

NE *daybreak* (see NED s.v.), similarly Dan. *daybrækning*, NHG *tagesanbruch*.

OHG *morgenrōt, morgenrōta*, MHG *morgenrōt, morgenrōte*, NHG *morgenrōt*, etc., fr. fem. of Lat. *albus* 'white'. REW 331.

It., Sp. *alba*, Fr. *aube* (Rum. *albă* rare in this sense), fr. fem. of Lat. *albus* 'white'. REW 331.

*morgenrōte*, lit. 'morning-red(ness)'. Weigand-H. 2.219. Kluge-G. 399.

NHG *morgendämmerung*, lit. 'morning-twilight', (*dämmerung*, OHG *demar* 'twilight' : Skt. *tamas-* 'darkness', etc., 1.62).

6. Lith. *brėkšta* (with vb. *brėkšti*), ChSl. *brėžgū* in *probrėžgū* ('time before dawn', Mk. 1.35), Pol. *brzask* (Boh. *břesk* 'twilight', Russ. obs. *bresk* 'dawn'), with vbs. Russ. *breziti* 'dawns', Boh. *briská* se 'becomes dark', etc. : Skt. *bhrāj-*, Av. *brāz-* 'shine, beam', Goth. *bairhts*, etc. 'bright'. Walde-P. 2.170. Berneker 85.

Lett. *riā blāzma*, lit. 'morning shine'. Muhl.-Endz. 1.312.

Lett. *riā krėsla*, lit. 'morning twilight' (like NHG *morgendämmerung*). Muhl.-Endz. 2.276.

7. ChSl. *brėžgū*, etc., above, 6.

ChSl. *rano*, adv. rendering *ὄρθρος*, *ὄρθρος*, see 14.16.

SCR. *zora*, Pol. *zorza*, Russ. *zaria*, lit. 'shine, splendor, redness of the sky' (sometimes with adjs. 'of the morning' to designate the dawn in particular), ChSl. *zoria* 'ray of light', pl. 'dawn' (e.g. *vū zore* Supr. 205.21) : ChSl. *zrěti* 'see, glance', Lith. *žėrėti* 'shine, sparkle', etc. Walde-P. 1.602. Trautmann 366.

SCR. *svanuce*, Boh. *svitání, úsvit*, Pol. *świt*, Russ. *razsvet* : vbs. SCR. *svanuti*, Boh. *svitati* (se), Pol. *świtac*, Russ. *svetati* 'grow light, dawn', ChSl. *světi, světi*, etc. 'shine', *světi* 'light' (1.61).

8. Skt. *aruṣa-*, lit. 'reddish', as 'dawn' chiefly personified as the charioteer of the sun, hence *aruṣ-* 'dawn' (RV) : *aruṣa-* 'red, fire-colored', Av. *aruṣa-* 'white'. Walde-P. 1.159.

Skt. *prabhāta-*, lit. 'having shown forth, become light', fr. *pra-bhā-* 'shine forth', *bhā-* 'shine'.

Av. *asūr-*, lit. (period of day) 'until morning', epd. of *a-* 'to, until', and *sūr-* 'morning'. Barth. 221. Or with neg. *a-* as 'not (yet quite) morning'?

and adv. 'in the morning, early' (14.16). Hence (through \**maneana*) Sp. *mañana*. REW 5295.

Lat. *mātūlinum* (Plin.) and *mātūlina dies, tempora*, fr. adj. *mātūlinus* 'of the morning, early' (cf. *mātūlinē* adv., 14.16). Hence It. *matino, mattina*, Fr. *matin*, Ir. *malen*, Nir. *maidin*. Ernout-M. 598. REW 5434. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 154.

Rum. *dîmîneală*, deriv. of late Lat. *dē-māne* (> Fr. *demain* 'tomorrow', etc.), fr. *māne* (above). REW 2348. Pușcariu 1083.

3. Ir. *malen*, Nir. *maidin*, above, 2.

W. *bore*, Br. *beure* : Ir. *imbārach* 'tomorrow', but etym.? Pedersen 1.99. Zimmer, KZ 30.17 f. Loth, RC 36.179 (vs. Morris Jones 163).

4. Goth. *maurgins*, ON *morginn*, OE *morgen*, etc., general Gmc. (ME *morwening*, NE *morning*, with addition of suffix *-ing*) prob. (as orig. denoting the morning twilight) : ChSl. *mrāknati*, *mrācati* 'become dark', Lith. *mrakū* 'shut the eyes, wink', ChSl. *mrakū* 'darkness', beside Lith. *mirgėti* 'glimmer, twinkle', fr. a guttural extension of the root in Grk. *μαρμαίρω* 'flash, gleam', Skt. *marici-* 'beam of light'. Walde-P. 2.274. Falk-Torp 731. Feist 350.

5. Lith. *rytas*, Lett. *rits* : Lett. *rietiēl* 'come out, break forth' (sun, light, etc.), Goth. *urraisan*, ON *riša*, etc. 'rise'.

1. Grk. *ἄως* 'dawn' (14.43) sometimes extended to 'morning', for which there is no distinctive word in classical Greek.

Late Grk. *πρωτα* (LXX, NT+), for *πρωτα ὥρα* 'early time of day', fr. adj. *πρωτός*, fr. adv. *πρωτῶ* 'early' (14.16), NG 'in the morning' and sb. *τὸ πρωτῶ* 'morning'.

2. Lat. *māne*, indecl. sb. 'morning'

Words for 'morning', though many of them orig. denoted the time of dawn or sunrise, are used more comprehensively to include all the early part of the day (up to noon, and even in this scope not ousted by new terms like NE *forenoon*, etc.). Several are connected with the advs. for 'early' (14.16), others with the old word for 'dawn' (14.43) or from notions applicable to the dawn or sunrise.

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2. Lat. *māne*, indecl. sb. 'morning'

## 14.34 NEVER

|      |                            |       |                           |       |                                     |
|------|----------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>olēore, olēore</i>      | Goth. | <i>ni hwanhun, ni aiw</i> | Lith. | <i>niekad (-a, -os)</i>             |
| NG   | <i>pari</i>                | ON    | <i>aldri</i>              | Lett. | <i>niekad</i>                       |
| Lat. | <i>nunquam</i>             | Dan.  | <i>aldri</i>              | ChSl. | <i>nikolīze, nikūdaže, nikūdaše</i> |
| It.  | <i>giamaia</i>             | Sw.   | <i>aldri</i>              | SCR.  | <i>nikada</i>                       |
| Fr.  | <i>jamaia</i>              | OE    | <i>nāfre</i>              | Boh.  | <i>nikdy</i>                        |
| Sp.  | <i>nunca, jamas</i>        | ME    | <i>neuer(e)</i>           | Russ. | <i>nigdy</i>                        |
| Rum. | <i>niel-odată</i>          | NE    | <i>never</i>              | Av.   | <i>nie, nimmer</i>                  |
| Ir.  | <i>ni riam, ni caedche</i> | Du.   | <i>nooit, nimmer</i>      | Sk.   | <i>(na) kada cana, na kadācit</i>   |





ment of a tower-clock, fr. MHG *signen*, OHG *signan* 'sink, drip down'. Weigand-H. 2.837 f. Grimm s.v.

5. Lith. *laikrodis*, cpd. of *laikas* 'time' (14.11) and *rodyti* 'show'. A new formation to replace older *ziegorius* fr. Pol. *zegar*, fr. MHG *seigere* (above, 4). Fraenkel, Z. sl. Ph. 6.88.

Lett. *pulkstenis*(s), also 'bell' and 'pulse', fr. LG *puls* 'stroke of bell, pulse' (+ a form of *sist* 'strike?'). Mühl-Endz. 3.408.

6. Scr. *sāt* (also 'hour'), fr. Turk. *sāat* 'hour, clock' (14.51).

Scr. *ura* (also 'hour'), prob. fr. NHG *uhr*.

Boh. *hodiny*, pl. of *hodina* 'hour'. Pol. *zegar*, fr. MHG *seigere* (above, 4). Brückner 651.

Russ. *časnyj*, pl. of *čas* 'hour'.

7. Skt. *chāyā-yāntṛa* 'sun-dial' and *ambu-yāntṛa* 'water-clock', cpds. of *chāyā* 'shadow' and *ambu* 'water' with *yāntṛa* 'instrument, machine'.

## 14.61 WEEK

|      |                                   |       |                     |       |                                  |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|----------------------------------|
| Grk. | (late) <i>ἡβδομάς</i>             | Goth. | <i>sabbatō</i>      | Lith. | <i>savaitė (nedėlia)</i>         |
| NG   | <i>ἡβδομάδα</i>                   | ON    | <i>vika</i>         | Lett. | <i>nedēla</i>                    |
| Lat. | (late) <i>septimāna, hebdomas</i> | Dan.  | <i>uge</i>          | ChSl. | <i>sobota, nedēlja, sedmica</i>  |
| It.  | <i>settimana</i>                  | OE    | <i>wece, wicu</i>   | Scr.  | <i>sedmica, nedjelja, tjedan</i> |
| Fr.  | <i>semaine</i>                    | ME    | <i>weke, wike</i>   | Boh.  | <i>týden, neděle</i>             |
| Sp.  | <i>semana</i>                     | NE    | <i>week</i>         | Pol.  | <i>tydzień</i>                   |
| Rum. | <i>săptămână</i>                  | Du.   | <i>weck</i>         | Russ. | <i>nedelja</i>                   |
| Ir.  | <i>seachtman</i>                  | OHG   | <i>wecha, wocha</i> |       |                                  |
| Nir. | <i>seachtmhain</i>                | MHG   | <i>woche, wuche</i> |       |                                  |
| W.   | <i>ugthnos</i>                    | NHG   | <i>woche</i>        |       |                                  |
| Br.  | <i>sizun</i>                      |       |                     |       |                                  |

On the much-discussed origin of the week and the names of the week days, cf. esp. the articles in Z. deutsch. Wortf. 1.150 ff.; F. H. Colson, The Week; Schrader, Reallex. 2.662 ff.; J. Melich, Die Namen der Wochentage im Slavischen, Jagić Festschrift 212 ff.

If any division of time intermediate between the month and the day was recognized in the IE period, it was no doubt the most obvious one according to the phases of the moon. The Hindus divided the month into two halves (*pakṣa* - 'wing'), that of the crescent moon (*pūrva* - 'earlier' or *ḥukla* - 'light') and the waning moon (*apara* - 'later' or *kṛṣṇa* - 'black'). Cf. Thibaut, Grd. d. indo-ar. Phil. 3.9.12. For the Celts the Calendar of Coligny attests an old division of the month into halves (Thurneysen, Z. deutsch. Wortf. 1.191). The times

of new moon and full moon were the occasion of folk-assemblies among the Germans (Tacitus, Germ. ch. 1) and of religious festivals among the Greeks.

The regular Greek division of the month was into three decades. The Romans had their market-day, *nūndinae* (cpd. of *novem* 'nine' and old word for 'day'), held every ninth day, the intervening period (really eight days if reckoned from a given point of the first to the ninth) being *nūndinum*.

The seven-day week was unknown in Europe until its importation from the East. Whatever its ultimate source and explanation, the seven-day week is definitely known as an ancient Jewish institution. Hence first the Jewish week and, somewhat later, with an admixture of oriental astrology, the planetary week became known to the Greeks and Ro-

mans. It spread to the rest of Europe, probably to some extent before but mostly with the spread of Christianity.

The adopted 'week' was expressed by coll. derivs. of the numeral for seven, by words for 'Saturday' (or later 'Sunday') extended to cover 'week' like the Hebrew Sabbath; as 'eight nights' or 'eight days'; in Gmc. by a native word denoting 'change, alternation' and perhaps previously employed for some other division of time.

1. Grk. *ἡβδομάς*, -άδος (NG *ἡβδομάδα*), coll. numeral used for a period of seven days, seven years, etc., hence also for the Jewish 'week' (LXX+; not in NT, where *σάββατον*).

Grk. *σάββατον*, like its Hebrew original, was used not only for the Sabbath but also for the week. So in NT *οἱ τοῦ σαββάτου* 'twice in the week' (Lk. 18.12), *πρώτη σαββάτου* or *μία σαββάτου* 'first day of the week', etc. Hence the partial coincidence of 'Sunday' and 'week' in Slavic (below, 7).

2. Lat. *hebdomas*, fr. Grk. *ἡβδομάς* and first used in the earlier sense of the latter, then for the fixed 'week'.

Lat. *septimāna*, fem. of adj. *septimānus* 'belonging to the number seven', translating the Grk. *ἡβδομάς* and much more common than *hebdomas* in eccl. writings (e.g. in the Peregrinatio about 27.3). Hence the Romance words (REW 7834), also (but influenced by the native word for 'seven'; Pedersen 1.236, Thurneysen, Z. deutsch. Wortf. 1.191) Ir. *sechtman*, Nir. *seachtmhain*, OCorn. *seithum*, Br. *sizun*.

3. W. *uythnos*, lit. 'eight nights', like *pymthegnos*, *pythefnos* lit. 'fifteen nights' = 'fournight'. Cf. Fr. *d'aujourd'hui* *en huit*, NHG *über acht tagen* 'a week hence' (similar phrases for 'a week ago'), Fr. *quinze jours* 'a fortnight', etc. The week, of course, generally (e.g. from Sunday

noon to Sunday noon) covers parts of eight different days.

4. ON *vika*, OE *wece*, etc., general Gmc. (but Goth. *wikō* only in Lk. 1.8 in *wikōn* 'in the course of'; cf. also ON *vika* 'sea-mile' orig. 'change of oar', MLG *weke* 'sea-mile'): ON *víkja*, *víkva* 'move, turn, veer, give way', OE *wican*, OHG *wikhan* 'yield, give way', etc. Walde-P. 1.235. Falk-Torp 1326. Meaning primarily 'change, alternation', the word may once have denoted some earlier time division, such as the 'change of moon, half-month' (cf. Schrader, Reallex. 2.665), but there is no positive evidence of this. Walde-P. 1.235. Falk-Torp 1326. NED s.v. *week*.

Goth. *sabbatō* fr. Grk. *σάββατον* and likewise 'Sabbath' and 'week'.

5. Lith. *savaitė* (neolog. to replace the loanword *nedėlia*) based on OPruss. *savayte* (cf. also *possī-savayte* 'Wednesday': *possī* - 'half'), this through Pol. *sobota*, fr. Grk. *σάββατον* 'Sabbath' and 'week' (above, 1). Trautmann, Altpruss. 420. Fraenkel, Z. sl. Ph. 6.86.

Lith. *nedėlia*, *nedelė*, Lett. *nedēla*, fr. Slavic (below).

6. ChSl. *sobota*, *sabota*, fr. Grk. *σάββατον* and likewise used in Gospels for 'Sabbath' and 'week' (latter e.g. Lk. 18.12).

ChSl. *nedēlja*, Scr. *nedjelja*, Boh. *neďle*, Russ. *nedelja*, cpd. of neg. *ne* and *dělo* 'work', orig. 'day of rest', 'Sabbath' then 'Sunday', but like Grk. *σάββατον* (above, 1) also 'week'. Russ. *nedelja* now only 'week', as likewise the Baltic loanwords (above). Berneker 194.

ChSl. *sedmica*, fr. ChSl. *sedmī* 'seven', lit. translation of Grk. *ἡβδομάς*.

Scr. *tjedan*, Boh. *týden*, Pol. *tydzień*, cpds. of pron. stem *to-* and word for 'day', lit. 'this day', with reference to the same day (cf. NE *this day week*). Berneker 253.

'first of the week' = 'Sunday'; likewise in later Christian writings *δευτέρα σαββάτου* 'Monday', *τρίτη σαββάτου* 'Tuesday', *τετάρτη σαββάτου* 'Wednesday', *πέμπτη τοῦ σαββάτου* 'Thursday'. The day before the Sabbath was called *παρασκευή* 'preparation' (Mt. 27.62, etc.). For *πρώτη σαββάτου*, was early substituted *κύριακή* 'Lord's day' (Rev. 1.10). The others remained without change (except for dropping of *σαββάτου*) until the present time in Greek.

These served as a model for the Christian Lat. terms, *diēs dominica*, or *diēs dominicus* (earlier *una sabbati* after *μία σαββάτου*, also *diēs prima*), *secunda sabbati*, *tertia sabbati*, etc.). Thereafter comes the Lat. *feria* (late sg. to *feriae* 'festival, holidays') in place of the Jewish word *sabbatum*, which was retained only for 'Saturday'. So in the Peregrinatio regularly *sabbatum* 'Saturday', *diēs dominica* 'Sunday', *secunda feria* 'Monday', etc., the full series being represented. Cf. also Isidor, Etym. 5.30, 9: *Secunda sabbati secunda feria quem saeculares diem Lunae vocant. Tertia sabbati*, etc.

Of the Romance languages, Port. preserves all the eccl. terms (*domingo*, *segunda feira*, etc., see list), while It., Fr., Sp., and Rum. retain only (*diēs*) *dominica* and *sabbatum*.

In Ir. (and Gaelic) four of the week-day names are eccl., only one of these, however, reflecting the Lat. name. Ir. *domnach*, Nir. *domhnach* (adv. *dia domhnaigh*) 'Sunday', fr. Lat. *dominicus*; Ir. *cēl-āin*, Nir. *cēdaoin* (adv. *dia cēdaoin*) 'first fast, Wednesday'; Ir. *dardāin* (for *etar da āin*), Nir. *dardaoin* (adv. *diar-daoin*) 'between the two fasts, Thursday'; Ir. *ōin didin* 'last fast' (Nir. simply *aoine* 'fast', adv. *dia h-aoine*) 'Friday'. Cf. Thurneysen, Z. deutsch. Wortf. 1.190.

In Germanic the eccl. names prevailed

in Goth., and there are a few in West and North Gmc. amid the usual planetary names. Goth. *sabbatō* (mostly uninflected but also with *u-* and *i-*stem forms) with and without *dags* = Grk. *σάββατον* or *ἡμέρα σαββάτων* (but independently of the Grk. variation), *þis dagis afarsabbatē* = *τῆς μίας σαββάτων* (Mk. 16.2), *frumin sabbatō* = *πρώτη σαββάτων* (Mk. 16.9), *fruma sabbatō* = *προσάββατον* (Mk. 15.42), beside the borrowed *paraskaiwē* = *παρασκευή* (Mt. 27.62, Mk. 15.42).

ON *dróttinsdagr* 'Sunday' (beside *sunnudagr*) translates Lat. *diēs dominica*. OHG *sambaz-tag* comes from a variant form of Grk. *σάββατον* (cf. below). OHG *mittwocha* (*mittaweche*, etc.), NHG *mittwoch* may reflect a MLat. *media hebdomas*, cf. It. dial. *mezzedima*. MHG *pfinztag*, through a Goth. *\*paintedags*, fr. Grk. *πέμπτη ἡμέρα* (Kluge-G. 110).

In Slavic the few names that occur in the ChSl. Gospels are directly after the Greek. Thus *sobota* (so reg. cod. Mar.), also Isidor, Etym. 5.30, 9: *Secunda sabbati secunda feria quem saeculares diem Lunae vocant. Tertia sabbati*, etc.

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In Germanic the eccl. names prevailed

|      |               |       |                 |             |                       |
|------|---------------|-------|-----------------|-------------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | <i>μήν</i>    | Goth. | <i>mēnōþs</i>   | Lith.       | <i>mėnėsis, mėnuo</i> |
| NG   | <i>μήνας</i>  | ON    | <i>mānaðr</i>   | Lett.       | <i>mėnėsis</i>        |
| Lat. | <i>mēnsis</i> | Dan.  | <i>maaned</i>   | ChSl.       | <i>měsєc</i>          |
| It.  | <i>mease</i>  | Sw.   | <i>mānad</i>    | Scr.        | <i>mjesec</i>         |
| Fr.  | <i>mois</i>   | OE    | <i>mēn(e)th</i> | Boh.        | <i>měsíc</i>          |
| Sp.  | <i>mes</i>    | ME    | <i>mon(e)th</i> | Russ.       | <i>mjesiac</i>        |
| Rum. | <i>lună</i>   | NE    | <i>month</i>    | Skt.        | <i>mās, māsa-</i>     |
| Ir.  | <i>mi</i>     | Du.   | <i>maand</i>    | Av., OPers. | <i>māh-</i>           |
| Nir. | <i>mi</i>     | OHG   | <i>mānōt</i>    | Toch.       | <i>A mañ, B meñe</i>  |
| W.   | <i>mis</i>    | MHG   | <i>mānōt</i>    |             |                       |
| Br.  | <i>miz</i>    | NHG   | <i>monat</i>    |             |                       |

IE *\*mēnes-*, *\*mē(n)s-* 'moon' and 'month', prob. fr. *\*mē-* 'measure'. Walde-P. 2.271 f. Ernout-M. 607 f. Walde-H. 2.71.

While the words of this group have in many languages been replaced by others in the sense of 'moon', they have persisted nearly everywhere as the words for 'month'. In Gmc. a separate set of related forms distinguishes 'month' fr. 'moon', as Goth. *mēnōþs* vs. *mēna* 'moon', OE *mōnað* vs. *mōna* 'moon', etc. There is a similar but incomplete differentiation in Lith., where *mėnulis* is only 'moon' and *mėnėsis* mostly 'month', but *mėnuo* in both senses. See also 1.53.

The only word in the list which does not belong to the group above is Rum. *lună*, fr. Lat. *lūna* 'moon', in which the identification of 'moon' and 'month' is repeated, doubtless owing to the identity in Slavic (ChSl. *měsєc*, etc.).

14.72. Names of the months. Previous to the widespread, though still incomplete, Eur. adoption of the Lat. names, there was the utmost diversity. In ancient Greece alone there were dozens of different local calendars (cf. Pauly-Wissowa 10.1575 ff.). There was no agreement between the old Gmc. names (even the OHG lists vary somewhat), nor between Indic and Iranian, not even between the Av. and OPers. names. Neither the modern Lith. literary names, a

recent coinage (Senn, Sprachl. 168), nor the diverse older and dialectic forms (Hermann, Gött. Nachr. 1929.97) agree with Walde-P. 2.271 f. Ernout-M. 607 f. Walde-H. 2.71.

The enumeration and discussion of these so diverse month-names (even if one chose for the Greek only the Attic or for OHG only those prescribed by Charlemagne) would require so much space that it seems best here to consider only the Lat. names and their spread.

The Lat. names were adj. forms with *mēnsis* 'month' understood. Since the Roman year orig. began with March, the numeral derivs. which served for July–December, were *Quinctilis* 'fifth' for July, *Sextilis* 'sixth' for August (these later replaced by *Iulius* and *Augustus* in honor of Julius Caesar and Augustus),

The older Lith. names, *nedėlia*, *pane-dėlis*, etc. (entered in list in parentheses), which are still generally used among the immigrants in U.S. (Senn), are direct loanwords from Slavic. The new names were formed from native words according to the numeral system, as *pirmadienis* 'first day, Monday', etc. (see list) and were introduced in the standard language in imitation of the Lett. terms, which already followed the numeral system except for *svētdiena* 'holy day, Sunday'. Fraenkel, Z. sl. Ph. 6.86. Senn, The Lithuanian Language 43.

Beside Grk. *σάββατον* there must have been a colloq. form *σάμβατον*, with an intrusive nasal which is paralleled in some other words and in this case attested in deriv. forms like *σαμβαδικός* and *Σαμβάριος* beside *σαββατικός* and *Σαββάρτος*. Cf. G. Meyer, IF 4.326 ff., W. Schulze, KZ 33.366 ff. Such a form is reflected in ChSl. *sabota* (beside *sobota*), Scr. *subota*, Russ. *subbota*, and, through Slavic, Rum. *smbdă*, Hung. *szombat*; OHG *sambaztag*, MHG *sames-tac*, NHG *samstag*; Fr. *samedi*.

2. Planetary system. Greek planetary names, *ἡμέρα* 'Hliou', etc. (see list), are attested for the early centuries of our era, but their use was apparently restricted to certain circles; at any rate they never became popular. In Rome, on the other hand, the planetary names became the established popular terms, too strongly entrenched to be displaced by the eccl. names, and spreading through most of western Europe. They remain in the Romance languages, except Port., with the substitution of the church name for Sunday and Saturday. They are preserved intact by the British

Cf. Stender-Petersen 435 ff.

Celts, that is in W., Br., and Corn. (Corn. *de sil, de lun*, etc., Williams 88), but furnish only three of the Ir. names, namely *luan* 'Monday', *máirt* 'Tuesday', *satharn* 'Saturday'.

The Latin planetary names were also adopted by the Gmc. peoples (except the Goths in the East), only put into Gmc. form—a simple procedure in the case of *diēs Sōlis* and *diēs Lūnae*, but for the next four involving a somewhat less obvious identification of Roman and Germanic gods. For Saturday the Lat. *Saturnus* was retained, at least in Anglo-Frisian and Low German (OE *sater(n)-dag*, OFris. *saterdei*, Du. *zaterdag*). Scandinavian shows a native substitution, ON *laugardagr*, Dan. *lørdag*, Sw. *lördag*, lit. 'bathday' (: ON *laug* 'bath'), also ON *þváttdagr* 'washday' (: ON *þváttr* 'washing'), both referring to the same custom (Falk-Torp 682). High German has the eccl. name, OHG *sambaztag*, NHG *samstag* (cf. above), beside the new term OHG *sunnānaband*, NHG *sonnabend*, which orig. applied only to the eve preceding Sunday. The planetary name for Wednesday is lacking in High German, where OHG *mittwocha*, NHG *mittwoch* is prob. of eccl. origin (cf. above). MHG *erintac*, *ertac* (Bavar. *ertag*) may represent a Goth. *\*areinsdags*, fr. Grk. *\*Apeos ἡμέρα* (Kluge-G. 105).

Nicel. is peculiar among the Gmc. languages in retaining only two of the planetary names, *sunnudagur* and *mānudagur*, and in having two numeral names, *þriðjudagur* for Tuesday and *fimmtudagur* for Thursday. Wednesday is *miðvikudagur* like NHG *mittwoch*, Saturday is *laugardagur* 'washday' as in the other Scandinavian languages, and Friday is *föstudagur* 'fastday'.

*agustus* (> It., Sp. *agosto*, Fr. *août*); OFr. *juignet* 'June' fr. dim. form, and, by analogy to this, Fr. *juillet* 'July' for OFr. *juil*, etc.

The Romance names appear in Greece in authors and papyri of the early Roman period and eventually prevailed. Hence the NG lit. *Ιανουάριος, φεβρουάριος*, etc., beside pop. *γενάρης, φλεβάρης*, etc.

In Celtic, all the Old Irish names were of Lat. origin. In modern Irish those for January, February, March, April, July, and in part June, persist, while the others have been replaced, in part already in Middle Irish, by native terms. In Welsh and Breton the Lat. names are retained for January, February, March, April, May, and August, the others having native names.

The whole Lat. series is used in all the living Gmc. languages, likewise in Lett. (the older native names being obs.; cf. Mühl-Endz. 2.616) and Russ.

## 14.73 YEAR

|      |                       |       |                         |       |                                   |
|------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>ἔτος, ἐνιαυτός</i> | Goth. | <i>jēr, aþn, alapni</i> | Lith. | <i>metai</i>                      |
| NG   | <i>χρόνος, ἔτος</i>   | ON    | <i>ár</i>               | Lett. | <i>gads</i>                       |
| Lat. | <i>annus</i>          | Dan.  | <i>aar</i>              | ChSl. | <i>lěto</i>                       |
| It.  | <i>anno</i>           | Sw.   | <i>år</i>               | Scr.  | <i>godina</i>                     |
| Fr.  | <i>an</i>             | OE    | <i>gēar</i>             | Boh.  | <i>rok</i>                        |
| Sp.  | <i>año</i>            | ME    | <i>yeer</i>             | Pol.  | <i>rok</i>                        |
| Rum. | <i>an</i>             | NE    | <i>jaar</i>             | Russ. | <i>god</i>                        |
| Ir.  | <i>blíadain</i>       | Du.   | <i>jaar</i>             | Skt.  | <i>vatsara-, varṣa-, hā-yana-</i> |
| Nir. | <i>blíadhain</i>      | OHG   | <i>jār</i>              | Av.   | <i>yār-, sarad-, OPers. šard-</i> |
| W.   | <i>blwyddyn</i>       | MHG   | <i>jār</i>              |       |                                   |
| Br.  | <i>bloaz</i>          | NHG   | <i>jahr</i>             |       |                                   |

There are three groups of cognates, each of which is represented by words for 'year' in at least two widely separated branches of the IE family. It is the first of these (in the order below) that has the fixed claim to reflect a distinctive IE word for 'year'. The second is more widespread as a formal group, but with various uses suggesting that in the IE period it was more generic, 'passing

time, period of time', whence later specialization to 'year', 'season', 'spring', or 'hour'.

Most of the other words for 'year' are also cognate with words for 'time' or 'fixed period of time', including terms for various seasons of the year and for 'day' or 'hour'.

1. IE *\*wet-*, *\*wetes-*. Walde-P. 1.251. Grk. *ἔτος*, fr. widely attested *ἔτερος*;

|        | 14.62<br>SUNDAY                        | 14.63<br>MONDAY                   | 14.64<br>TUESDAY              | 14.65<br>WEDNESDAY              |
|--------|--|-----------------------------------|-------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| Grk.   | μία σαββάτων, κυριακή,<br>ἡμέρα Ἱηλίου | δευτέρα σαββάτου<br>ἡμέρα Σελήνης | τρίτη σαββάτου<br>ἡμέρα Ἀφροί | τετάρτη σαβάρτου<br>ἡμέρα Ἑρμοῦ |
| NG     | kyriakē                                | deutera                           | trīta                         | terstōn                         |
| Lat.   | diēs Sōtis,<br>diēs dominica           | diēs Lunae<br>secunda feria       | diēs Martis<br>le rtia feria  | diēs Mercuri<br>quarta feria    |
| It.    | domenica                               | lunedì                            | martedì                       | mercoledì                       |
| Fr.    | dimanche                               | lundi                             | mardi                         | mercredi                        |
| Sp.    | domingo                                | lunes                             | martes                        | miércoles                       |
| Rum.   | duminică                               | luni                              | marți                         | miercuri                        |
| Port.  | domingo                                | segunda feira                     | terça feira                   | quarta feira                    |
| Ir.    | domnach                                | luan                              | máirt                         | céltán                          |
| Nir.   | domnach                                | luan                              | máirt                         | céadaoin                        |
| W.     | dydd sul                               | dydd llun                         | dydd mawrth                   | dydd mercher                    |
| Br.    | disul                                  | dydd iau                          | dimeurs                       | dimer' her                      |
| Goth.  | afarsabbatē dags                       | .....                             | .....                         | .....                           |
| ON     | sunnudagr, dróttinsdagr                | mānudagr                          | þiðjudagr                     | ððinsdagr                       |
| Nicel. | sunnudagur                             | mānudagur                         | þriðjudagur                   | miðvikudagur                    |
| Dan.   | søndag                                 | mandag                            | tirsdag                       | onsdag                          |
| Sw.    | söndag                                 | måndag                            | tisdag                        | onsdag                          |
| OE     | sunnandæg                              | mōnandæg                          | tīwesdæg                      | wōnesdæg                        |
| ME     | son (n)eday                            | none (n) day                      | twesday                       | wednesday                       |
| NE     | sunday                                 | monday                            | tuesday                       | wednesday                       |
| Du.    | sondag                                 | maandag                           | dinsdag                       | woensdag                        |
| DHG    | sunnintag                              | mānelag                           | ziostag                       | mittwoche (mittaweche)          |
| MHG    | sun (nen)tag                           | māntac                            | z(e)stac, erintac             | mittwoch(e) (milche)            |
| LiHG   | sonntag                                | montag                            | dinstag                       | mittwoch                        |
| Knth   | sekmadienis (nedēlia)                  | pirmdadienis (pane-dēlia)         | antradienis (utar-nīkask)     | treðdiena<br>treðtīnīkē, sēda   |
| Let.   | sēvidiena                              | pirmdiena                         | utoriena                      | treðdiena                       |
| ChSl.  | nedēlja                                | ponedēlikā                        | vīturnīkū                     | treðtīnīkē, sēda                |
| ICr.   | nedjelja                               | ponedjeljak                       | utorak                        | srijeda                         |
| Boh.   | neděle                                 | pondělí                           | úterý                         | středa                          |
| Br.    | mediela                                | poniðdzielek                      | utorak                        | šroda                           |
| Russ.  | voskresen'e                            | ponedel'nik                       | utorok                        | sreda                           |

Skt. *vatsa-* (only *tri-vatsa-* 'three years old', otherwise 'calf' = 'yearling'), usually *vatsara-*; Alb. *vjet*. Here prob. Lat. *vetus* 'old', etc. (14.15).

2. IE *\*yē-ro-*, *\*yō-ro-*, prob. fr. *\*yē-*, *\*yō-* beside *\*yā-* in Skt. *yā-* 'go', Lith. *joti* 'ride', extension of *\*ei-* 'go'. Walde-P. 1.105. Falk-Torp 6 f.

Goth. *jēr*, ON *ār*, OE *gēar*, etc., general Gmc.; Av. *yār-* (nom. sg. *yāra*); Grk. *ōpa* 'period of time' (14.11), 'hour'; Boh. *jaro*, etc. 'spring' (14.75).

3. IE *\*at-no-*, perh. fr. *\*at-* in Skt. *atati* 'goes, wanders' (cf. above, 2). Walde-P. 1.41 f. Ernout-M. 55. Walde-H. 1.51.

Lat. *annus* (> Romance words); Goth. *apn* (? only dat. pl. *apnam*) and *at-apni* (only gen. sg. *atapnis*) both for *inavros*. Here also (with *tn* > *kn*) Osc. *akenet* 'in anno', Umbr. *acnu* 'annos'.

4. Grk. *ēnavrōs*, orig. 'anniversary' as in Hom. and early inscriptions (Cretan law-code, etc.), but also (Hom.+) simply 'year', etym. disputed. Either fr. phrase *ēi avrō* 'in the same (time)', for which cf. Boh. *tjden*, etc. 'week', fr. 'this day' (14.61); or perh. as orig. 'solstice, resting place of the sun', deriv. of *ēnavō* 'rest, sleep in', cpd. of *taōs* 'rest, sleep, pass the night'. Walde-P. 1.20. Brugmann IF 15.87 ff., 17.319.

Grk. *χρόνος* 'time' (14.11) is in pop. NG 'year', with new pl. *χρόνια* and new fem. coll. *χρονιά* 'space of a year' (Fr. *année*). But lit. *ēros* is also generally familiar.

5. Ir. *blíadain*, Nlr. *blíadhain*, W. *blwyddyn*, OCorn. *blídhenn*, Br. dial. *blizenn*, all fem., fr. the shorter form

seen in Br. *bloaz* 'year', W. *blwydd* 'year of age', etym. dub.; perh. orig. mythological conception. Pedersen 1.113. Morris Jones 212 (fantastic; cf. Loth, RC 36.401). Stokes 188.

6. Lith. *metai*, pl. of *metas* 'time' (14.11).

Lett. *gads*, fr. Russ. *god* (below). Mühl-Endz. 1.582.

7. ChSl. *lěto* (= *ēros*, *ēnavrōs*, *χρόνος*, *καρπός*, Gospels, Supr.; also *ēpos* Ps. Sin.), modern Slavic 'summer', rarely also 'year': Sw. dial. *lōding* 'spring', Ir. *láithe* 'day'. Walde-P. 2.427. Berneker 713 f.

SCR. *godina* (rarely also 'hour') = ChSl. *godina*, Boh. *hodina*, Pol. *godzina* 'hour' (14.51), fr. ChSl. *godŭ* 'period of time' (14.11), as elsewhere in Slavic with various special applications, but Russ. *god* 'year'. Berneker 316 ff.

Boh., Pol. *rok* = Russ. *rok* 'fate, destiny', SCR. *rok* 'term, period', ChSl. *rokŭ* 'appointed time, goal', fr. the root of *reka*, *rešti* 'say'. Walde-P. 2.362. Trautmann 243. Brückner 461.

8. Skt. *vatsara-*, above, 1. Skt. *varya-* 'rain' (1.75), also (the rainy season extended to) 'year'.

Skt. *hāyana-*: Av. *zaēn-* 'winter', *zayana-* 'wintry', (14.74).

Av. *yār-*, above, 2. Av. *sarad-*, OPers. *šard-* (certainly 'year', not 'manner' as Barth. 1566), NPers. *sāl* 'year', Osset. *sārd* 'summer': Skt. *šarad-* 'autumn', also 'year' in RV, etc., perh. as orig. 'warm season': Lith. *šilius* 'August', *šilti* 'grow warm', Lat. *calēre* 'be warm', etc. Wood, AJPh. 21.182. Walde-P. 1.429. Walde-H. 1.137.

## 14.74 WINTER

|       |                         |
|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk.  | χειμών                  |
| NG    | χειμῶνας                |
| Lat.  | hiems                   |
| It.   | inverno                 |
| Fr.   | hiver                   |
| Sp.   | invierno                |
| Rum.  | iarnă                   |
| Ir.   | gam, gemred             |
| Nlr.  | getimhreadh             |
| W.    | gwaŋwyn                 |
| Br.   | goaf                    |
| Goth. | wintrus                 |
| ON    | vetr                    |
| Dan.  | vinter                  |
| Sw.   | vinter                  |
| OE    | winter                  |
| ME    | winter                  |
| NE    | winter                  |
| Du.   | winter                  |
| OHG   | winter                  |
| MHG   | winter                  |
| NHG   | winter                  |
| Lith. | žiema                   |
| Lett. | ziema                   |
| ChSl. | zima                    |
| SCR.  | zima                    |
| Boh.  | zima                    |
| Pol.  | zima                    |
| Russ. | zima                    |
| Skt.  | hemanta-, himā-         |
| Av.   | zyam-, zaēn-, aiwiγāma- |

## 14.75 SPRING

|       |                         |
|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk.  | ἔαρ                     |
| NG    | ἔαρος                   |
| Lat.  | ver                     |
| It.   | primavera               |
| Fr.   | printemps               |
| Sp.   | primavera               |
| Rum.  | primăvară               |
| Ir.   | gam, gemred             |
| Nlr.  | getimhreadh             |
| W.    | gwaŋwyn                 |
| Br.   | goaf                    |
| Goth. | wintrus                 |
| ON    | vetr                    |
| Dan.  | vinter                  |
| Sw.   | vinter                  |
| OE    | winter                  |
| ME    | winter                  |
| NE    | winter                  |
| Du.   | winter                  |
| OHG   | winter                  |
| MHG   | winter                  |
| NHG   | winter                  |
| Lith. | žiema                   |
| Lett. | ziema                   |
| ChSl. | zima                    |
| SCR.  | zima                    |
| Boh.  | zima                    |
| Pol.  | zima                    |
| Russ. | zima                    |
| Skt.  | hemanta-, himā-         |
| Av.   | zyam-, zaēn-, aiwiγāma- |

## 14.76 SUMMER

|       |                   |
|-------|-------------------|
| Grk.  | καλοκαίρι         |
| NG    | καλοκαίρι         |
| Lat.  | aestas            |
| It.   | estate            |
| Fr.   | été               |
| Sp.   | verano, estío     |
| Rum.  | vară              |
| Ir.   | sam, samrad       |
| Nlr.  | samhradh          |
| W.    | haf               |
| Br.   | haŋ               |
| Goth. | asans             |
| ON    | sumar             |
| Dan.  | sommer            |
| Sw.   | sommer            |
| OE    | summar            |
| ME    | summer            |
| NE    | summer            |
| Du.   | summer            |
| OHG   | summer            |
| MHG   | summer            |
| NHG   | summer            |
| Lith. | vasara            |
| Lett. | vasara            |
| ChSl. | vasara            |
| SCR.  | vasara            |
| Boh.  | lěto              |
| Pol.  | leto              |
| Russ. | leto              |
| Skt.  | grīṣma-, nīdāgha- |
| Av.   | zama-, zama-      |

## 14.77 AUTUMN

|       |                          |
|-------|--------------------------|
| Grk.  | φθινόπωρον               |
| NG    | καλοκαίρι                |
| Lat.  | autumnus                 |
| It.   | autunno                  |
| Fr.   | automne                  |
| Sp.   | otoño                    |
| Rum.  | toamnă                   |
| Ir.   | fol(g)mar                |
| Nlr.  | foghmhar                 |
| W.    | hydref (cynhaaf)         |
| Br.   | diskar-amzer, dilost-haŋ |
| Goth. | asans                    |
| ON    | sumar                    |
| Dan.  | herbst                   |
| Sw.   | höst                     |
| OE    | harfest                  |
| ME    | hervest, autumn(p)ne     |
| NE    | autumn, fall             |
| Du.   | herbst                   |
| OHG   | herbst                   |
| MHG   | herbst                   |
| NHG   | herbst                   |
| Lith. | ruduo                    |
| Lett. | rudens                   |
| ChSl. | jesen                    |
| SCR.  | jesen                    |
| Boh.  | podzim, jeseň            |
| Pol.  | jesień                   |
| Russ. | osen'                    |
| Skt.  | śarad-                   |
| Av.   | šarad-                   |

14.74-14.77. Of the now recognized four seasons of the year, the 'winter' is the one for which there is the most impressive agreement in the words denoting it, which in all the main branches of the IE family except Gmc. belong to an inherited group, pointing unmistakably to an IE word for 'winter'. For 'spring' and 'summer' there are less widespread cognate groups pointing to IE words which were probably used without precise separation of the two. The earliest division was presumably one of two seasons, 'winter' and 'non-winter' (or in some regions 'dry' and 'wet'; but this has no bearing on IE relations). Cf. Schrader, Reallex. 1.529 f., and, for the seasons in India (3 in the Vedic period,

later 5, 6, or even 7), BR s.v. *rtu-*, Zimmer, Altind. Leben 371 f., Macdonell-Keith 1.110 f.

## 14.74. 'Winter'.

1. IE *\*gheim-*, *\*ghyem-*, etc., prob. with *m*-suffixes fr. *\*ghei-*. Walde-P. 1.546 ff. Ernout-M. 451 f. Walde-H. 1.645 f. Pedersen 1.66.

Grk. *χειμών*, NG *χειμῶνας*; Lat. *hiems* (adj. *hibernus*, whence *hibernum* (*tempus*) > Romance words. REW 4126); Ir. *gem-red* (red: *rāithe* 'season'; Loth, RC 43.143 f.), Nlr. *geimhreadh*, Ir. *gam* (for *\*gem*, after *sam* 'summer'), W. *goeaf*, Br. *goaf*; Lith. *žiema*, Lett. *ziema*; ChSl. *zima*, etc., general Slavic; Ved. *himā-*, class. Skt. usually *hemanta-* (also

## TIME

1015

'energy, fire', Grk. *θερμός* 'warm', Skt. *gharma-* 'heat', etc. Walde-P. 1.687.

Byz. *καλοκαίριον*, NG *καλοκαίρι*, lit. 'good season' (*καλός* 'good' and *καίρος* 'time, season, weather').

3. Lat. *aestas* (> It. *estate*, Fr. *été*; adj. Lat. *aestivus* > Sp., Port. *estío*): *aestus* 'fire, glow, heat', fr. the root *\*aidh-* in Grk. *αἶθω* 'kindle, burn', etc. (1.85). Walde-P. 1.5. Ernout-M. 20. Walde-H. 1.20. REW 245, 248.

Rum. *vară*, fr. Lat. *ver* 'spring' (14.75), and Sp. *verano*, fr. deriv. VLat. (gloss) *vērānum* (*tempus*). REW 9213, 9215.

4. Goth. *asans* (renders *ἔπος* 'summer' once Mk. 13.28, otherwise *θερισμός* 'harvest'): OHG *aran*, etc. 'harvest', SCR. *jesen*, etc., 'autumn' (14.77). Walde-P. 1.161. 'Summer' prob. semantic borrowing fr. Grk.

5. Lith., Lett. *vasara*: Grk. *ἔαρ*, Lat. *ver*, etc., 'spring' (14.75).

6. ChSl. *žetva* (renders both *ἔπος* as 'summer' and *θερισμός* 'harvest'): *žeti* 'reap, harvest', etc. (8.32). 'Summer' prob. semantic borrowing fr. Grk.

ChSl. *lěto* ('summer' in Ps. Sin.; 'year' in Gospels and Supr.), etc., general modern Slavic for 'summer', see under 'year', 14.73.

7. Skt. *grīṣma-*, etym.? Uhlenbeck 84.

Skt. *nīdāgha-* (Ved. also *nāidāgha-*; Macdonell-Keith 1.449, 459), fr. *ni-dah-* 'burn down, consume'.

Av. *ham-*, above, 1.

14.77. Autumn. For 'autumn', unlike the names of the other seasons, there is no certain agreement between any of the branches of the IE family, but only within some of them, e.g. a common Gmc. and a common Slavic word. Besides the connection with 'harvest', words for 'autumn' may mean lit. 'be-

fore winter' or 'end of summer', or may refer to the fall or the redness of the leaves in autumn.

1. Grk. *φθινόπωρον* (rarely also *μερόπωρον*), cpd. of *φθίω* 'wane' (or *μερά* 'after' and *ἔωρα* 'late summer, fruit-season' (also sometimes used for 'summer' or 'autumn') and 'fruit' (see 5.71).

2. Lat. *autumnus* (> Romance words), etym. dub. Later spelling *autumnus* by popular (false) connection with *augere* 'increase'. Walde-P. 1.16. Ernout-M. 96. Walde-H. 1.87 f.

3. Ir. *fogamar*, *fogmar*, Nlr. *foghmhar*, cpd. of *fo-* 'under' (= 'before' and *gamar*: *gam*, *gem-red* 'winter' (14.74). Macbain 177.

W. *hydref* 'autumn' and 'October' (Br. here formerly 'autumn', now only 'October'), MBr. *hezref*, apparently fr. W. *hydr*, MBr. *hezr* 'powerful', but semantically not clear (the suggested analogy of Lat. *autumnus* is based on its false etym.). Henry 161. Ernaut, RC 16.190, ftn.

W. *cynhaef* 'autumn' (obs. in this sense, Spurrell), 'harvest', cpd. of *cyn* 'preceding' and *gaeaf* 'winter' (14.74). Morris Jones, 265.

Br. *diskar-amzer*, lit. 'fall-time' (*diskar* 'a fall'. Cf. NE *fall*, below, 4).

Br. *dilost-haŋ* lit. 'end of summer' (*dilost*: *lost* 'tail', 4.18).

For a great variety of other Br. words for 'autumn', cf. Ernaut, RC 15.392 f.

4. ON *haust*, Dan. *høst* (mostly 'harvest, crop', but still dial. and poet. in this sense), Sw. *höst*, OE *harfest*, ME *hervest*, Du. *herfst*, OHG *herbst*, etc. (but NE *harvest* no longer as the season): Lat. *carpere* 'pluck', Grk. *καρπός* 'fruit', Ir. *corrán* 'sickle', etc. Walde-P. 2.581. Falk-Torp 454 f.

Dan. *efteraar*, lit. 'after-year'.

ME *autum(p)ne*, NE *autumn* fr. OFr. *autompne*, Fr. *automne* (above, 2).

NE *fall* (esp. U.S., where it is the usual pop. word), earlier in phrase 'fall of the leaf'. NED s.v. *fall*, sb. 1.2.

5. Lith. *ruduo*, Lett. *rudens*, fr. Lith. *rudas*, Lett. *ruds* 'reddish, red-brown' (with reference to leaves, etc.). Mühl-Endz. 3.554.

6. ChSl. *jesen'*, etc., general Slavic, also OPruss. *assanis*: Goth. *asans* 'harvest, summer', OHG *ar(a)n* 'harvest', etc. Walde-P. 1.161 f. Berneker 265.

Boh. *podzim*, lit. 'pre-winter' (*zima* 'winter', 14.74).

7. Skt. *śarad-* (also 'year', RV, etc.) = Av. *sarad-*, OPers. *šard-* 'year' (14.73).

14.78. The generic 'season' of the year (this sense most unambiguously in the pl. forms) is commonly expressed by words for 'time' (14.11) with, or sometimes without, those for 'year' (14.73). Thus Grk. *ῥα*, Lat. *tempus* (*anni*), NHG *jahreszeit* (hence by semantic borrowing Rum. *anotimp*, neolog.), Dan. *aarstid*, Sw. *årstid*, Du. *jaargetijde*, Lith. *metų*

*laikas*, Lett. *gada laikas*, SCR. *godisnje doba*, Boh. *roční počasí*, Pol. *pora roku* (*pora* 'fitting time', like Russ. *pora*, etc. = late ChSl. *pōra* 'force': ChSl. *perja*, *pirati* 'h t, pound'; Brückner 431), Russ. *vremja goda*.

But the following are different: Grk. *ἐροχή* 'cessation, stoppage' (: *ἐρ-χω*), late 'position, fixed point of time' (source of NE *epoch*, etc.), in NG also 'season'.

It. *stagione*, Sp. *estación*, fr. Lat. *statio* 'station'. REW 8234.

Fr. *saison* (> ME *seson*, NE *season*), in OFr. also 'favorable time', through 'sowing-time' fr. Lat. *satio* 'sowing'. REW 7616. Gamillscheg 781.

Ir. *rāthe*, Nlr. *rāthe* 'quarter of the year, season' (cf. also *gem-red* 'winter', *sam-rad* 'summer'): W. *rhawd* 'troop, course', fr. the root in Ir. *rethim* 'run', etc. Loth, RC 43.143 f.

Skt. *rtu-* 'definite or fitting time' and the reg. word for 'season' of the year (BR s.v.; Zimmer, Altind. Leben 373), beside *rtā-* 'right, proper, etc.', fr. the root seen in Grk. *ἀραρίσκω* 'fit', etc. Walde-P. 1.70.

## CHAPTER 15

## SENSE PERCEPTION

|  |                           |
|--|---------------------------|
| 15.11 PERCEIVE BY THE SENSES; SENSE (sb.)    | 15.57 BRIGHT              |
| 15.21 SMELL (vb. subj.)                      | 15.61 COLOR (sb.)         |
| 15.22 SMELL (vb. obj.)                       | 15.62 LIGHT (in Color)    |
| 15.23 SMELL (sb. subj.)                      | 15.63 DARK (in Color)     |
| 15.24 SMELL (sb. obj.)                       | 15.64 WHITE               |
| 15.25 GOOD SMELLING, FRAGRANT                | 15.65 BLACK               |
| 15.26 BAD SMELLING, STINKING                 | 15.66 RED                 |
| 15.31 TASTE (vb. subj.)                      | 15.67 BLUE                |
| 15.32 TASTE (vb. obj.)                       | 15.68 GREEN               |
| 15.33 TASTE (sb. subj.)                      | 15.69 YELLOW              |
| 15.34 TASTE (sb. obj.)                       | 15.71 TOUCH (vb.)         |
| 15.35 SWEET                                  | 15.72 FEEL (vb.), FEEL OF |
| 15.36 SALT (adj.)                            | 15.73 TOUCH (sb. subj.)   |
| 15.37 BITTER                                 | 15.74 HARD                |
| 15.38 ACID, SOUR                             | 15.75 SOFT                |
| 15.41 HEAR                                   | 15.76 ROUGH               |
| 15.42 LISTEN                                 | 15.77 SMOOTH              |
| 15.43 HEARING (sb.)                          | 15.78 SHARP               |
| 15.44 SOUND (sb.)                            | 15.79 BLUNT, DULL         |
| 15.45 LOUD                                   | 15.81 HEAVY               |
| 15.51 SEE                                    | 15.82 LIGHT (in Weight)   |
| 15.52 LOOK (vb.), LOOK AT                    | 15.83 WET, DAMP           |
| 15.53 SIGHT (subj.)                          | 15.84 DRY                 |
| 15.54 SIGHT (obj.), LOOK (obj.), APPEAR-ANCE | 15.85 HOT, WARM           |
| 15.55 SHOW (vb.)                             | 15.86 COLD                |
| 15.56 SHINE                                  | 15.87 CLEAN               |
|  | 15.88 DIRTY, SOILED       |

For the purposes of our discussion it is sufficient to follow the time-honored classification of the senses as smell, taste, hearing, sight, and touch, ignoring the modern technical elaboration of the old 'touch'.

Within the spheres of the several senses there are certain logical distinctions which find linguistic expression in some languages and not in others and which, moreover, work out differently for the several senses as regards linguistic consciousness of the relations.

First, the difference between the subjective and the objective notions. These terms (hereafter subj., obj.) apply to both the noun and the verb, and so are preferable to transitive and intransitive, which are applicable only to the verb. NE *smell* and *taste*, as verbs or nouns, are used both subjectively, with reference to the person perceiving, and objectively, with reference to the object which stimulates the sense. *I smell the rose*, *taste the apple* and *it smells sweet*, *tastes good*, and similarly a person's sense of

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once RV; Macdonell-Keith, 1.110, 2.504, 507), Av. *zyam-*. Here also (fr. *\*ghei-*) Av. *zaēn-* (NPers. *dai*) 'winter' and *zayana-* 'wintry', Skt. *hāyana-* 'year'.

2. Goth. *wintrus*, etc., general Gmc., etym. dub., but perh. as 'wet season': Goth. *watō*, ON *vatn*, OE *wæter*, Grk. *ōdōp*, etc. 'water' (*r/n*-stem; for nasalization cf. Lith. *vanduo*). Walde-P. 1.253. Falk-Torp 1385. Feist 566.

3. Av. *aiwiγāma-* (mostly 'winter', also 'year'), NPers. *hangām* 'time', etym.? Barth. 89. Horn 248.

14.75. 'Spring'. Apart from certain inherited groups, words for 'spring' are based on 'early, fore-, first' (time, year, summer), or 'opening, beginning'.

1. IE *\*wes-*, *\*wesn-* (*r/n*-stem neut.), whence perh. in part also IE *\*uer-*. Walde-P. 1.310 f. Ernout-M. 1087. Falk-Torp 1340.

Grk. *ἔαρ*, Lat. *ver* (cpds. > It., Sp. *primavera*, Rum. *primăvară*, OFr. *primevoire*; REW 6754); Ir. *errach*, Nlr. *earrach* (*\*wes-āk-*, with loss of *w-* by sentence phonetics? Pedersen 1.82, 435), W. *gwanwyn* (Pedersen 1.74); ON *vār*, Sw. *vår* (Dan. *vaar*, poet.); Lith., Lett. *vasara* 'summer', hence *pa-vasaris* 'spring', lit. 'a kind of summer, quasi-summer' (cf. Lith. *pa-motė*, Lett. *pa-māte* 'stepmother', etc.; Mühl-Endz. 3.3); ChSl., Boh., Russ. *vesna*, Pol. *wiosna*; Skt. *vasanta-*, Av. *vanhar-*; Arm. *garun*.

2. Grk. *ἀνοιξις* 'opening', hence (opening of the flowers, etc.), NG 'spring', pop. *ἀνοιξη*.

3. OFr. *tamps prim* (= Lat. *tempus primum* 'first season'), Fr. *printemps* (replaces Fr. *primevère* as 'spring' in 16th cent.), lit. '



Most of the verbs listed are not restricted to the sense-perceptions but may be used also in a still wider sense for 'perceive' mentally or 'feel' emotionally. Many other words for 'perceive' that are not included in the list are also freely used with reference to sense-perception, as Fr. *percevoir*, NHG *wahrnehmen* (cf. *die sinnlichen Wahrnehmungen*), etc., and it is sometimes difficult to select the best terms belonging here, for one uses commonly the vb. for a particular sense, 'I see, smell', etc., rather than a generic term. A few of those listed are used of most, not all, of the senses. For the sb. the words chosen are those used in the phrase 'the five senses'.

1. Grk. αἰσθάνομαι (so in NG more commonly in this form, even among writers in the *δημοτική*, than αἰσθάνομαι), αἰσθάνομαι, fr. \**ā-si-a-θ-*: Skt. *āvis*, Av. *āvis* 'openly, manifestly', Skt. *āvir-bhū-* 'become manifest, appear', *āvis-kr-* 'make manifest, reveal', beside \**aw-* in Grk. *āta* 'perceive, hear', ChSl. (*j*)*avē* 'openly', (*j*)*aviti* 'show', *umū* 'reason, understanding'; here also the IE word for 'ear', Grk. *ōis*, Lat. *auris*, etc. (4.22). Walde-P. 1.17 f. Walde-H. 1.80.

NG *uōūθw* 'understand, perceive' (17.16), also 'feel' (pain, etc.).

2. Lat. *sentire* (> It. *sentire*, Fr., Sp. *sentir*, Rum. *simți*), *sensus* (> It. *senso*, Fr. *sens*; Sp. *sentido*, Rum. *simț*, fr. vb.), prob. as fig. use of 'find one's way': Ir. *sēt*, W. *hynt* 'way', Goth. *ga-sinþa* 'traveling companion', OHG *sind* 'way, journey', *sinnan* 'travel' (also 'strive for'), OE *sīþ* 'journey', also OHG *sīn*, NHG *sinn* 'sense, mind', etc. (below, 4), MHG, NHG *sinnen* 'think'. Walde-P. 2.496 f. Ernout-M. 923 f.

3. Ir. *cetaibū* (3sg. *cetaibī*), with sb. *cētbuid*, Nlr. *cēalfadh*, cpd. of vb. for 'be' and *cila-*, *cēl-*: OW *cant* 'with', Grk.

*kará*, etc. Cf. also W. *canfod* 'perceive, see'. Pedersen 2.292, 442. Thurneysen, Gram. 501.

Ir. *airigim*, Nlr. *airighim*, orig. 'watch, give attention to', fr. *aire* 'heed, attention, notice', etym. dub. (Walde-P. 2.29).

Ir. *mothaigim*, vbl. n. *mothuqud* (see RIA Contrib. s.v.v.), Nlr. *mothaighim*, vbl. n. *mothughadh*, etym. dub. Macbain 254 (: Lith. *matyti* 'see', Lett. *maļit* 'feel, perceive, notice').

W. *clwyed*, Br. *klevout*, 'hear' (15.41), but used in Welsh of all sense-perceptions except sight (cf. Evans, s.v., Loth, RC 40.359), in Br. also 'learn, understand' and 'smell' (Ernaut 15.41).

Br. *merzout*, dial. *armerhein* 'manage', W. *armerthu*, 'provide, prepare', *darmerth* 'provision', Ir. *arbert* 'prepare', prob. fr. \**smet-* (cf. Gall. *Rosmerta*): Lat. *merēre* 'earn, gain, deserve', Grk. *mēpos* 'share', etc. Ernaut, Glossaire 409. Vendryes, Études celt. 2.133 f.

W. *synnwyr*, sb. (*y pump synnwyr* 'the five senses'): *synio* 'feel, think, consider', fr. Lat. *sentire* (above, 2). Pedersen 1.198. Loth, Mots lat. 209.

Br. *skiant*, sb., fr. Lat. *scientia* 'knowledge'. Loth, Mots lat. 205 f.

4. ON *kenna* (of sense-perception, esp. of smell, taste, and feeling), lit. 'know, recognize': Goth. *kannjan* 'make known', OE *cennan* 'declare, relate', etc. Falk-Torp 516.

Dan. *forneemme*, Sw. *förnimma*, fr. MLG *vorneemen* 'notice, learn, understand' (= NHG *vernehmen*), cpd. of *nemen* (Dan. *nemme*, Sw. *nimma* 'take', etc.), in orig. prob. a translation of Lat. *percipere*. Falk-Torp 260.

OE *ongitan*, rarely *andgitan*, with sb. *andgit* (*þā fīf andgitu* 'the five senses', cf. Bosworth-Toller s.v. III), cpds. of OE *gi(e)tan* in *begi(e)tan* 'get' (11.16).

ME *fele* 'feel' by sense of touch (15.72)

was used also of taste and smell, and so NE *feel* in dial. (NED s.v. 7), and Du. (*gevoelen* sometimes of other senses. But for the most part the expansion of application in this Gmc. group has been not to the other senses but to the emotions, as in NE *feel happy, sad, angry*, or trans. *feel anger, hate*, etc.

ME, NE *perceive* 'apprehend' with the mind or the 'senses', esp. those of sight or hearing, but now technical for all the senses, cf. *sense-perception*, fr. OFr. (North) \**perceivre* = *percevoir*, Lat. *percipere* 'seize, get, perceive (by mind or senses of sight and hearing), feel (pain, joy, etc.)', cpd. of *capere* 'seize, take'. NED s.v.

OHG *intfindan*, MHG *entfinden*, *emphinden*, NHG *empfinden*: OE *onfindan* 'find out, discover, experience, be aware of', etc., cpd. of OHG, OE *findan* 'find'.

Du. *gewaar worden* 'become aware of', like NHG *wahrnehmen*.

ON *vit*, ME *wit* used in the expression 'five senses' = OE *wit*, OHG *wizzi* 'understanding, knowledge, wit, etc.' (NE *wit*), fr. the vb. ON *vita*, OE *witan*, etc. 'know' (17.17). NED s.v. *wit*, sb. 3b.

Dan. *sans* (older *sens*; replacing *sind* in this sense), NE *sense*, fr. Fr. *sens* (above). Falk-Torp 951, 967.

OHG, MHG *sīn*, NHG *sinn*, Du. *zin*, MLG *sins* (> Dan. *sind*, Sw. *sinne*), all also 'mind, understanding, meaning, etc.': Lat. *sentire*, *sensus*, etc. (above, 2). Falk-Torp 967 f. Hellquist 911 f.

5. Lith. *jausti*, Lett. *jaust* (beside *justi*, just 'feel, notice'), with sbs. Lith. *jausmas*, Lett. *jūteklis*, prob. : Skt. *api-*

*vat-*, Av. *aipi-vat-* 'understand'. Walde-P. 1.216. Meillet, BSL 23.77.

6. ChSl. *počuti*, perfect. of *čuti* 'recognize, notice', SCr. *čuti* 'hear', Boh. *číti* 'perceive, notice, smell', Pol. *czuć* 'perceive, smell', with sbs. ChSl. *čuvstvo*, Russ. *čuvstvo* (SCr. *čuvstvo*, old in this sense), whence Russ. *čuvstvoval* 'feel, perceive': Grk. *κοῦω* 'notice', Lat. *capere* 'be on one's guard, heed', Grk. *ἀκούω*, Goth. *hausjan* 'hear', etc. (15.41). Bernker 162 f. Walde-P. 1.369.

SCr. *osjetiti*, with sb. *osjet*, cf. *do-sjecati* 'take notice of', cpds. of *sjetiti* se, late ChSl. *sjetiti se* 'remember' (17.31).

SCr. *čutjeti* (as 'perceive' dial.), Russ. *o-ščutit*, with sb. SCr. *čut*, *čutilo*: ChSl. *štutiti* 'feel', etym.? Walde-P. 1.369. Osten-Sacken, IF 33.197. Miklosich 357.

Boh. *mysl*, Pol. *zmysł* (*mysł*), also 'meaning, mind' = SCr. *smisao*, Russ. *mysl* 'meaning', cpd. of ChSl. *mysliti* 'thought', etc. Miklosich 208. Brückner 350.

7. 'Perceive' in Skt. rendered usually by *grah-* 'seize' (with instr. of 'smell', *caḥṣa*, etc.), or by *jñā-* 'know, be acquainted with' or *budh-* 'awake, become aware of'; also sometimes by *dr̥ṣ-* 'see', used for 'see with the (other) senses' (Kena Up. 1.6, Praṇa Up. 4.8; with *indriya*-Tattvas, 48.3.74).

Skt. *indriya* 'sense' or 'sense-organ', lit. 'vigor, energy', sb. fr. adj. *indriya-* 'belonging to Indra'.

Av. *bud-* (= Skt. *budh-*, above) 'become aware of', 'feel' (hunger and thirst), 'smell'. Barth. 918.

pleasant smell or taste': ON *hnita* 'to strike'. Some prefer to assume a more complicated development through 'break up into small particles, vaporize, exhale'. Walde-P. 2.617. Falk-Torp 1168. Franck-v. W. 667.

OE *swace*, *swecc* (also 'taste'), vb. *gesweccan*, OS *swecc*, OHG *sweche*, vb. *swehhan* 'smell, stink': W. *chweg* 'sweet, pleasant', *cweeth* 'taste', etc. Walde-P. 2.521.

ME *smelle*, NE *smell*, sb. and vb.: LG *smelan*, Du. *smeulen* 'smolder', Flem. *smoll* 'hot', NE *smoulder*, outside connections dub., but English development through 'steam, vapor', as in NHG *riechen*. Walde-P. 2.691. Franck-v. W. 626.

OHG *riohhan* 'give forth smoke, steam or smell', sb. *rouh*, then for 'smell' also subj. MHG, NHG *riechen*, sb. MHG *geruch*, Du. *ruiken*, sb. *reuk*: OE *rēc* 'smoke', *rēcan* 'give forth smoke or steam', NE *reek*, outside connections dub. Weigand-H. 2.585. Franck-v. W. 562.

MHG *smecken*, *smacken*, sb. *smac* 'taste' (15.31-34) are also used for 'smell' (both subj. and obj.), and so formerly and still dial. NHG *schmecken*, *schmack*. Cf. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v.

6. Lith. *uosti*, *uostyti*, Lett. *uost*, *uostīt*, see above, 1. Hence sbs. Lith. *uosls* (also 'nostril'), Lett. *uoža*, *uožā*.

Lith. *kvapas*, vb. *kvapėti*: Grk. *καπνός* 'smoke', Lat. *vapor* 'steam, vapor', etc. Walde-P. 1.379 f.

Lett. *smaka*, vb. *smakuot*, fr. MLG *smak(e)* 'smell' and 'taste' (cf. 15.31). Mühl.-Endz. 3.950.

7. ChSl. *qchati*, sb. *qchanije* (both rare), *vonjati*, *obonjati*, sb. *vonja*, *obonjanije*, SCr. *vonjati*, *vonj*, *njuh*, Boh. *voněti*, *vāně*, Pol. *wachać*, *węch*, *woń*,

Russ. *njuchat'*, *obonjanie* (*vonjat'* 'stink', *von'* 'stench'), all fr. \**on-*, \**on-s*, with or without the development of initial *v* (cf. Vondrák 1.214): Skt. *an-* 'breathe', Grk. *ἀνεμος* 'wind', Lat. *animus* 'mind', *halare* 'breathe', etc. Walde-P. 1.56 ff. Miklosich 222. Otherwise, separating into three groups, Brückner 364, 604, 630 f.

Boh. *páchnouti*, Pol. *pachnąć*, Russ. *pachnúť*, Boh., Pol., Russ. *zapach*: ChSl. *pachati* 'toss, fan', Russ. *páchnut'* 'blow', prob. fr. a root \**pēr-* 'blow', perh. seen in some Gmc. words, as OE *fæs* 'fringe'. Walde-P. 2.67. Brückner 389.

Boh. *čichati*, sb. *čich*: *čiti* 'perceive, feel' (15.11), also with specialization to 'smell' (so freq. also Pol. *czuć*), as in Fr. *sentir*. Bernker 162.

8. Skt. *ghrā-*, with sb. *ghrāṇa-* (mostly obj., but also subj.; cf. Böhtlingk, Wtb. s.v.), see Grk. *ὀσφραίνωμαι*, above, 1.

Skt. *gandha-*: Av. *ganti-* 'bad smell', OPers. *gasta-* 'offensive' (NPers. *gast* 'bad'), fr. a root seen in *gandh-* 'hit, injure', Lith. *gesti*, *gendu* 'spoil', etc. Walde-P. 1.672 f.

Av. *bud-* 'become aware of', 'feel' (hunger, etc.), and 'smell', sbs. *baōā-* 'good smell, fragrance' (cf. NPers. sb. *bū*, vb. *būdan* 'smell'): Skt. *budh-* 'be awake', 'become aware of'. Walde-P. 2.147. Barth. 917 f.

15.25, 26. Aristotle (De anim. 2.9) remarked on the lack of any independent classification of smells analogous to that of tastes (as 'sweet, bitter', etc.), and the situation is the same today. There is still neither an accepted scientific classification nor a popular classification reflected in common speech, that is truly distinctive of the sense of smell. The only widespread popular distinction is that of pleasant and unpleasant smells—good and bad smells, to use the briefest

terms—and this is linguistically more important than any similar distinction, that is, of good and bad, in the case of the other senses. Otherwise, we have recourse to terms belonging primarily to other senses, especially taste (the actual confusion of smell and taste, the fact that certain 'tastes' really depend upon smell, is hardly a factor in this, it is too little known), as *sweet*, *acid*, *pungent* (orig. of touch, 'pricking'), etc. Or else we describe the smell by naming the object which emits it, as the *smell of a rose*. Similar expressions are, of course, used of other senses, the *taste of an apple*, the *sound of a bell*, etc., but we are less dependent upon them, since there are at least some generic terms.

The Hindus enumerated nine kinds of smell, the Skt. terms (quoted in BR, s.v.

*gandha-*) meaning 'desirable, undesirable, sweet, sharp, diffusive, compressed, smooth, rough, soft', none of them primarily distinctive of smell.

It has been argued by some that the lack of classification is due to the lack of distinctive linguistic terms. Quite the opposite is true. Such terms would have arisen had there been any obvious basis of grouping. The lack of them reflects the inherent difficulty of classification, which even modern science has not overcome. Cf. also Kretschmer, Glotta 19.209 f., in review of Weisgerber, Der Geruchssinn in unseren Sprachen, IF 46.121 ff.

To illustrate the words referring to good or bad smells the adjs. are chosen. The corresponding sbs. and vbs. are in most cases cognate with them.

## 15.25 GOOD SMELLING, FRAGRANT

| Grk. | εὐώδης                          | Goth. | ( <i>dauns wōpi</i> , sb.)                             | Lith. | <i>kvapas</i> , <i>kvapingas</i>     |
|------|---------------------------------|-------|--|-------|--------------------------------------|
| NG   | μυρωδῶρος                       | ON    | <i>vel þefaðr</i> , <i>vel ilmaðr</i> , <i>þefjōðr</i> | Lett. | <i>smaršains</i> , <i>smardīgs</i>   |
| Lat. | fragrans, odorifer (suaris)     | Dan.  | <i>vellugtende</i> , <i>duftende</i>                   | ChSl. | <i>blagovontnā</i>                   |
| It.  | olezzante, fragrante, odorifero | Sw.   | <i>valluktande</i> , <i>doftande</i>                   | Boh.  | <i>mirisav</i>                       |
| Fr.  | odoriferant                     | ME    | <i>vel</i> , <i>suote stinkinge</i>                    | Pol.  | <i>vonny</i>                         |
| Sp.  | oloroso, fragrante              | NE    | <i>fragrant</i>  | Russ. | <i>dušistij</i> , <i>blagovonnij</i> |
| Rum. | mirositor                       | Du.   | <i>welriekend</i> , <i>gewig</i>                       | Skt.  | <i>sugandhi</i>                      |
| Ir.  | boladmar, cumra                 | OHG   | <i>suazo stinkenti</i>                                 | Av.   | <i>hubaōi-</i>                       |
| Nlr. | cumhra                          | MHG   | <i>wol riechende</i>                                   |       |                                      |
| W.   | peraroglus                      | NHG   | <i>wolriechend</i> , <i>duftend</i>                    |       |                                      |
| Br.  | c'houez-val                     |       |  |       |                                      |

The majority of the words for 'fragrant' are derived from words for 'smell' (15.21-24), either with an adv. prefix 'well', 'sweet', or more often resting on a specialization of 'smell' to 'good smell'.

1. Grk. *εὐώδης*, cpd. of *eu-* 'well' and the root of *ōzō* 'smell'.

NG *μυρωδῶρος*, deriv. of *μυρωδία* 'smell' and 'good smell'.

2. Lat. *fragrans* (> It. *fragrante*, OFr., NE *fragrant*, Sp. *fragrante*); pple. of *fragrare* 'emit a (good) smell'.

Lat. *odorifer* (> It. *odorifero*, Sp. *odorifero*, Fr. *odoriferant*), cpd. of *odor* 'smell' (15.21) and *ferre* 'bear', lit. 'smell-bearing', but mostly of good smells.

Sp. *oloroso*, fr. VLat. \**odorosus* (It. *odoroso*, OFr. *odoreux*, NE *odorosus*), reformed fr. *olor* (15.21).

It. *olezzante*, fr. *olezzare* 'be fragrant' (whence also *olezzo* 'fragrance'), as if VLat. \**olidāre* formed to *olere* after the analogy of forms like *baptidiāre* for Grk. βαπτίζω. REW 6055.

| 15.21     | 15.21-24             | 15.23              | 15.24              |
|-----------|----------------------|--------------------|--------------------|
| vb. subj. | vb. obj.             | sb. subj.          | sb. obj.           |
| Grk.      | ὀσφραίνωμαι          | ὀσφραίνωμαι        | ὀσφραίνωμαι        |
| NG        | μυρίζω, -ομαι        | μυρίζω             | μυρίζω             |
| Lat.      | olfacere, odorāri    | olfacere, odorare  | olfacere, odorare  |
| It.       | sentire, odorare     | sentire            | sentire            |
| Fr.       | sentir, flairer      | sentir             | sentir             |
| Sp.       | oler                 | oler               | oler               |
| Rum.      | mirosi               | mirosi             | mirosi             |
| Ir.       | bolnigur             | bolnigur           | bolnigur           |
| Nlr.      | bolnigur             | bolnigur           | bolnigur           |
| W.        | arogli               | arogli             | arogli             |
| Br.       | c'houesa             | c'houez            | c'houez            |
| Goth.     | þeþja, þeþja(īlma)   | þeþja, þeþja(īlma) | þeþja, þeþja(īlma) |
| Dan.      | lugte                | lugte              | lugte              |
| Sw.       | lukta                | lukta              | lukta              |
| OE        | gestincan, gesweccan | stincan            | stincan            |
| ME        | smelle               | smelle             | smelle             |
| NE        | smell                | smell              | smell              |
| Du.       | ruiken               | ruiken             | ruiken             |
| OHG       | stincan              | stincan            | stincan            |
| MHG       | riechen, smecken     | riechen, smecken   | riechen, smecken   |
| NHG       | riechen              | riechen            | riechen            |
| Lith.     | uosti, uostyti       | uosti              | uosti              |
| Lett.     | uosti, uostīt        | uosti              | uosti              |
| ChSl.     | obonjati, qchati     | obonjati, qchati   | obonjati, qchati   |
| SCr.      | mirisati             | mirisati, vonjati  | mirisati, vonjati  |
| Boh.      | čiti, čichati        | páchnouti, voněti  | páchnouti, voněti  |
| Pol.      | węchać               | zapach, vonić      | zapach, vonić      |
| Russ.     | njuchat'             | pachnút'           | pachnút'           |
| Skt.      | ghrā-                | gandha-            | gandha-            |
| Av.       | bud-                 | gandha-            | gandha-            |

The distinction between the subj. and the obj. aspects (cf. above, pp. 1017 f.) is shown in the list and will generally not be noted again in the following. In the majority of cases the obj. use is the earlier. This most frequently rests on the notion of 'exhalation', the connections being with words for 'breath, steam, smoke', etc.; but in several cases apparently on the notion of something that 'hits one, strikes one forcibly'. Verbs in which the subj. use is earlier are in several cases specialized from 'perceive by the senses'.

Words for 'smell' are apt to carry a strong emotional value, which is felt to

a less degree in words for 'taste' and hardly at all in those for the other senses. According to circumstances and often with a difference of tone and facial expression, they are used with reference to smells that are pleasant or unpleasant. Some become definitely specialized in one direction or the other, as NE *fragrance* and *stench* (cf. 15.25-26). A converse generalization of 'good smell' to 'smell' is seen in NG *μυρίζω*, *μυρωδία*.

Some interchange between 'smell' and 'taste' is observed in cognate groups.

1. IE \**od-*. Walde-P. 1.174, 697. Ernout-M. 698 f., 700 f.

Grk. *ōzō*, perf. *ōzōsa*, sb. *ōzōs*, *ōzōm*

(regularly obj., but Democritus used *ὀδμή* and vb. *ὀδμάομαι* for sense-perception; cf. Diel, Fragmenta der Vorsokratiker 1. p. 387), *ὀσφραίνωμαι*, fut. *ὀσφρήσομαι*, aor. *ὀσφρήσῃ*, sb. *ὀσφρήσις*, fr. \**ōd-*

*phr-*; second part: Skt. *ghrā-* 'smell'; Lat. *olere* (> OIt. *olere*, OFr. *oloir*, Sp. *oler*), with cpd. *odefacer* (Festus), *ol(e)facere*, sbs. *olfactus* (> Sp. *olfato*), *odor* (> It. *odore*, Fr. *odeur*; Sp. *olor* with l fr. vb.), whence *odorāri* (> It. *odorare*), *odorātus* (> It. *odorato*, Fr. *odorat*); Lith. *uosti* (1sg. *uodžiū*), Lett. *uost*; Arm. *hot* (sb., obj.), *hotim* (vb., subj.).

2. Grk. *μυρίζω* 'rub with ointment' (deriv. of *μύρον* 'ointment, perfume'), late *μυρίζομαι* 'be fragrant with', whence NG *μυρίζω* (pop. 'smell' both subj. and obj.), *μυρίζομαι* (lit. 'smell' subj.). Hence also, fr. aor. form, Bulg. *miriš*, SCr. *mirisati*, and, fr. a parallel aor. *ἐμύρωσα* (: *μύρω*), late ChSl. *mirosati*, Rum. *mirosi*, sb. *miros*. NG *μυρωδία* formed to late Grk. *μυρωδία*, cpd. of *μύρον* and the root of *ōzō* (above, 1), parallel to *εὐώδης* 'fragrant', etc.

3. Lat. *fragrāre*, VLat. *flagrāre* (> OFr. *flairier* obj., but Fr. *flairer* subj. 'take a smell of, try to recognize by the smell'), prob. : OHG *bracko* 'hunting dog', MHG *brāhen* 'smell'. Walde-P. 2.192. Ernout-M. 385. Walde-H. 1.540. REW 3476. Wartburg 3.746 f.

Fr. *sentir*, also and orig. 'perceive, feel' (15.11), with early specialized use for 'smell', whence ME *sent*, NE *scent*.

Ir. *bolad*, Nlr. *boladh*, whence vbs. *bolanigur*, *bolanagud* (with vbl. n. *bolanud*, *bolanugud*; for latter as 'sense of smell', cf. Anc. Laws 3.348.11 ff., an important passage for words denoting the sense-perceptions), Nlr. *bolnigur*, etym. dub., perh. : Lett. *bulis* 'heavy, steamy air'. Walde-P



15.41–15.44. The verbs for 'hear', denoting the actual perception, may also be used for 'listen', especially in the imperative. But generally there are also distinctive words for 'listen'. Most of these are cognate with the words for 'hear', either those so used in the same language (NHG *hören* : *hören*, NE *harken* : *hear*, Russ. *slušat'* : *slušat'*) or in other languages (NE *listen*, etc. : Grk. *κλῶ*, etc.). In a Celtic group 'listen' rests on the notion of 'be silent, be still', which elsewhere is a secondary association of 'listen' (cf. below, 4). Other secondary developments of 'listen' are 'listen for' > 'watch for, wait for' (OE *hlōsian*) and 'be attentive to', esp. 'obey' (Lat. *auscultāre*, NHG *gehörchen*, Dan. *lyde*, Sw. *lyda*, Lith. *klausyti*, ChSl. *poslušati*, etc.).

The nouns for 'hearing' are all cognate with the verbs for 'hear' or 'listen'. The logical relation of 'sound' to 'hearing', parallel to that of obj. 'taste, smell' to subj. 'taste, smell', is partially reflected in speech, and some of the words for 'sound' are cognate with vbs. for 'hear'. But more often the sbs. derived from the latter reflect the use of 'hear' with reference to the hearing of speech and are restricted to articulate sound 'what is heard from speech', hence esp. 'report, news, fame' (Grk. *κλέος*, Skt. *gravas*, ChSl. *slava*) or 'word' (ChSl. *slovo*, Av. *sravah-*). The majority of the words for 'sound' are independent of the 'hear' groups, many of them of imitative origin. Out of the great wealth of words for 'sound' or some special kind of sound (ringing, rattling, vocal, etc.), it is intended to list those that are generic, covering both inarticulate and articulate sounds, or those that are the most nearly generic (in a few cases the selection is doubtful). Words like NE *noise* (though its use has extended to

cover most of the ground of *sound*, at least for inarticulate sound), Fr. *bruit*, NHG *geräusch*, *lärm*, etc., are not included.

Verbs for 'sound', parallel to those for the obj. 'smell' or 'taste', are not listed. Where they exist, they are obvious derivatives of the words for 'sound', as Grk. *φασέω*, Lat. *sonāre*, Fr. *sonner*, NE *sound*, NHG *lauten*, etc.

1. IE *\*kleu-*, *\*kleu-s-*. Widespread in vbs. for 'hear' or 'listen' (hence also 'obey', etc.), also 'be heard, be called, be famous', sbs. for 'hearing' and for what is heard, 'fame', 'word', etc. Walde-P. 1.494 f. Ernout-M. 192. Walde-H. 1.237 ff. Pedersen 2.494 f.

Grk. *κλῶ* 'hear' (poet.), *κλυτός* 'heard, famous', *κλέος* 'report, fame, glory' (fr. *κλέος* = Skt. *gravas* - id., ChSl. *slovo* 'word'), *κλέω* 'make famous, celebrate', mid. 'be famous'.

Lat. *clūere* (later also *clūere*) 'be called, be famous', *inclusus* 'famous'. Ir. *ro-cluinnir*, *cluinnim*, Nlr. also *cloisim* (re-formed fr. vbl. n. *clous*, Ir. dat. *cluas*, etc.), W. *clwyed*, Br. *kleuvut* 'hear', with sbs. W. *clwyd*, *clwybod*, Br. *kleo* 'hearing'.

Goth. *hlīuma* 'hearing' (= *ἀκοή* 2 Cor. 12.17; pl. = *ἀκοαί* 'ears'), ON *hljóð* 'a hearing' (but not for sense of hearing) and 'sound', *hljóða* 'listen', Dan. *lytte* 'listen' (for ODan. *lyde* now 'obey', as Sw. *lyda*; Falk-Torp 669, 672); for 'sound' Dan. *lyd*, Sw. *lyd*, OE *hlēoþor* (*gehlyd* 'tumult'), OHG (*h)lūta*, (*h)lōdār*, MHG *lūt*, NHG *laut*, Du. *geluid* (also OE *hlūd*, OHG (*h)lūt*, etc. 'loud', 15.45); OE *hlyst* 'hearing', and for 'listen' OE *hlystan* (*hlosnian* 'listen for, wait for'), ME *hlystne*, NE *listen*, MLG *lūsteren* (> Dan. *lystre* 'obey', Sw. *lystra* 'attend to'), Du. *luisteren*, Sw. *lyssna* (cf. Hellquist 601), OHG (*h)losēn*, MHG *losen*, OHG *lustrēn* (NHG dial. *laustern*; NHG

*lauschen* 'listen furtively' with sense influenced by another word; cf. Weigand-H. and Kluge-G. s.v.).

Lith. *klausyti*(s), Lett. *klausīt* 'listen'. ChSl. *slýsati* 'hear', *sluchŭ* 'hearing', whence *slušati* 'hear, listen', etc., general Slavic.

Skt. *śru-* (also *śruṣ-*), Av. *sru-* 'hear', with derivs. Skt. *śruti-*, *śrotra-*, 'hearing'.

Cf. also Toch. A *klots*, B *klotso* 'ear' (SSS 128 f.).

2. Grk. *ἀκοῖω* 'hear', sb. *ἀκοή*, Hom. *ἀκοή* 'hearing' and 'thing heard, report' (but not 'sound' in general), etym. much disputed. Prob. not *ἀκ-ου-* fr. *ἀκ-* 'sharp' and *οἶς* 'ear' (Kretschmer, KZ. 33.565, Falk-Torp 454, etc.), but *\*ἀκου-* : Goth. *hausjan* 'hear', and both : Grk. *κοῶ* 'perceive, notice', also 'hear', Lat. *cavēre* 'beware', ChSl. *čuti* 'recognize, notice', *po-čuti* 'perceive' (15.11), Skt. *kavi-* 'wise, a seer', etc. Walde-P. 1.369. Boisacq 37 f. Feist 252. Walde-H. 1.186.

Grk. *ἀκροάομαι* 'listen', fr. *\*ἀκρ-ου-*, cpd. of *ἀκρος* orig. 'sharp' and *οἶς* 'ear'. Kretschmer, KZ 33.566. Hence also *ἐπακροάομαι*, whence (as if fr. *ἀπο-* and with *φ* by some analogy) NG *ἀπακράζομαι* with numerous local variants (cf. also Byz. *ἀπακράζομαι* in Chron. Mor.). 'Ist. Aeξ. 3.311 f.

Byz., NG *γροικῶ* in earliest use 'perceive, understand, recognize' (so *ἐγροικῶ*, *γροικῶ* in Chron. Mor.), now esp. 'hear', but also 'feel' (cold, etc.), fr. an adj. *\*ἀγροικός* 'knowing, understanding' (so *ἐγροικός* Chron. Mor. 1341), this fr. class. Grk. *ἀγροικός* (fr. *ἀγρός* 'field') 'rustic, boorish', hence also 'ignorant', in this latter sense felt as a neg. cpd., whence *(ἀ)γροικός* in the opposite sense. Hatzidakis, *Ἑρτηρίς* 9(1912–13). 47 ff. 'Ist. Aeξ. 1.230 f.

Grk. *φῶφος*, the most generic class.

word for 'sound' (*ἀκοή* *φῶφου* parallel to *γεῖσας* *χυμοί*, Aristot., De anim. 2.6), prob. of imitative origin.

Grk. *ἤχη* 'sound' (usual word in Hom.), later *ἦχος* as NG (lit.) : Lat. *vāgīre* 'cry, squall', with different extensions of an imitative *\*uā-*. Walde-P. 1.215. Ernout-M. 1070.

Grk. *κρότος* 'a rattling or clashing sound', in NG the usual word for any inarticulate sound, perh. : OE *hrindan* 'strike, hit', ChSl. *krotiti* 'tame', etc. Walde-P. 1.484.

3. Lat. *audire* 'hear' (> It. *udire*, Sp. *oír*, Rum. *auzi*; Fr. *ouïr* now nearly obs.), sb. *auditus* 'hearing' (> It. *udito*, Fr. *ouïe*, Sp. *oido*; Rum. *auz*, back-formation fr. vb.), by itself most simply taken as fr. *\*aus-dh-* (cf. *auscultāre*) : Lat. *auris*, Grk. *οἶς*, Lith. *ausis*, etc. 'ear' (4.22), but perh. better (to help explain the difficult cpd. *oboedire*) fr. *\*avis-dh-* : Grk. *αἰσθάνομαι* 'perceive', Skt. *āvis* 'openly', etc. (15.11), belonging ultimately to the same group. Walde-P. 1.17 f. Walde-H. 1.80. Ernout-M. 86.

Lat. *auscultāre* 'listen', VLat. *ascultāre* (> the Romance forms listed), cpd. of *\*aus-* : Lat. *auris* 'ear', etc., second part prob. fr. *\*cultos* by metath. fr. *\*clutos* : IE *\*kleu-* (above, 1). Walde-H. 1.86 f. REW 802.

Lat. *sonus* 'sound' (> It. *suono*, Fr. *son*, OSp. *sueno*, Rum. *sun*; Sp. *sonido* new deriv.; Rum. *sunet* fr. Lat. *sonitus*), with vb. *sonere*, *sonāre* (> It. *suonare*, Fr. *sonner*, Sp. *sonar*, Rum. *sună*) : Skt. *svan-* 'to sound, make a noise', sb. *svana-*, *svāna-* 'sound', etc. Walde-P. 2.524 f. Ernout-M. 956 f.

Fr. *entendre* 'hear', fr. Lat. *intendere* 'stretch out, direct one's attention to', whence 'understand' (as It. *intendere*, Sp. *entender*, and still in part Fr. *entendre*), then 'hear', replacing the old *ouïr*. REW 4483.

tain whether the subj. 'hearing' or the obj. 'sound' is the earlier. Walde-P. 1.569.

Skt. *śabda-* (the generic and technical word for 'sound'), perh. as *śab-da-* : Skt.

## 15.45 LOUD

|      |                               |       |                         |       |   |
|------|-------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|---|
| Grk. | <i>μέγας</i>                  | Goth. | ( <i>mikils</i> )       | Lith. | <i>balsus</i> , <i>garsus</i> , <i>didis</i>                |
| NG   | <i>ἄνατος</i>                 | ON    | <i>hār</i>              | Lett. | <i>skan's</i> , <i>skal's</i>                               |
| Lat. | <i>magnus</i> , <i>clārus</i> | Dan.  | <i>høj</i>              | ChSl. | ( <i>vel'gi</i> )   |
| It.  | <i>forte</i> , <i>alto</i>    | Sw.   | <i>hög</i>              | Boh.  | <i>glasen</i>   |
| Fr.  | <i>fort</i> , <i>haut</i>     | OE    | <i>hlūd</i>             | Pol.  | <i>głośny</i>   |
| Sp.  | <i>fuerte</i> , <i>alto</i>   | ME    | <i>loud(e)</i>          | Russ. | <i>громкий</i>  |
| Rum. | <i>tare</i>                   | NE    | <i>loud</i>             | Skt.  | <i>ucca</i> , <i>mahan-</i> , <i>bhrant-</i> , <i>tāra-</i> |
| Ir.  | <i>ardd</i>                   | Du.   | <i>luid</i>             | Av.   | <i>borzant-</i>   |
| Nlr. | <i>ard</i>                    | OHG   | ( <i>h)lūt</i>          |       |   |
| W.   | <i>uchel</i>                  | MHG   | <i>lūt</i> , <i>hel</i> |       |   |
| Br.  | <i>uhel</i>                   | NHG   | <i>laut</i>             |       |   |

Nearly all the adjs. that are used to describe sound are words which primarily apply to other senses or other notions in general and only secondarily to sound or voice. Thus NE *sharp*, *harsh*, *soft*, *piercing*, *sweet*, *high*, *low*, *deep*, *faint*, etc., and similarly in other languages.

An important exception is NE *loud*, with its Gmc. cognates, and some of the other words for 'loud', though many of these too are from notions applied only secondarily to sound, as 'great', 'strong', 'high'.

There are no strictly distinctive words for the opposite of 'loud', which is generally covered by words for 'low', 'faint', 'gentle' or the like. But NHG *leise* (OHG *liso* 'gently') has come to be used mainly in relation to sound, as the opposite of *laut*. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v.

1. OE *hlūd*, OHG *hlūt*, *lūt*, etc., general Wgmc., fr. *\*klū-to-* orig. 'heard' or 'to be heard' beside *\*klu-to-* in Grk. *κλυτός* 'famous', Skt. *śru-ta-* 'heard', fr. *\*kleu-* 'hear' (15.41).

2. Lat. *clārus* ('clear, loud' of sound, hence also 'clear, bright' of vision) : *clāmāre* 'call, cry out', *calāre* 'proclaim,

*cap-* 'curse', ChSl. *soplcī* 'flute-player', Russ. *sopel'* 'snuffle', etc., an imitative group. Walde-P. 1.457.

Skt. *svana-*, *svāna-* 'sound' : Lat.

*sonus* (above, 3).

Fr. *haul*, Sp. *alto* (esp. of the voice, speech, etc.); Ir. *ardd*, Nlr. *ard*, W. *uchel*, Br. *uhel*; ON *hār*, Dan. *høj*, Sw. *hög*; Skt. *ucca-*, and *bhrant-*, Av. *borzant-*.

8. Skt. *tāra-* 'loud, shrill', also sb. 'a

|       | 15.51<br>SEE                         | 15.52<br>LOOK (vb.),<br>LOOK AT    | 15.53<br>SIGHT (subj.)    | 15.54<br>SIGHT (obj.),<br>LOOK (obj.),<br>APPEARANCE |
|-------|--------------------------------------|------------------------------------|---------------------------|--|
| Grk.  | <i>δράω, δέχομαι, εἶδον, δέχομαι</i> | <i>βλέπω, σκέπτομαι</i>            | <i>ὄψις, δρᾶσις</i>       | <i>ὄψις, θεία</i>                                    |
| NG    | <i>bláw, eída</i>                    | <i>kuirázō</i>                     | <i>ὄψις, δρᾶσις</i>       | <i>ὄψις, θεία</i>                                    |
| Lat.  | <i>vidēre</i>                        | <i>aspicere</i>                    | <i>visus</i>              | <i>visus</i>   |
| It.   | <i>vedere</i>                        | <i>guardare, mirare</i>            | <i>vista</i>              | <i>vista</i>   |
| Fr.   | <i>voir</i>                          | <i>regarder (mirer)</i>            | <i>vue</i>                | <i>vue</i> , aspect, etc.                            |
| Sp.   | <i>ver</i>                           | <i>mirar</i>                       | <i>vista</i>              | <i>vista</i> , aspecto, etc.                         |
| Rum.  | <i>vedea</i>                         | <i>se uita</i>                     | <i>vedere</i>             | <i>vedere</i>  |
| Ir.   | <i>ad-ciu</i>                        | <i>disccu, féachaim, sellaim</i>   | <i>rodare, imcaisiu</i>   | <i>éocac</i>   |
| Nlr.  | ( <i>do</i> )- <i>chim</i>           | <i>féachaim, dearcaim</i>          | <i>radharc, amharc</i>    | <i>féachaim, radharc</i>                             |
| W.    | <i>gweled</i>                        | <i>edrych, syllu</i>               | <i>golwg</i>              | <i>golwg, drych</i>                                  |
| Br.   | <i>gwelet</i>                        | <i>sellet</i>                      | <i>gwel(et)</i>           | <i>gwel(et)</i>                                      |
| Goth. | <i>saihwān</i>                       | <i>saihwān(wlailōn)</i>            | <i>siuns</i>              | <i>siuns</i>   |
| ON    | <i>sjā</i>                           | <i>lita</i>                        | <i>sjōn (sjñ)</i>         | <i>sjñ</i>   |
| Dan.  | <i>se</i>                            | <i>se paa</i>                      | <i>syn</i>                | <i>syn</i>   |
| Sw.   | <i>se</i>                            | <i>se på, blicka</i>               | <i>syn</i>                | <i>syn</i>   |
| OE    | <i>seon</i>                          | <i>wlitan, locian, scēawian</i>    | <i>gesiht, sjñ</i>        | <i>uiste, gesiht</i>                                 |
| ME    | <i>seen</i>                          |                                    | <i>sighte</i>             | <i>sighte</i>  |
| NE    | <i>see</i>                           |                                    | <i>sight, vision</i>      | <i>appearance, look(s), sight</i>                    |
| Du.   | <i>zien</i>                          | <i>aanzien, kijken</i>             | <i>gesicht</i>            | <i>aanzien</i>                                       |
| OHG   | <i>sehan</i>                         | <i>scouwen</i>                     | <i>gesicht</i>            | <i>gesicht</i>                                       |
| MHG   | <i>sehen</i>                         | <i>schauen</i>                     | <i>gesicht</i>            | <i>gesicht</i>                                       |
| NHG   | <i>sehen</i>                         | <i>schauen, blicken, ansehen</i>   | <i>gesicht</i>            | <i>aussehen</i>                                      |
| Lith. | <i>matyti, regėti</i>                | <i>žiūrėti (veizdėti)</i>          | <i>matymas, regejimas</i> | <i>išvaizda</i>                                      |
| Lett. | <i>redzēt</i>                        | <i>skatīt, lūkot</i>               | <i>redze</i>              | <i>izskats, veids</i>                                |
| ChSl. | <i>viděti, zřítí</i>                 | <i>žřiti, gledati, sŭmotriti</i>   | <i>zřéníje</i>            | <i>zrak, vidŭ</i>                                    |
| SCR.  | <i>viditi</i>                        | <i>gledati</i>                     | <i>vid</i>                | <i>vid</i>   |
| Boh.  | <i>viditi</i>                        | <i>hlediti, patřiti, dívatí se</i> | <i>zrak</i>               | <i>vid</i>   |
| Pol.  | <i>widzieć</i>                       | <i>patrzeć, spojrzeć</i>           | <i>uwrók</i>              | <i>wygląd</i>  |
| Russ. | <i>videt'</i>                        | <i>smotret', gljadel'</i>          | <i>zrenie</i>             | <i>videt'</i>  |
| Skt.  | <i>dr̥c-, paç-, iks-</i>             | <i>dr̥c-, iks-, ava-lok-</i>       | <i>dr̥ṣi-</i>             | <i>dr̥c-</i>   |
| Av.   | <i>vaçn-, doras-</i>                 | <i>ik-</i>                         |                           |  |

15.51–15.54. The majority of the words for 'see' belong to certain inherited groups, pointing to a variety of IE roots used for 'see', but doubtless with some differentiation of application which is now beyond our ken.

The words for 'see', denoting the actual perception, may also be used for 'look, look at', especially in the imperative. But nearly always there are dis-

loud, shrill tone', orig. 'piercing', fr. *tr-* 'pass, cross', like other derivs. of IE *\*ter-* applied to sound, as Grk. *ρορός* 'piercing' (of sound and sight), Ir. *tairm* 'noise', OPruss. *tārvin* 'voice', Lith. *tarti* 'say', etc. Walde-P. 1.744.

Several of the words for 'look' rest on

the notion of 'watch, guard', and this has led further to 'see' in Grk. *δράω*. Some have come, through weakening of an intermediate 'stare at, gaze at', from 'wonder at' or 'forget oneself'.

The dependence of sight upon light is

reflected in several words for 'see' or

'look' that are cognate with others for

'light, shine', etc.

Words for the subj. 'sight' are nearly

all derivs. of the verbs for 'see', or in

some cases 'look'. Many of these are

also used for the obj. 'look, appearance'

of something. But this latter may also

be expressed by different derivs., in-

cluding some (as NHG *aussehen*, Dan.

*udsende*) that rest on the vbs. for the

obj. 'look, have the appearance', or even

by words that have no orig. connection

with the notion of sight, as NE *appear-*

*ance*. Some words that orig. denoted

precisely this notion of 'look, appear-

*ance* have been widened to 'form, kind',

as Grk. *εἶδος*, Lat. *speciēs*. Some of the

words listed here appear also under

'form' (12.51), and conversely several

of the words listed there may be used

for 'appearance'. In fact, there is such

a variety of expressions for 'look, ap-

*pearance* that the selection is for some

languages difficult, and a few of those

listed under this head (15.54) are most

commonly used with some more special

application, as It. *vista*, etc., esp. to the

'view' of a landscape, It. *aspetto*, Fr.

*aspect*, esp. to the 'looks, aspect' of a

person. NE *sight* is used objectively

(a *strange sight*, etc.) but is now obsolete

for the characteristic 'look, appearance'

of something (cf. NED s.v. I. 3).

The verbs for the obj. 'look, have the

appearance, appear, seem' are not listed.

This notion is logically related to the

subj. 'see' or 'look' in the same way as

the obj. to the subj. 'smell' or 'taste',

etc.

Grk. aor. *εἶδον*, NG *eída*, with derivs.

*εἶδος* 'appearance, form, kind', etc.; Lat.

*vidēre* (> It. *vedere*, Fr. *voir*, Sp. *ver*,

Rum. *vedea*), deriv. *visus* 'sight' (subj.;

in this sense replaced in Romance by

new derivs., It., Sp. *vista*, Fr. *vue*, fr.

pples., Rum. *vedere* old infin.); Lith.

*veizdėti* 'look' (obs.), Lett. *vidēt* 'see'

(but in rather special uses, cf. Mühl-

Endz. 4.652), *veids* 'appearance' (Lith.

veids 'face'); ChSl. *viděti*, etc., general

Slavic for 'see', with sbs. for 'sight' or

'appearance', ChSl. *vidŭ*, SCR., Boh.,

Russ. *vid* (Pol. *wid* obs. except in a phrase).

2. IE *\*derk-*. Walde-P. 1.806 f.

Grk. *δέχομαι, δέδοκα, δέξαμαι* 'see, look, gaze', poet. only; Ir. *ad-con-darc*, used as perf. of *ad-ciu* 'see', Nlr. *dearcain*, W. *edrych* 'look, behold', Ir. *rodare* 'sight' (subj.), Nlr. *radharc* 'sight' (subj.), W. *edrych* 'sight' (obj.), appearance', here also Ir. *derc* 'eye'; Skt. *dr̥c-* reg. word for 'see' except in pres. (*paç-*), deriv. *dr̥ṣi-* 'sight' (subj.), *dr̥c-* 'sight' (obj.), look, appearance' (cf. *lādr̥c-* 'such, like'), Av. *dorās-* 'see, gaze on' (much less common for 'see' than



*visiō* 'sight' (subj.) and esp. obj. 'vision, apparition'.

ME *apparance*, NE *appearance*, fr. OFr. *aparançe*, late Lat. *appārentia* 'becoming visible', deriv. of *appārrē* 'become visible, appear'. Cf. NED s.v., esp. 11.

Du. *kijken* 'peep, stare', but also commonly 'look': ME *kike* 'peep', NE dial. *keek* (cf. NED s.v.), etc., doubtless fr. an exclamatory syllable, as are also the similar, but not identical, NE *peep*, Dan. *titte*, Sw. *titta*, NHG *gucken* 'peep' and colloquial for 'look' (*guck mal hin!*). Hellquist 1192.

NHG *blicken* (NHG or LG > Sw. *blicka*, 'shine', Helquist 78) 'look' (also 'gleam, shine'), fr. MHG *blicken*, OHG *blicchen* 'gleam, shine', beside sb. OHG *blicch*, MHG *blic* 'gleam, lightning', whence NHG *blick* 'glance, look', and through this the use of the vb. in sense of 'look'. Weigand-H. 1.253.

10. Lith. *matyti* 'see': Lett. *matīt* 'feel, perceive, notice', ChSl. *sū-motriti*, Russ. *smotret* 'look at, regard, consider', perh. Grk. *μαρεύω* 'seek', etc. Walde-P. 2.239. Trautmann 171. Mühl.-Endz. 2.566.

Lith. *regėti*, Lett. *redzēt* 'see', with sbs. Lith. *regėjimas*, Lett. *redze* 'sight' (subj.), etym.? Walde-P. 2.366. Mühl.-Endz. 3.503.

Lith. *žiūrėti* 'look': Lett. *zvērs* 'flashing', *zvēruot* 'gleam, glow', etc. Cf. on NHG *blicken*, above. Walde-P. 1.643.

Lith. *veizdėti* 'look' (common in the Trowitsch NT, where Kurschat has *žiūrėti*, but now obs.), Lett. *veids* 'appearance', above, 1. Hence (like NHG *aussehen*) *išvaizda* 'look, appearance' (NSB, etc.).

Lith. *išrodyti* 'point out', also 'have the appearance' (sb. *išroda* 'appearance' (in NSB; "unsuccessful neolog." Senn),

cpd. of *rodyti* 'point out' = Lett. *rādīt* id., etym.? Mühl.-Endz. 3.495.

Lett. *lūknot* 'look at, observe', refl. *lūknoties* 'look', above, 5.

Lett. *skatīt* 'look, look at, observe', with sb. *izskats* 'appearance': Lith. *skatytis* 'cast one's eyes around', etym.? Mühl.-Endz. 3.874 f.

11. ChSl. *viděti* 'see', etc., above, 1.

ChSl. *zřěti* 'look, see' (renders Grk. *βλέπω* in both senses; perfect. *uzřěliti* usual for aor. and fut. of *ὁράω*; much interchange with *viděti*, Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 329, 409), Boh. *zřítí*, Pol. *źrzeć*, Russ. *zreť* (all these now mostly obs., but cpd. Pol. *spójrzeć* 'look'), with numerous derivs. including some for 'sight', as ChSl. *zřěnije* (cf. *prozřěnije* 'recovery of sight', Lk. 4.19), Russ. *zrenie* (subj.), ChSl. *zrakū* (obj. 'appearance, form', in Gospels), Boh. *zrak* (subj.), Pol. *uzrok* (subj.), all: Lith. *žerėti* 'gleam, shine'. Walde-P. 1.602. Miklosich 401 f. Brückner 651, 656.

ChSl. *gledati*, SCR. *gledati*, Boh. *hleděti*, Russ. *gljadet'* 'look', Pol. *wyglądać* 'look (obj.)', appear', sb. *wygląd* 'look, appearance': OHG *glanz* 'gleaming', etc. Walde-P. 1.625. Berneker 302 f.

Boh. *dváti se* 'look': *div*, ChSl. *divo* 'wonder', with development as in It. *mirare*, Sp. *mirar* 'look' (above, 7), much less probably with retention of an early relation to the notion 'shine', as assumed by Berneker 203 and Walde-P. 1.774.

Boh. *patřiti*, Pol. *patrzyć* 'look', also 'belong to' as SCR. *patriti*, etym.? Brückner 399.

ChSl. *sūmotriti*, Russ. *smotret'*: Lith. *matyti* 'see' (above, 10).

12. Skt. *dic-*, etc., above, 2.

Skt. *paç-*, above, 3.

Av. *vaēn-*, OPers. *vain-* 'see' (most

widespread Iran. word, represented in

Pahl., Sogd., NPers., Afgh., Osset., etc.), prob.: Skt. *ven-* 'long for' (fr. 'look for?'), further connections dub. Walde-P. 1.229.

Av. *di-* 'look at, observe' (Barth.

724 f.), OPers. imperat. *didīy* 'look at',

NPers. *didan* 'see': Skt. *dhi-* 'perceive,

'notice' but mostly, with transfer to

mental perception, 'think'. Walde-P.

1.831 f.

## 15.55 SHOW (vb.)

|      |                      |       |                        |       |                    |
|------|----------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | δείκνυμι, φαίνω      | Goth. | (at)augjan             | Lith. | (pa)rodyti         |
| NG   | δείκνω               | ON    | visa, sýna             | Lett. | rādīt              |
| Lat. | mōnstrāre, ostendere | Dan.  | vise                   | ChSl. | pokazati, (j)aviti |
| It.  | mostrare             | Sw.   | visa                   | SCR.  | pokazati, (j)aviti |
| Fr.  | montrer              | OE    | ēawan, aēowan          | Boh.  | ukazati            |
| Sp.  | mostrar              | ME    | shew                   | Pol.  | okazać, pokazać    |
| Rum. | arata                | NE    | show                   | Russ. | pokazati, ukazati  |
| Ir.  | taisfenim            | Du.   | toonen                 | Skt.  | diç-               |
| Nlr. | taishenaim           | OHG   | zeigēn, ougen          | Av.   | darçaya-           |
| W.   | dangos               | MHG   | zeigen, zougen, zounen |       | dis-               |
| Br.  | diskouez             | NHG   | zeigen                 |       |                    |

'Show' is virtually 'cause to be seen', and, in fact, the most common relationship of the terms is with words for 'see, look, eye, appear, shine'. A few are connected with words for 'wise' or 'know', hence orig. 'cause one to know'. In one case the development is 'stretch' > 'spread out' > 'display, show'. In the one inherited group (below, 1), if one takes into account all the derivs. (e.g. Skt. *diç-* 'direction, cardinal point, region', Lat. *digitus* 'finger', etc.), it seems likely that the primary notion was 'point (as with the finger), point out'.

1. IE *deiḱ-*. Walde-P. 1.776. Ernout-M. 265 ff. Walde-H. 1.348 f.

Here as 'show'. Grk. *δείκνυμι*, NG

pop. *δείκνω*; OHG *zeigēn*, MHG, NHG

*zeigen*; Skt. *diç-*, Av. *dis-*; cf. in secondary senses Lat. *dicere* 'say' (earlier sense in *index* 'pointer', *iudex* 'judge', etc.),

Goth. *ga-leihan* 'announce', OE *tion*, OHG *zihan* 'accuse'.

2. Grk. *phaíno* 'bring to light, cause to appear, show', mid. 'appear': Skt. *bhā-*

'shine', etc. (15.56). Walde-P. 2.123 f.

3. Lat. *mōnstrāre* (> It. *mostrare*, Fr.

*montrer*, Sp. *mostrar*), fr. *mōnstrum* 'portent, monster', but through an earlier unrecorded sense like 'memorable object', fr. the root of *monēre* 'remind, advise', *meminī* 'remember', Skt. *man-*

'think', etc. Ernout-M. 629. REW 5665. Lat. *ostendere*, fr. \**obs-tendere*, cpd. of

*tendere* 'stretch, spread out' (9.32).

Rum. *arăta*, etym. dub. REW 671. Tiktin 91. Puşcariu 108.

4. Ir. *taisfenim* (cf. *asfenim* 'testify'), Nlr. *taishenaim*, cpd. of *fen-*: *fad-*

'announce', *finn-* 'know', etc. Pedersen 2.517.

W. *dangos*, *dan-* as in *dan-fon* beside

*an-fon* 'send' (Pedersen 2.302), but second part? Morris Jones 269 (very dub.).

Br. *diskouez*, fr. *dis-* and MBr. *goez*

in *a-goez* 'publicly': Grk. *εἶδος* 'appearance', etc. Henry 101. Pedersen 1.58.

5. Goth. *augjan*, *at-augjan*, OE *ēawan*, *aē-ōwan*, OHG *ougen*, OHG, MHG

*z-ougen*, also MLG *z-ōnen*, Du. *toonen*, MHG *zounen*, all: Goth. *auđō* 'eye', etc. Walde-P. 1.171. Feist 64. Franck-v. W. 702.

ON *visa*, Dan. *vise*, Sw. *visa* (OE *wīsan* 'show the way, guide, direct,'

*leohtan*), ME *lihte*, OHG, MHG *liuhten*, NHG *leuchten* (fr. a Gmc. \**leuh-ta-*

'light'), ON *ljāsa*, Dan. *lyse*, Sw. *lysa*, OE *līzan* (fr. \**leuh-sa-*); ChSl. *lištati se*

(\**lišk-* for \**lišk-* fr. \**luk-sk-*, Berneker 750); Skt. *ruc-*, Av. *ruç-*.

3. Grk. *λάμπω* : *λαμπάς*, Lett. *lāpa*

'torch', OPers. *lopiš* 'flame', Ir. *lassaim* 'blaze', *lassair* 'flame', etc. Walde-P. 2.383. Boissacq 554.

Grk. *στῖλβω* (of surfaces) with *στῖλβη*

'lamp', *στῖλπνός* 'glittering', etym. dub. (Ir. *sellaim* 'look at', etc.?). Walde-P. 2.646.

NG *γαλιζω* 'shine, gleam' (of surfaces), fr. *θαλός* 'glass' (9.74).

4. Lat. *nītere* (of surfaces), perh., beside *re-nidēre* 'glitter, glisten, beam with joy', fr. a root \**nei-* in Ir. *niam* 'luster',

W. *nywyf* 'vivacity, animation', etc. Walde-P. 2.321. Ernout-M. 672.

Lat. *splendēre* (> It. (ri)splendēre) :

OLith. *splendēti* 'shine' (but not certainly attested), Mlr. *liann* 'bright', W.

*lathru* 'polish' fr. \**(s)plēnd-*, perh. extension of \**sp(h)el-* in Skt. *sphuliṅga* 'spark',

etc. Walde-P. 2.679. Ernout-M. 966.

Lat. *candēre* (cf. the more common *candēs*, *candidus*) : Skt. (ç)cand- 'shine',

(ç)candra- 'bright', etc. Walde-P. 1.352. Ernout-M. 442. Walde-H. 1.151.

It. *brillare* (> Fr. *briller*, Sp. *brillar*), Olt. 'turn, whirl', from an imitative *birl*

(cf. NE *birl*, NED). REW 652b. Otherwise (fr. the word for 'beryl') Diez 67, Wartburg 1.339.

5. Ir. *as-toidi* (3sg.), etym. dub., perh. : W. *tywydd* 'weather', and formally possible as cpd. \**to-wid-*, fr. IE \**weid-*

'see'. Pedersen 2.651 f.

Ir. *taítnim* (Nlr. mostly 'please'), perh. fr. \**to-aith-ten-* : *tene* 'fire' (1.81).

Windisch 806. Macbain 358.

Nlr. *soillighim*, Br. *lugerni*, above, 2. W. *disgleirio*, fr. *disglair* 'bright' (15.57).

8. ChSl. *světliti*, above, 7.

ChSl. *blīstati*, etc., general Slavic :

Lith. *blizgėti* 'glitter, flash', *blykšti* 'turn pale', OE *blīcan* 'glitter, dazzle, sparkle',

ON *blīkja*, *blīka* 'gleam, twinkle', OHG *blīhhan* 'turn pale', etc. Walde-P. 2.212.

Berneker 63.

ChSl. *sijati*, SCR. *sjati*, Russ. *sjať* :

Goth. *skeinan*, etc. (above, 6).

ChSl. *lištati se* (for *στῖλβω*, Mk. 9.3), above, 2.

9. Skt. *bhā-*, *bhās-*, Av. *bā-*, above, 1.

Skt. *ruc-*, Av. *ruç-*, above, 2.

Skt. *di-*, *diṣ-* (*diṣ-* mostly 'play'), and esp. *dyut-*, fr. IE \**dei-*, \**deiw-*, \**dyeu-*, etc. in Grk. *δαίω* 'seemed', *δαίλος*, *δαίλος* 'visible, plain', Skt. *dyaus* 'sky', Lat. *diēs* 'day', etc. Walde-P. 1.772 ff.

Skt. *bhrāj-*, Av. *brāz-* : Lith. *brėkšti*

'to dawn', Pol. *o-brzasknąć* 'become light', *brzask* 'dawn', Goth. *bairhts*

'bright', etc. Walde-P. 2.170.

Skt. *çuc-* (esp. 'flame, glow, burn') :

Av. *suç-* 'burn, flame', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.378.

## 15.57 BRIGHT

|      |  |       |                       |       |                                  |
|------|--|-------|-----------------------|-------|----------------------------------|
| Grk. | λαμπρός, φαεινός, φαιδρός                    | Goth. | bairhts               | Lith. | šviesus                          |
| NG   | φαιδρός, λαμπρός, γυαλιστερός                | ON    | ljōss, skær, bjart    | Lett. | gaišs, spuošs                    |
| Lat. | clārius, lūcidus, nīdus, splēdidus, candidus | Dan.  | lys, blank            | ChSl. | světliu                          |
| It.  | clarior, lucido, brillante, risplendente     | Sw.   | ljus, blank           | SCR.  | svijetla, sjaian, jasan          |
| Fr.  | clair, brillant, luisant                     | OE    | beorht, liht, scir    | Boh.  | jasný, světlý                    |
| Sp.  | claro, luciente, brillante, lustrero         | ME    | bright, lighte        | Pol.  | świeły, jasny                    |
| Rum. | strălucitor, luminos                         | NE    | bright                | Russ. | svetlyj, jarkij                  |
| Ir.  | solus, sorch                                 | Du.   | helder                | Skt.  | çuci-, çukra-, dyu-              |
| Nlr. | soilleach, gleineach, geal                   | OHG   | beraht, liht          | Av.   | raoçšna-, zšašla-, bānvan-, etc. |
| W.   | goleu, disglair                              | MHG   | hel, berht(ēl), lieht |       |                                  |
| Br.  | sklaer, skedus, lugernus                     | NHG   | hell, glänzend        |       |                                  |

Many of the adjs. for 'bright', like the vbs. for 'shine', are used both of luminous bodies or of anything that is 'light, full of light' (as the *bright sun, sky*, etc.)

and of things with surfaces reflecting light (as *bright silver*, etc.), not to speak of the varied secondary applications to intelligence or disposition. But some of those listed are used only with reference to actual light and some only with reference to 'bright' surfaces and with still further idiomatic preferences according to the object described.

The majority of the words are related to those for 'light' (1.61) or those for

'shine' (15.56). Some are simply pples. of the latter, and many other such words for 'shining' might have been included as virtually equivalent to 'bright'.

1. Grk. *λαμπρός* (NG pop. only in fig. sense 'splendid', in lit. sense *λαμπρός* :

*λάμπω* 'shine' (15.56).

Grk., Ion. *φαεινός*, Lesb. *φάενος*, Att. *φάινος*, also *φαιρυνός*, derivs. of *φάος*, *φῶς*

'light' (1.61), like *φαείνω* 'shine' (15.56).

Grk. *φαιδρός* (also 'gay, cheerful' as in NG) : Lith. *giedras* 'fair, clear, serene',

*gaisas, gaisa*, Lett. *gaišs* 'reflected light in the sky', Lett. *deidums* 'clearness',

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Most of the words for 'light' in color are the same as those for the broader 'light' = 'bright' (15.57), and this special use is mostly modern. So NE *light* in this sense from 15th cent., MHG *licht* rarely in cpds. as *liehtblā* 'light blue', NHG *licht* usual in Austria vs. *hell* with reference to color (Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 234).

Other terms are:

1. Grk. λευκός, orig. 'bright', but mostly 'light in color', esp. 'white': Lat. *lūx*, OE *leoht* 'light', etc. (1.61).

2. NG ἀνοιχτός, lit. 'open', fr. ἀνοίγω 'open'. Similarly, and prob. by semantic borrowing, Rum. *deschis*, fr. *deschide* 'open' (12.24).

3. Nir. *ḥadrom*, 'light' in weight are the same as those for the broader 'light' = 'bright' (15.57), and this special use is mostly modern. So NE *light* in this sense from 15th cent., MHG *licht* rarely in cpds. as *liehtblā* 'light blue', NHG *licht* usual in Austria vs. *hell* with reference to color (Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 234).

ME *pale* (NE also sometimes in this sense, as *pale blue*, etc., cf. NED s.v.), fr. OFr. *pāle*, Lat. *pallidus* 'pallid, pale': Grk. παλιδός 'livid', παλιδός 'gray', Skt. *palita* 'gray, hoary', *paṇḍu-* 'whitish yellow, white', OE *fealo*, OHG *falo*, Lith. *palvas* 'fallow' ('light brownish or reddish yellow'), ChSl. *plavŭ* (renders λευκός Jn. 4.35, but with reference to fields of grain, hence here also 'yellowish'). Walde-P. 2.53 f. Ernout-M. 725.

#### 15.63 DARK (in Color)

|      |                |       |                 |       |                         |
|------|----------------|-------|-----------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | μέλας, κελευός | Goth. | ....            | Lith. | tamsus                  |
| NG   | βαδός, σκοῖρος | ON    | dökk            | Lett. | tumšs                   |
| Lat. | fuscus, pullus | Dan.  | mørk, dunkel    | ChSl. | tīmtinū                 |
| It.  | scuro, cupo    | Sw.   | mörk, dunkel    | Scr.  | taman                   |
| Fr.  | foncé, sombre  | OE    | wann (dear)     | Boh.  | temný                   |
| Sp.  | oscuro         | ME    | dark, wan, dose | Pol.  | ciemny                  |
| Rum. | închis         | NE    | dark            | Russ. | temnyj                  |
| Ir.  | dorche, temen  | Du.   | donker          | Skt.  | kṛṣṇa-, cyāma-, tamasa- |
| Nir. | dorcha         | OHG   | tunchal         | Av.   | azšāna-                 |
| W.   | tywyll         | MHG   | tunkel          |       |                         |
| Br.  | du             | NHG   | dunkel          |       |                         |

Many of the words for 'dark' in color are the same as those for 'dark' = 'lacking light', these again mostly connected with the sbs. for 'darkness' already discussed in 1.62. Some are the same as, or derived from, those for 'black'; some rest on the notion of 'deep'; others are of various sources.

1. IE \*tem-, etc., as in sbs. for 'darkness' (1.62). Walde-P. 1.720 f.

Ir. *temen*, *temnide* (here also *W. tywyll* cf. ref. in 1.62); Lith. *tamsus*, Lett. *tumšs*; ChSl. *tīmtinū*, Scr. *taman*, etc., general Slavic; Skt. *tamasa-* (AV 11.9.22).

2. Grk. μέλας, κελευός 'black' (15.65), also 'dark' in color.

NG βαδός 'deep' (12.67), also 'dark' in color. Cf. It. *cupo*, Fr. *foncé*, and NE *deep* in *deep red*, *deep dyed*, etc.

NG σκοῖρος, fr. It. *scuro* (below).

3. Lat. *fuscus* = ME *dosc*, *dusk* 'dark, dark-colored' (NE *dusk* sb., *dusky* adj.), Skt. *dhusara-* 'dust-colored', etc., prob. fr. the root in Grk. θῶω 'blow, storm, rage', Skt. *dhaṇs-* 'go to pieces, fall in ruin', OHG *tunist*, *dunst* 'storm, vapor', OE *dāst* 'dust', etc. Semantic development from 'hazy, dusty, smoky' to 'dust-, smoke-colored', etc. Walde-P. 1.846. Ernout-M. 405. Walde-H. 1.572.

Lat. *pullus* = *pallēre* 'be pale', *pallidus*

'pale, pallid', etc. (see 15.62). Walde-P. 2.53. Ernout-M. 725, 823.

It. *scuro*, Sp. *o(b)scurο*, fr. Lat. *obscurus* 'dark, lacking light', as orig. 'covered': OHG *scūr* 'shelter', etc. fr. the root in Skt. *sku-* 'cover'. Walde-P. 2.547. Ernout-M. 694.

It. *cupo*, lit. 'deep, hollow' (fr. Lat. *cūpa* 'tub, cask').

Fr. *foncé*, pple. of *foncer* 'deepen (a color), make darker', orig. 'furnish with a bottom', fr. *fond*, OFr. *fons* 'bottom', fr. Lat. *fundus* 'bottom'. REW 3585. Wartburg 3.870, 874.

Fr. *sombre*, prob. postverbal to an OFr. *sombrier*, fr. VLat. *subumbrāre*, fr. *umbra* 'shade'. REW 8405. Gamillscheg 806 f.

Rum. *închis*, lit. 'closed', pple. of *închide* 'shut, close', and so used as opposite of *deschis* 'open' and 'light' (15.62).

4. Ir. *dorche*, see under *sorche* 'bright' (15.57).

Ir. *temen*, W. *tywyll*, above, 1.

Br. *du* 'black' (15.65), also 'dark', as *glas du* 'dark green'.

5. ON *dökk*, OS *dunkar*, Du. *donker*, OHG *tunchal*, MHG *tunkel*, NHG *dunkel* (> Dan., Sw. *dunkel*), see under 'darkness' (1.62).

Dan. *mørk*, Sw. *mörk*: ON *myrkr*, OE *mirce* 'dark' and 'darkness', etc. (1.62).

OE *wann*, ME *wan* (NE *wan* now mostly 'pale, pallid'), etym.? NED s.v. *wan*.

OE *deorc* (but mostly of absence of light, not of color, except of clouds, water, etc.), ME, NE *dark*, see under 'darkness' (1.62).

ME *dosc* = Lat. *fuscus* (above, 3).

6. Skt. कृष्ण-, *cyāma* 'black' (15.65), also 'dark' in color.

Av. *azšāna-*, neg. cpd.: *xšaēta-* 'bright' (15.57). Barth. 51.

15.64-15.69. Abstract color names are late in linguistic history. They are generally lacking in languages of primitive peoples, whose notion of color is closely bound up with that of a specific object, as, for example, 'white' with snow or milk, 'blue' with the sky, 'green' with plant life, etc. Many of the words discussed below, and others, like NE *orange*, *violet*, have just such an origin.

In the IE period the development had probably not advanced much beyond this stage, and even in historical times there is still much fluctuation and overlapping in the application of color words. There is only one group of cognates that is so widespread and consistent in meaning as to point clearly to an IE color name with definite application, namely the group for 'red'. There are some cases of agreement between two branches in words applied to the same color, and there are some extensive groups from a common root but applied to a variety of colors, so that the primary application is obscure. The most conspicuous interchange is in words for 'green' and 'yellow', perhaps because they were applied to vegetation like grass, cereals, etc., which changed from green to yellow.

For the Skt. terms, of Macdonell-Keith 2.246 f.

Wood's Color-Names (Halle, 1902) covers a vast range of material and deals with the remoter root connections.

|      |                       |       |              |       |                         |
|------|-----------------------|-------|--------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | ῥυβρός                | Goth. | rauþs        | Lith. | raudonas                |
| NG   | κόκκινος              | ON    | rauðr, rjóðr | Lett. | sarkans                 |
| Lat. | ruber (rufus, russus) | Dan.  | rød          | ChSl. | črāmīnū (črīenū, rūdrū) |
| It.  | rosso                 | Sw.   | röd          | Scr.  | crven                   |
| Fr.  | rouge                 | OE    | rēad, rēod   | Boh.  | červený                 |
| Sp.  | rojo                  | ME    | red          | Pol.  | czernony                |
| Rum. | roșiu                 | NE    | red          | Russ. | krasnij                 |
| Ir.  | derg, ríad            | Du.   | rood         | Skt.  | rakta-, lohita-         |
| Nir. | dearg, ruadh          | OHG   | rōt          | Av.   | raoitiša-               |
| W.   | coch, rhudd           | MHG   | rot          |       |                         |
| Br.  | ruiz                  | NHG   | rot          |       |                         |

The majority of the words for 'red' belong to an inherited group pointing to an IE word for 'red'. Several of the others are derived from names of vegetable or animal sources of red dye; some from 'rosy' or 'glowing'.

1. IE \*rēudh-. Walde-P. 2.358 f. Ernout-M.872. REW 7408, 7465, 7466. Falk-Torp 932.

Grk. ῥυβρός; Lat. *ruber*, and (dial.) *rafus* mostly 'light red' (esp. of hair), Umbr. *rufu* 'rubros', also Lat. *rubeus* 'reddish' (> Fr. *rouge*, etc.), and (\*rudh-) *rus* (> It. *rosso*; Fr. *roux* of hair), whence *russeus* 'reddish' (> Sp. *rojo*, Port. *ruzo*); Ir. *rúad*, Nir. *ruadh*, W. *rhudd*, Br. *ruiz*; Goth. *rauþs*, ON *rauðr*, OE *rēad*, etc., general Gmc., also with different grade ON *rjóðr*, OE *rēod*; Lith. *raudas*, now usually *raudonas*, also *rudis* 'red-brown', Lett. *ruds* 'reddish'; late ChSl. *rūdrū* (*ridrū*, *rodriū*), *ryždī*, *rumēnū* (Skt. *rumen*, Boh. *ruměný*, Pol. *rumiany*, Russ. *rumjanyj* 'flushed, red' of complexion), etc. (cf. Trautmann, 238 f.); Skt. (Vedic) *rohita-*, later *lohita-*, Av. *raoitiša-* (Skt. *rudhira-* 'bloody', exp. sb. 'blood').

2. NG κόκκινος, in class. Grk. 'scarlet', but now the pop. word for 'red', deriv. of Grk. κόκκος 'grain, seed', and esp. 'gall of the kermes oak' yielding scarlet dye. Hence Lat. *coccinus* and

*coccum* (late *coccus*) used also for 'scarlet (color)' and 'scarlet garments'.  
3. Rum. *roș(u)*, *roșiu*, fr. Lat. *roseus* 'rose-colored', deriv. of *rosa* 'rose'. REW 7379. Pușcariu 1475.  
4. Ir. *derg*, Nir. *dearg*: OE *deorc* 'dark', etc. (15.63). Walde-P. 1.855.  
W. *coch*, fr. Lat. *coccus* (above, 2). Loth, Mots lat. 150.  
5. Lett. *sarkans*, deriv. of *sarks* 'slightly red', prob. fr. the same root as *sārts* 'red' (in the face): Lith. *sartas* 'sorrel', Lat. *sorbum* 'service berry', Skt. *sāra-* 'heart-wood' of a tree, *sāraṅga-* 'variegated'. Walde-P. 2.499. Mühl.-Endz. 3.721, 807.

6. ChSl. *črāmīnū* (Russ. *černnyj* 'purple-red', fr. the ChSl. *SCR. old črman*), fr. \*črmi 'worm' (Slov. *črm* 'finger-worm, carbuncle', etc.): Skt. *kṛmī-* 'worm', etc. (3.84). Semantic development through the red dye obtained from various worms (cf. Fr. *vermeil*, fr. Lat. *vermiculus* 'little worm' and late = *coccum*). Berneker 169.

ChSl. *črīvenū* 'red', etc., general Slavic (Russ. *červenyyj* 'purple-red', fr. Pol.). fr. ChSl. *črāvi*, etc. 'worm'. Walde-P. 1.523. Berneker 169, 172 f.

Russ. *krasnij*: ChSl. *krasnū* 'beautiful', etc. (general Slavic in this sense, but freq. also with special sense of 'shining, ruddy' and the like), deriv. of

(Wright-Wülcker 1.163, 29; ME *blew*, NE *blue*, fr. OFr. *bleu*, above, 2), prob.: Lat. *flāvus* 'yellow', and with different suffix Mir. *blā* 'yellow(?)', Ir. *blār*, W. *blawr* 'gray', Lat. *flōrus* 'blond' (of hair), prob. fr. the root \*bhel- 'shine', seen in Slavic *bělā*, Lith. *baltas* 'white' (15.64). The exact color to which the Gmc. term applies varies in the older dialects; MHG *blā* is also 'yellow', whereas the Scandinavian words may refer esp. to a deep, swarthy black, e.g. ON *blāmaðr*, Nicel. *blamaður* 'Negro'. Walde-P. 2.212. Walde-H. 1.513 f. Falk-Torp 78. NED s.v. *blue*.

OE *hæwen* (gl. *glaucaus*, *caeruleus*, *hyacinthinus*, *viridis*, etc.), also *hæwe* 'blue, gray': Ir. *ciar* 'dark, brown', ON *hār*, OE *hār* 'hoary'; ChSl. *sinŭ*, Russ. *sinij* '(dark)blue', Scr. *sinji* 'gray-blue, sea-green', etc.; Lith. *šyvas*, ChSl. *siivŭ*, Russ. *siivij* 'gray', Skt. *cyāma-* 'black' (15.65). Walde-P. 1.360 f.

5. Lith. *mėlynas*: Lett. *melns*, Grk. μέλας 'black' (15.65). Walde-P. 2.294.

#### 15.68 GREEN

|      |                  |       |        |       |         |
|------|------------------|-------|--------|-------|---------|
| Grk. | χλωρός           | Goth. | ....   | Lith. | žalias  |
| NG   | πράσινος         | ON    | græn   | Lett. | zāl's   |
| Lat. | viridis (helvus) | Dan.  | grøn   | ChSl. | zelenŭ  |
| It.  | verde            | Sw.   | grön   | Scr.  | zelen   |
| Fr.  | vert             | OE    | grēne  | Boh.  | zeleny  |
| Sp.  | verde            | ME    | green  | Pol.  | zielony |
| Rum. | verde            | NE    | green  | Russ. | zelenyj |
| Ir.  | glas, uaine      | Du.   | green  | Skt.  | harita- |
| Nir. | glas, uaine      | OHG   | gruoni | Av.   | ....    |
| W.   | gwyrd, glas      | MHG   | gruene |       |         |
| Br.  | gwer, glas       | NHG   | grün   |       |         |

Several of the words for 'green' are from a root that appears in names of other colors, especially 'yellow'. The others reflect the conspicuous green of plant life.

1. Derivs. of IE \*ghel- in words for 'bright, shining colors, esp. 'yellow,

Lett. *zils*: *zāl's*, ChSl. *zelenŭ* 'green', etc. (15.68).

6. ChSl. *sinŭ*, Russ. *sinij*: OE *hæwen*, etc. (above, 4). Walde-P. 1.361. Otherwise Brückner 491 (: ChSl. *sinŭ* 'shine'). SCR.-ChSl. *modrŭ* 'livid, bloodshot', SCR. *modar*, Boh. *modrŭ* 'blue', Pol. *modry* esp. 'dark-blue', perh.: Icel. *maðra* 'madder, goose grass', OHG *matara*, OE *madere*, *maddre* 'dyer's madder (rubia tinctorum)'. Walde-P. 2.305. Berneker 2.66 f.

Pol. *niebieski*, deriv. of *niebo* 'sky'. Russ. *goluboj* (Ukr. *hotubij* 'sky-blue'): Russ. *golubŭ*, ChSl. *golqbt* 'dove', this prob. in origin a color-name, cf. OPruss. *golimban* 'blue', and perh. fr. a root \*g(h)el- (in ChSl. *žlūtŭ*, etc., 'yellow', etc., 15.69), beside \*ghel- (in Lith. *žalias*, ChSl. *zelenŭ*, etc., 'green', 15.68). Berneker 322. Walde-P. 1.623.

7. Skt. *nīla-* ('dark-blue, bluish black', cf. *nīlī-* 'indigo plant'; Macdonell-Keith 2.246), etym. dub. (: Lat. *niger* 'black'?). Walde-P. 2.322.

ChSl. *krasa* 'beauty', Russ. *krasa* 'beauty, adornment', etc. (Pol. *kras* 'color', esp. 'red color' also 'beauty', etc.), prob. as 'glow, splendor' (whence both 'red' and 'beautiful'): Lith. *karštas* 'hot',

*kurti* 'to heat', etc. Berneker 607 f. Walde-P. 1.418 f.

7. Skt. *rakta-*, lit. 'colored', pple. of *raj-* 'be colored' (esp. red), be excited', etc.: *raṅga-*, *rāga-* 'color', etc. (15.61).

#### 15.67 BLUE

|      |                   |       |               |       |                |
|------|-------------------|-------|---------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | κύανος            | Goth. | ....          | Lith. | mėlynas        |
| NG   | γαλανός, γαλάζιος | ON    | blār          | Lett. | zils           |
| Lat. | caeruleus         | Dan.  | blaa          | ChSl. | sinŭ           |
| It.  | blu, azzurro      | Sw.   | blå           | Scr.  | modar          |
| Fr.  | bleu              | OE    | blāwen, hæwen | Boh.  | modrŭ          |
| Sp.  | azul              | ME    | bleu          | Pol.  | niebieski      |
| Rum. | albastru          | Du.   | blaw          | Russ. | sinij, goluboj |
| Ir.  | gorm, glass       | OHG   | blāo          | Skt.  | nīla-          |
| Nir. | gorm              | MHG   | blā           | Av.   | ....           |
| W.   | glas              | NHG   | blau          |       |                |
| Br.  | glas              |       |               |       |                |

Many of the words for 'blue' are from roots that appear in the names of other colors, as 'gray', 'black', 'yellow', 'green', the primary application of which is uncertain. Some are derived from names of the sky, lapis lazuli, etc.

1. Grk. κύανος, κυανός, fr. κύανος 'dark-blue enamel' used in adorning armor, 'lapis lazuli' (Theophr.), 'blue copper carbonate', etc. Prob. non-IE word. Boisacq 527.

NG γαλανός, etym. disputed. The old deriv. fr. a Doric form of γαλπνός 'calm' (esp. of the sea) is unconvincing. Perh. as orig. 'bluish-white' (on some of the islands γαλανός = ἄσπρος 'white') fr. γάλα 'milk', with suffix often the analogy of μελανός (really μελαν-ός) 'blue-black, livid'. From the same source (γάλα or otherwise) Byz., NG γαλάζιος with different suffix.

NG μαβίος, fr. Turk. *mavi* 'blue'.

2. Lat. *caeruleus*, and earlier *caerulus*, by dissim. for \*caelo-los, deriv. of *caelum* 'sky'. Walde-P. 1.420. Ernout-M. 131. Walde-H. 1.133.

Fr. *bleu* (> It. *blu*, NG μπλε), fr. a

Frank. form corresponding to OHG *blāo*, etc. (below, 3). REW 1153.

It. *azzurro*, Fr. *azur*, Sp. *azul*, through Arab. *lāzuwardī*, fr. Pers. *lāzuward* 'lapis lazuli, azure-colored'. REW 4959. Lo-kotsch 1311.

Rum. *albastru*, orig. and still dial. 'whitish', deriv. of Lat. *albus* 'white', as 'whit' *al-* (whit), with suffix as in It. *biancastro* 'whitish', etc. REW 319. Tiktin s.v.

3. Ir. *gorm* (W. arch. *gurm* 'dusky, dim, dark blue'), etym. dub. (: Lat. *formus* 'warm', Skt. *gharma-* 'glow, heat', etc.). Walde-P. 1.688.

Ir. *glass* 'blue-gray, green-gray' (e.g. 'blue' of the eye, Windisch, Tain 1.5550; 'gray' of mist, id. 1.5042, 5058; 'green' of garlic, Anc. Laws 2.254, 1.9), Nir. *glas* 'green, gray, bluish-gray' (Dinneen), W. *glas* 'blue', but also 'gray, green' (Spurroll), Br. *glas* 'green, blue, gray' (cf. Gall. *glastum* 'name of a plant'), see under 'green' (15.68).

4. ON *blār*, Dan. *blaa*, Sw. *blå*, Du. *blaw*, OHG *blāo*, MHG *blā*, NHG *blau*; OE *blāw* once gl. *blata*, *pigmentum*, and in deriv. *blāwen* gl. *perseus*

#### 15.64 WHITE

|      |                  |       |         |       |                         |
|------|------------------|-------|---------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | λευκός (ἀργός)   | Goth. | hweits  | Lith. | baltas                  |
| NG   | ἄσπρος           | ON    | hvit    | Lett. | baltis                  |
| Lat. | albus, candidus  | Dan.  | hvid    | ChSl. | bělŭ                    |
| It.  | bianco           | Sw.   | hvit    | Scr.  | bijel                   |
| Fr.  | blanc            | OE    | hwit    | Boh.  | bílý                    |
| Sp.  | blanco           | ME    | whit    | Pol.  | biały                   |
| Rum. | alb              | NE    | white   | Russ. | belyj                   |
| Ir.  | find, gel, bán   | Du.   | wit     | Skt.  | śukra-, śveta-, arjuna- |
| Nir. | bán, geal, fionn | OHG   | (h)wits | Av.   | spaēta-, aurūša-        |
| W.   | gwyn, can        | MHG   | wiz     |       |                         |
| Br.  | gwynn, kann      | NHG   | weiss   |       |                         |

Most of the words for 'white' come from the notion of 'bright'.

1. Grk. λευκός = Lat. *lūx*, OE *leoht*, etc. 'light' (1.61), Lat. *licēre*, Skt. *ruc-*, etc. 'shine' (15.56), IE \*leuk-. Walde-P. 2.408 f.

Grk. ἀργός 'glistening, white' (also ἀργής, ἀργής, ἀργενός), Skt. *arjuna-* 'light, white', Toch. A *ārki*, Hitt. *narkis* 'white', fr. the root seen in words for 'silver', Grk. ἀργυρος, Lat. *argentum*, etc. (9.65). Walde-H. 1.66, 848.

Byz., NG ἄσπρος, fr. Lat. *asper* 'rough' as used of work in bas-relief, as *aspera pōcula*, esp. coins as *nummi asperi* (cf. Thes. 2.809), hence Byz. ἄσπρος or ἄσπερον name of a coin, esp. a silver coin, and from the latter the use as adj. for 'white'. Pschiri, MSL 6.312 f. G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 3.12.

| 15.71<br>TOUCH (vb.)  | 15.72<br>FEEL (vb.),<br>FEEL OF   | 15.73<br>TOUCH (sb<br>Act or Sense<br>of Touch)   |
|---|---|---|
| Grk. <i>ἀπτομαι, ψάω</i><br>NG <i>ἀγγίζω</i><br>Lat. <i>tangere</i><br>It. <i>toccare</i><br>Fr. <i>toucher</i><br>Sp. <i>tocar</i><br>Rum. <i>atinge</i><br>Ir. <i>do-aideala</i> (3 sg.)<br>Nl. <i>taidhlim</i><br>W. <i>cyffwrdd</i><br>Br. <i>touch, steki</i><br>Goth. <i>(at)lēkan</i><br>ON <i>snerta, koma við</i><br>Dan. <i>berøre, røre(-ed)</i><br>Sw. <i>(vid)röra, beröra</i><br>OE <i>hrīnan, hreppan</i><br>ME <i>touch, rine, repe</i><br>NE <i>touch</i><br>Du. <i>aanraken</i><br>OHG <i>(h)riinan, (h)ruoren</i><br>MHG <i>(be)rūren, (be)rinen</i><br>NHG <i>berühren</i><br>Lith. <i>liesti</i><br>Lett. <i>aiztikt, aizskart</i><br>ChSl. <i>kosnati, prikasati, prisēsti</i><br>ScR. <i>doticati, dirati</i><br>Boh. <i>dotknouti se</i><br>Pol. <i>dotknąć</i><br>Russ. <i>trogať</i><br>Skt. <i>spṛṣ-</i> | <i>ψηλαφάω, ψάχω, πασπαρεύω</i><br><i>templāre (palpāre)</i><br><i>templāre, palpāre</i><br><i>tāler, palper</i><br><i>temlar, palpar</i><br><i>pipiti</i><br><br><i>glacaim</i><br><i>teimlo</i><br><i>merat, dournata</i><br><br><i>breifa</i><br><i>fēle (paa), kanna (pā), treva</i><br><i>fēlan, grāpian</i><br><i>touch, rine, grope</i><br><i>feel (of)</i><br><i>voelen, tasten</i><br><i>fuolen, greifon</i><br><i>lasten, vielen</i><br><i>fühlen, tasten</i><br><i>čupinēti</i><br><i>taustit</i><br><i>osegnati, osezati</i><br><i>pipati</i><br><i>hmatati, makati</i><br><i>macac</i><br><i>ščupati, osjazat'</i> | <i>ἀφή</i><br><i>lactus</i><br><i>tatto</i><br><i>toucher (tact)</i><br><i>tacto</i><br><i>atingere</i><br><br><i>ladhall</i><br><i>teimlad</i><br><i>touch, stok</i><br><br><i>viðkváma</i><br><i>fólesans, fýlelse</i><br><i>kánsel</i><br><i>hrepung, gefrēdnes</i><br><i>feling, touch</i><br><i>touch, feeling</i><br><i>gevoel</i><br><i>gihrórida</i><br><i>gerüerde, berüerde</i><br><i>gefúhl</i><br><i>čupipimas</i><br><i>tauste</i><br><i>osezanije</i><br><i>opip</i><br><i>hmat</i><br><i>dotykanie</i><br><i>osjazanie</i><br><i>sparga-</i> |

15.71-15.73. The arrangement here is different from that followed in the lists for the other senses. First place is given to the vbs. for touch, which, though the source of many of the sbs. for the 'sense of touch', are not themselves used for 'feel' = 'perceive by touch', but only for the antecedent action - and so are not co-ordinate with 'smell', 'taste', 'hear', 'see'. The vbs. listed in 15.72 are used for 'feel of' (as defined above, pp. 1018 f.) or 'feel about, feel one's way, grope', some mostly in the one or the other sense, some in both - but not for 'feel' = 'perceive by touch', except W. *teimlo*, and NE *feel* with its Gmc. cognates, which primarily belong to this group but came to be used also for 'perceive by touch'.

Generally there is no distinctive verb for 'perceive by touch', which is expressed by the generic words for 'perceive by the senses', so that a list of words for this notion would be virtually a repetition of that in 15.11 and is therefore omitted here.

The nouns for 'sense of touch', listed in 15.73, are all connected with the verbs listed in 15.71 or 15.72. Although some of the verbs and nouns are also used objectively (cf. NE *it feels soft*, the *feel of it*), the obj. notion is more often expressed by periphrasis and is ignored here.

In contrast to the words for the other senses, there is no important inherited group of cognates for 'touch' or 'feel'. The words reflect a great variety of no-

tions, such as 'grasp, seize, catch', 'strike', 'stroke', 'tear', 'adhere', 'approach', 'reach', involving contact or sudden motion, several of these of imitative orig., based on syllables symbolic of sudden motion.

1. Grk. *ἀπτομαι* 'fasten, grasp, touch' (act. *ἀπτω* less common), sb. *ἀφή* 'touch', perh. : Skt. *yabh-*, SCR. *jebati* 'have sexual intercourse', as orig. 'lay hands on, touch' (cf. the similar special use of *ἀπτομαι*, Lat. *tangere*, and NE *touch*). Walde-P. 1.198. Brugmann, IF 32.319 ff.

Grk. *ψάω* 'touch', whence *ψαῖσις* 'sense of touch' (Democr., Diel, Fragm. 1.389), perh. fr. another extension of a root \**bhes-*, parallel to that in *ψῆν* 'rub'. Boisacq 1076. Persson, Beiträge 655, 826.

Hence NG pop. *ψάχω* 'feel around for, search' (re-formed fr. aor. *ψάξα*, this by dissim. fr. *ψάψα*, i.e. old *ψαυσα*). Hatzi-dakis, Einl. 403, 409.

Grk. *ψηλαφάω* 'feel', esp. 'feel around for, grope', NG *ψηλαφῶ* id., fr. a cpd. of *ἀφή*, and a form of *ψάλλω*, aor. *ψήλα* 'touch sharply, pluck' (the hair, a bow-string, etc.), then esp. the strings of a harp, etc.), this perh. : Lat. *palpāre* 'stroke', OE *fēlan* 'feel', etc. Walde-P. 2.6 f. Ernout-M. 726.

NG *ἀγγίζω* 'touch', fr. class. Grk. *ἐγγίζω* 'approach', deriv. of *ἐγγύς* 'near'. NG pop. *πασπαρεύω* 'feel around, grope', perh. re-formed (after some vb. in *-ρεύω*) fr. a locally attested *πασπαλεύω* of similar meaning (: *πασπῶ* 'fine meal'). Hatzidakis, 'Αθηνά 29, παράρτ. 8.

2. Lat. *tangere* 'touch' (*attingere* > Rum. *atinge* 'touch'), sb. *lactus* (> It. *tatto*, Fr. *tact*, Sp. *tacto*; Rum. *atingere* old inf. of *atinge*) : Grk. *τεταγών* 'having seized', OE *pacian* 'stroke', further connections dub. Walde-P. 1.703. Ernout-M. 1017.

Lat. *templāre* (*tentāre*) 'feel of', also

'make trial of, try' (> It. *tentare*, Sp. *tentar* 'feel of', but mainly 'try' or 'tempt', as Fr. *tenter*), see 9.97.

It. *toccare*, Fr. *toucher* (> ME *toucher*, NE *touch*), Sp. *tocar* 'touch', fr. VLat. *toccare* 'strike, hit, give a knock' (cf. Sp. *tocar* also 'knock' on a door, 'ring' a bell, Rum. *loca* 'hack' and 'ring' a bell, It. *locco* 'stroke' of a bell or knocker, etc.), deriv. of an imitative loc as in Fr. *loc* *toc*, NE *tick-tock*, etc. REW 8767.

Fr. *toucher* 'act of touching' (> ME *toucher*, NE *touch* used also for the sense of touch), back-formation fr. *toucher*.

Fr. *toucher* sb. use of infin., now usual expression for sense of touch, rather than *tact*, which is now mostly 'sense of propriety'.

It. *tastare*, Fr. *tâter* 'feel of, feel about' (Ofr. *taster* > MHG, NHG *tasten* id., ME *taste* 'feel of' and 'taste'), fr. VLat. *tastāre*, this prob. fr. \**taxiāre*, very frequent, to *taxāre* 'feel, handle', frequent. of *tangere*. But some assume a blend of Lat. *tangere* and *gustāre*. REW 8595. Gamillscheg 836.

Lat. *palpāre* 'stroke, touch lightly', late 'feel one's way' and 'feel of' (e.g. Vulgate, Lk. 24.39; in this sense > It. *palpare*, Fr. *palper*, Sp. *palpar*) prob. : OE *fēlan*, etc. (see below, 4).

Rum. *pipiti* 'feel of, feel about', fr. Slavie ScR. *pipati*, etc. (below, 6). Tiktin s.v.

3. OIr. *do-aideala* (3sg.), lit. 'visit, approach', but usual also (cf. NG *ἀγγίζω*, above, 1) for 'touch' (e.g. *d-an-aideala Cú Chulainn iarum co fogaid in chlaideb* 'Cúchulainn touches him then with the edge of the sword', cf. LU 5678), vb. n. *tadall* ('visit'), Nl. *tadhall* ('sense of touch'), whence Ml. *taidlim*, Nl. *taidhlim* 'go up to, approach, visit, reach, touch, handle', etc. (Dinneen), fr. \**to-ad-ell-*, c. *ad-ell-* (3sg. *ad-ella*) 'visit', cpd.

'touch', NHG *greifen* 'seize' (11.14). NED s.v. *grope*.

OE *gefrēdan* 'feel, perceive, be sensible of' (hence *gefrēdnes* 'sense of feeling', mentioned along with 'sight' and 'hearing', in quot. in Bosworth-Toller s.v.), ME *ivrede*, *frede* = OHG *fuoten* 'teach, make wise', fr. OE *frōd*, OHG *fruoit* 'wise, sagacious'. NED s.v. *frede*.

ME *toucher*, NE *touch*, fr. Fr. *toucher* (above, 2).

ME *taste* (also 'taste' as NE), Du., MHG, NHG *tasten*, fr. Ofr. *taster* (above, 2).

Du. *aanraken* 'touch', in this sense less usually simple *raken* but this mostly 'hit' = MLG *rāken* 'hit, reach, fall upon', prob. : Du. *rekken*, OHG *recken* 'stretch out', OE *reccan* 'stretch, reach, direct', Goth. *ufraikan* 'stretch up', etc. 'Touch' prob. fr. 'stretch out' (the arm) or 'reach'. Falk-Torp 870 f., 929. French-v. W. 532, 543.

OHG *(h)ruoren*, MHG *(be)rūeren* 'touch, move, stir', NHG *berühren* 'touch' (simple *rühren* now reserved for 'move, stir'), Dan. *røre*, Sw. *röra* (properly 'move'); 'touch' prob. in imitation of German, and in this sense more usually Dan. *berøre*, *røre ved*, Sw. *beröra*, *vidröra*, with derivs. for 'touch, sense of touch', OHG *gihrórida* (also 'motion'), MHG *gerüerde*, *berüerde* : ON *hræra* 'move, stir', OE *hræran* 'move, stir, shake', prob. fr. the root in Grk. *κεράννμι* 'mix', Skt. *crā-* 'cook, bake' (fr. 'mix'). Walde-P. 1.419 f. Falk-Torp 937.

5. Lith. *liesti*, intens. *lytėti* 'touch' (NSB; Kurschat has *pakrutinti* 'touch' in Wtb. and NT) : Lett. *laist* 'stroke', fr. *lei-* (perh. in Grk. *λίωμαι*, *λίωσμαι* 'beseech', as orig. 'seek by caresses'), an extension of \**lei-* in Lat. *linere* 'smear', etc. Walde-P. 2.391.

Lith. *čupinēti* 'feel of', frequent. of

*čiupti* 'grasp', here also *čiuopti* 'feel about' (and 'grasp'), whence *čiuopimas* 'sense of touch' (all in NSB; only *čiuopti* 'grasp' in Kurschat), deriv. of an imitative syllable like Lith. *čiupti* symbolic of quick motion and used esp. in phrases with 'seize, grasp' (cf. Kurschat s.v.). Lett. *aiztikt*, 'arrive, attain', and 'touch', cpd. of *tikt* 'arrive, attain, reach'. Mühl.-Endz. 1.156, 3.184 f.

Lett. *aizskart* 'touch' (this word used in NT), fr. *aiz-si-kart*, cpd. of *kart*, replaced by *k'ert* 'grasp'. Mühl.-Endz. 1.50, 2.369 f.

Lett. *taustīt* 'feel of', with sb. *tauste* 'sense of touch', prob. through notion of being careful : Lith. *tausoti* 'be sparing', fr. same root as Lith. *taupyti*, Lett. *taupīt* id. Mühl.-Endz. 4.140.

6. ChSl. *kosnati, pri-kasati* 'touch' (the reg. words in the Gospels) : *česati* 'comb, stroke', Lith. *kasyti* 'scratch', etc. Walde-P. 1.449. Berneker 151 f., 581 f.

ChSl. *prisegnati, prisēsti* 'touch' (Supr.), *osegnati, osezati* 'feel of' (Supr.), with sb. *osezanije* (late), Russ. *osjazat'* 'feel of', *osjazanie* 'sense of touch', cpds. of ChSl. *segnati* 'stretch out' (the hand), this prob. : Lith. *segti* 'fasten', Skt. *saḥ-* 'hang', etc. Miklosich 291. Brückner 490. Trautmann 252. Otherwise Walde-P. 2.480 f., 482 f.

ChSl. (late), ScR. *pipati*, Bulg. *pipam*, etc. 'feel of' (> Rum. *pipăti*), with ScR. *opip* 'sense of touch', prob. fr. an imitative syllable. Cf. Lith. *čupinēti*, etc., above, 5.

ScR. *doticati*, Boh. *dotknouti se*, Pol. *dotknąć* 'touch', with Pol. *dotykanie* or *zmysł dotykania* 'sense of touch', cpds. of root seen in ChSl. *tāknati*, *tykati* 'fix, stick, prick, strike' : Grk. *τύκος* 'mason's hammer', Skt. *tuj-* 'thrust', etc. Walde-P. 2.615 f. Brückner 571.

ScR. *dirati* 'touch, handle' : ChSl.

*dirati*, etc., general Slavie for 'tear', Goth. *tairan* 'tear', etc. (9.28). Berneker 201.

Boh. *hmatati* 'feel of', *hmat* 'sense of touch', prob. of imitative orig. Berneker 391.

Boh. *makati*, Pol. *macać* 'feel of', perh. : Boh. *mačkati* 'squeeze', both of imitative orig.? Berneker 2.1, 2. Brückner 316.

Russ. *trogať* 'touch', given without any connections in Miklosich 362, but

## 15.74 HARD

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Grk. <i>σκληρός</i><br>NG <i>σκληρός</i><br>Lat. <i>durus</i><br>It. <i>duro</i><br>Fr. <i>dur</i><br>Rum. <i>tare</i><br>Ir. <i>crúaid, calad</i><br>Nl. <i>crúaidh</i><br>W. <i>caled</i><br>Br. <i>kalet</i> | Goth. <i>hardus</i><br>ON <i>harðr</i><br>Dan. <i>haard</i><br>Sw. <i>hård</i><br>OE <i>heard</i><br>ME <i>hard</i><br>NE <i>hard</i><br>Du. <i>hard</i><br>OHG <i>harti, herti, hart</i><br>MHG <i>herle, hart</i><br>NHG <i>hart</i> |
|---|--|

'Hard' is understood here, of course, as 'hard, unyielding to the touch', and 'soft' (15.75) as its opposite, 'yielding to the touch'.

For the frequent use of words for 'hard' in the sense of 'difficult', see 9.97.

1. Grk. *σκληρός*, orig. 'dry' : *σκέλλω* 'dry up, parch', etc. Walde-P. 2.597. Boisacq 872.

2. Lat. *dūrus* (> It., Sp. *duro*, Fr. *dur*; also the rare Ir. *dūr*, and W. *dur*, Br. *dir* 'steel'), prob. fr. \**drūros* : Grk. *δρῶν* *ισχυρόν* (Hesych.), Ir. *dron* 'solid', Lith. *drūtas* 'strong, solid', Skt. *dāruṇa-* 'rough, strong, hard', etc., and in the names of the 'oak tree', Grk. *δρῦς*, Ir. *daur*, etc. The root perh. orig. designated the ('hard') oak wood', whence the general 'hard'. Walde-P. 1.805. Ernout-M. 291. Walde-H. 1.384 f.

Rum. *tare* (also 'strong'), fr. Lat. *tālis* 'such a', with meliorative develop-

ment = 'such an excellent'. REW 8431. Tiktin 1562 f.

3. Ir. *crúaid*, Nl. *crúaidh* : Lat. *crūdus* 'raw, crude, cruel', Av. *zraōzda-*, *zrāzdra-* 'hard', Skt. *krūd-* 'thicken, make firm', fr. the root in Skt. *kravis-* 'raw flesh', Grk. *κρέας* 'flesh', Lat. *cruur*, Ir. *cró* 'blood, gore', etc. Walde-P. 1.479.

Ir. *calad*, W. *caled*, Br. *kalet*, cf. Gall. *Caletes, Caleti*, perh. : ChSl. *kaliti* 'become cold, harden' (of iron), Lett. *kalst* 'come out', and also Lat. *callum, callus* 'hard, thick skin'. Walde-P. 1.357. Walde-H. 1.141.

4. Goth. *hardus*, ON *harðr*, OE *heard*, etc., general Gmc. : Grk. *κράσις* 'strong', *κράτος, κάρπος* 'strength', etc., with *i-* suffix fr. the root \**kar-* in Skt. *karkara-* 'rough, hard' (cf. *κάρκαρον* *τραχεῖς* Hesych.), etc. Walde-P. 1.354. Falk-Torp 370. Feist 246.

5. Lith. *kietas*, Lett. *ciets* (OPruss.

ment = 'such an excellent'. REW 8431. Tiktin 1562 f.

3. Ir. *crúaid*, Nl. *crúaidh* : Lat. *crūdus* 'raw, crude, cruel', Av. *zraōzda-*, *zrāzdra-* 'hard', Skt. *krūd-* 'thicken, make firm', fr. the root in Skt. *kravis-* 'raw flesh', Grk. *κρέας* 'flesh', Lat. *cruur*, Ir. *cró* 'blood, gore', etc. Walde-P. 1.479.

Ir. *calad*, W. *caled*, Br. *kalet*, cf. Gall. *Caletes, Caleti*, perh. : ChSl. *kaliti* 'become cold, harden' (of iron), Lett. *kalst* 'come out', and also Lat. *callum, callus* 'hard, thick skin'. Walde-P. 1.357. Walde-H. 1.141.

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5. Lith. *kietas*, Lett. *ciets* (OPruss.

'eat on the sly, pilfer' (= 'pick off'), prob. : Skt. *kiknasa-* 'particle of bruised grain', Lett. *knuostī* 'pick, tear to pieces with the beak'. 'Soft' fr. 'torn', or 'rubbed to pieces'. Walde-P. 1.394. Feist 265.

ON *mjukr*, Sw. *mjuk* : Du. *muik* 'mellow', Goth. *mūka-* in *mūkamōdei* 'gentleness', beside forms with Gmc. *-g* (IE *-k-*) in ON *mugga* 'fine rain', etc. : Lat. *mūcus* 'mucus, snot', etc. 'Soft' fr. 'wet'. Walde-P. 2.253. Falk-Torp 744.

ON *blautr*, Dan. *blød* (Sw. *blöt* now esp. 'soggy, watery') : Grk. *φλυδάω* 'become soft, flabby, overflow', *φλυδαρός* 'flabby', *φλύω* 'bubble up', etc. Walde-P. 2.213. Falk-Torp 85, 88. Hellquist 85.

ME *softe*, NE *soft*, Du. *zacht* : OE *sōft(e)*, beside more usual *sēfte* 'agreeable, pleasant', OHG *senfti*, MHG *senfte*, *sanft* 'agreeable, comfortable, easy', NHG *sanft* 'gentle, smooth, soft' (but hardly 'soft' to the touch), prob. fr. the root in ON *sama*, *samða* 'happen', Goth.

*sanjan* 'please', and eventually Grk. *δύος* 'common, like', Goth. *sama*, ON *samr* 'same'. Walde-P. 2.491. Weigand-H. 2.647. NED s.v. *soft*, adj.

OHG-NHG *weich*, Du. *week* : ON *veikr* (> NE *weak*), OE *wāc* 'weak, yielding', fr. the root of ON *vīkja* 'turn, veer', OE *wīcan*, OHG *wīhan* 'give way', etc. Walde-P. 1.235. Falk-Torp 1360.

6. Skt. *mṛdu-* : Lat. *mollis* (above, 2). Av. *varadua-*, cf. Skt. *avradanta* 'they became soft' (RV), perh. : OE *wrotan*, ON *rōta* 'root up', ChSl. *vredū*, etc. 'abcess, wound'. Walde-P. 1.287. Barth. 1370.

## 15.76 ROUGH

|   |   |  |
|---|---|--|
| Grk. <i>τράχης</i><br>NG <i>τράχιος</i><br>Lat. <i>asper</i><br>It. <i>ruvido, aspro, rude</i><br>Fr. <i>rude, âpre, rugueux</i><br>Sp. <i>áspero, tosco, rudo</i><br>Rum. <i>aspru</i><br>Ir. <i>garb</i><br>Nl. <i>garbh</i><br>W. <i>garo</i><br>Br. <i>garo</i> | Goth. <i>(us)trusta</i><br>ON <i>ásleitr, hrjáfr</i><br>Dan. <i>ujavn, ru</i><br>Sw. <i>ojämn, skrovlig</i><br>OE <i>unsmēþe, rūh</i><br>ME <i>rughe, uneven</i><br>NE <i>rough, uneven</i><br>Du. <i>ruw, oneffen</i><br>OHG <i>uneban</i><br>MHG <i>rūch, uneben</i><br>NHG <i>rauh, uneben</i> | Lith. <i>grubluotas, šiurkštus nelidzens, grubulains</i> ( <i>srūchūki</i> )<br>ChSl. <i>hrapaw</i><br>Boh. <i>drsný</i><br>Pol. <i>szorstki, chropawy</i><br>Russ. <i>šerochovatij</i><br>Skt. <i>vīṣama-</i><br>Av. .... |
|---|---|--|

Words for 'rough' were doubtless all orig. used with some more specific application, as to the sea, the hair, the skin, etc. In some cases this is apparent from the etymology.

'Rough' may always be expressed as 'uneven' or 'not smooth', and for some languages or periods such terms are more common than any others.

1. Grk. *τράχης* : *θράσσω, τράσσω* 'stir,

disturb, trouble', this prob. : ON *dreg-gjar* 'dregs', Olith. *dragis* 'dregs', etc. Walde-P. 1.854 f. Boisacq 981. 'Rough' prob. first of the sea that is 'stirred up, made rough'. Cf. *ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον* (Hom.), *κύμασιν ταρασσεται πόντος* (Archil.), etc.

2. Lat. *asper* (> It. *aspro*, Fr. *âpre*, Sp. *áspero*, Rum. *aspru*), prob. fr. \**ap(o)-spero-* : Skt. *apa-sphur-* 'bursting forth,

prob. in *keytaro* 'hail'), perh. : Bulg., ScR. *čítar* 'whole, uninjured'; root connection? Mühl.-Endz. 1.396. Berneker 158.

6. ChSl. *žestokū* (renders *σκληρός* 'harsh', of a person Mt. 25. 24, of words Jn. 6.60), Russ. *žestkij* mostly 'harsh', ScR. *žestok* 'vehement, fiery' : ChSl. *žegga, žešti* 'burn'. Miklosich 410.

ChSl. *tvrdū* 'firm, steady, stable' (Supr.), ScR. *tvrd*, etc., general modern

Slavie 'hard' : Lith. *tvirtas* 'firm', *tvirti* 'seize, inclose', ChSl. *tvoriti* 'make, create', etc. 'Hard, firm' fr. 'held firmly'. Walde-P. 1.750. Trautmann 334. Brückner 586.

7. Skt. *dṛgha-* 'hard, firm', fr. *dṛh-* 'fasten, make firm', Av. *daraz* 'bind, fetter', etc. Walde-P. 1.859. Uhlenbeck 159.

Av. *zraōzda-*, *zrāzdra-* : Ir. *crúaid* (above, 3).

## 15.75 SOFT



with *g-*, Slov. *grapast* 'rough', Bulg. *grapav* 'pock-marked', etc., perh. : Lith. *karpa* 'wart', OE *scurf* 'scurf', etc. Berneker 674 f. Brückner 184.

Boh. *drsný*, *drsnatý*, old *drstný*, *drstnatý* : (old) *drst* 'rubbish', Slov. *drstev*

'gravel, sand', Pol. *dziarszwo* 'gravel', etc., prob. fr. the root in ChSl. *derq*, *dirati* 'tear, flay'. Berneker 256. 'Rough' perh. directly fr. 'gritty'.

7. Skt. *viṣama-*, lit. 'uneven' : *samanatý* : (old) *drst* 'rubbish', Slov. *drstev*

'even, smooth, level' (15.77).

## 15.77 SMOOTH

|      |            |       |                         |       |                 |
|------|------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | λεῖος      | Goth. | slaihts                 | Lith. | lygus, gludus   |
| NG   | λεῖος      | ON    | slētr                   | Lett. | lidzens, gluds  |
| Lat. | liscio     | Dan.  | glat, jævn              | ChSl. | gladükü         |
| It.  | liscio     | Sw.   | slat, jämn, glatt       | SCR.  | gladac          |
| Fr.  | lisse, uni | OE    | smēpe                   | Boh.  | hladkj          |
| Sp.  | liso       | ME    | smohte, smethe, sleghte | Pol.  | gladki          |
| Rum. | neted      | NE    | smooth                  | Russ. | gladki          |
| Ir.  | rēid, min  | Du.   | glad, effen             | Skt.  | sama-, glakṣṇa- |
| Nlr. | rēidh, min | OHG   | sleht, eban             | Av.   | ....            |
| W.   | llyfn      | MHG   | glat, sleht, eben       |       |                 |
| Br.  | kompez     | NHG   | glatt, eben             |       |                 |

Words for 'smooth' reflect such notions as 'slippery', 'even, level' (and so ultimately 'like, equal'), or 'bright, shining', all of which are naturally associated with smooth surfaces.

1. IE *\*lei-*, *\*slei-* (with various formations) in words for 'slimy, slippery' substances, and in vbs. for 'slip, smear, stick, etc.', cf. Lat. *limus* 'mud, mire', OE *lām*, OHG *leim* 'clay', ON, OE *slīm* 'slime', etc.; Grk. *ἀλτω* 'smear, anoint', Lat. *linere* 'smear', etc. Walde-P. 2.389 ff. Ernout-M. 542. Walde-H. 1.782. Falk-Torp 1061 f.

Here as 'smooth', Grk. *λεῖος*, Lat. *levis*, W. *llyfn* (: Ir. *slemun* 'slick, slippery'); Goth. *slaihts*, ON *slētr*, Sw. *slat*, ME *sleghte*, *slichte* (NE *slicht* now 'slender, small in quantity', etc.), OHG, MHG *sleht* (NHG *schlecht* now 'plain, bad'); ON *shkr* (rare).

2. It. *liscio*, Fr. *lisse*, Sp. *liso*, prob. fr. Gmc., cf. MHG *līse*, NHG *leise* 'low, soft, gentle'. REW 5081. Bloch 2.19.

Fr. *uni*, lit. 'joined', hence as 'joined closely') also 'smooth' (so also sometimes It. *unito* of road, land, etc.), ppl. of *unir*, It. *unire*, etc. 'join, unite'.

Rum. *neted*, fr. Lat. *nitidus* 'bright, shining' (15.57). REW 5929.

3. Ir. *rēid*, Nlr. *rēidh*, also 'open, clear, level, flat', prob. orig. of a way 'passable' : Ir. *riadaim*, OE *riðan* 'ride', etc. (cf. with similar development W. *rhydd* 'free, easy, fluent, ready'). Walde-P. 2.349. Pedersen 1.58.

Ir. *min*, also 'gentle, tender, fine' : W. *mywn* 'kind, gentle, dear', fr. an extension of the root *\*mei-* in Lat. *mitis* 'mild', Ir. *mōith* 'soft, tender' (15.75). Walde-P. 2.244. Pedersen 1.51.

W. *llyfn*, above, 1.

Br. *kompez*, fr. MBr. *compoes* 'equal' : W. *cymmwys* 'of the same weight, proper, meet', prob. fr. VLat. *\*com-pensum*, fr. *com-pensare* 'weigh together, equalize', or else an independent Britannie cpd. of the same elements (Br. *poez*, W. *pweys* 'weight', fr. Lat. *pensum*). Loth, Mots lat. 156. Henry 75, 226.

4. Goth. *slaihts*, ON *slētr*, etc., above, 1.

Dan. *jævn*, Sw. *jämn*, ME (NE) *even*, Du. *effen*, OHG *eban*, MHG, NHG *eben*, all also and orig. 'even, level, flat' (12.71).

OE *smēpe*, ME *smethe* (NE dial. *smeeht*), beside OE *smōp* (rare), ME *smothe*, NE *smooth*, etym.? Walde-P. 2.491. NED s.v. *smeeht*, *smooth*, adj.

Du. *glad*, MHG *glat*, NHG *glatt* (> Dan. *glat*, Sw. *glatt*), but OHG *glat* mostly 'shining' = ON *gladr*, OE *glad* 'shining, bright, joyous' (NE *glad*) : Lat. *glaber* 'hairless, bald', Lith. *glodus*, *glodnas* 'lying smoothly, rubbed smooth, etc.', ChSl. *gladükü* 'smooth', etc., fr. IE *\*ghlād-*, *\*ghlād-*, prob. extension of *\*ghel-* 'shine'. Walde-P. 1.625 f. Walde-H. 1.603. Falk-Torp 324.

5. Lith. *lygus*, Lett. *lidzens*, older *lidzs*, orig. 'like, equal', whence 'flat, level' and 'smooth' : Goth. *galeiks* 'like', ON *(g)līkr*, OE *gelic* 'like', etc., Goth.

6. ChSl. *gladükü*, etc., general Slavic : Du. *glad*, etc. (above, 4).

7. Skt. *sama-* 'even, smooth, level' : Av. *hama-* 'like, same', Grk. *ὁμός* 'the same, common', *ὁμαλός* 'even, level', etc. Walde-P. 2.489.

Skt. *glakṣṇa-* 'slippery, smooth, polished', etym.? Uhlenbeck 321.

## 15.78 SHARP

(In part differentiated; a, of a Point; b, of an Edge)

|      |                                 |       |                              |       |                       |
|------|---------------------------------|-------|------------------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | ὀξείς                           | Goth. | *hwass (sb. <i>hwassai</i> ) | Lith. | aštrus                |
| NG   | μυτερός (a); κοφρε-<br>πός (b)  | ON    | hwass, skarpr                | Lett. | ass                   |
| Lat. | acūtus                          | Dan.  | skarp                        | ChSl. | ostrā                 |
| It.  | acuto (a); tagliente (b)        | Sw.   | skarp, hwass                 | SCR.  | oštār                 |
| Fr.  | aigu (a); tran-<br>chant (b)    | ME    | scharp                       | Boh.  | ostrý                 |
| Sp.  | agudo (a, b); cor-<br>tante (b) | NE    | sharp                        | Pol.  | ostrzy                |
| Rum. | ascuțit (a, b); tă-<br>ios (b)  | Du.   | scherp                       | Russ. | stiknā-               |
| Ir.  | gēr, áth                        | OHG   | s(c)arf, (h)was              | Skt.  | tikṣṇa-               |
| Nlr. | giar                            | MHG   | scharf, was                  | Av.   | laēya-, tiži-, tiyra- |
| W.   | llym, siarp                     | NHG   | scharf                       |       |                       |
| Br.  | lemm                            |       |                              |       |                       |

Most of the words listed are used both of a 'sharp' point and a 'sharp' edge, but some only in the former (a) or the latter (b) sense. Apart from the large inherited group, the usual connection is with words for 'cut' (so all those used only in sense b, and some of the others) or 'prick'.

1. IE *\*ak-*, *\*ok-* in words for 'sharp, pointed', 'edge, point', etc., cf. Skt. *agri-* 'edge', Grk. *ἀκρος* 'topmost', *ἀκρον* 'peak,

highest point', Lat. *acer* 'sharp' in secondary senses, etc. Walde-P. 1.28 ff. Ernout-M. 7 ff. Walde-H. 1.7.

Here as 'sharp' : Grk. *ὀξείς* (NG mostly in secondary senses); Lat. *acutus* (> It. *acuto*, Fr. *aigu*, Sp. *agudo*); Lith. *aštrus*, Lett. *ass*, ChSl. *ostrā*, etc., general Balto-Slavic.

2. NG *μυτερός*, fr. *μύτη* 'snout, nose' (4.23) also 'point, tip'.

*émousser* 'to dull', ppl. *émoussé*, deriv. of Fr. *mousse* 'blunt, hornless' (not common), It. *mozzo* 'cut off, shortened', fr. a VLat. *\*mutios* beside *mutilus* 'cut off, shortened, mutilated'. REW 5792. Ernout-M. 648.

Sp., Port. *boto* (Sp. *embotar* 'to dull', ppl. *embotado*), Fr. *bot* in *piedbot* 'club-foot', loanword fr. Gmc., cf. Du. *bot*, LG *but* 'blunt', NE *butt* 'thick end', belonging to the same group as OFr. *bouter* 'strike', etc. fr. Frank. *\*bōtan* or *\*butan* : OE *bēatan* 'beat', etc. (9.21). REW 1228 c. Wartburg, 1.455 ff.

Rum. *locit*, fr. *loci* 'make blunt, dull', this fr. Slavic, cf. SCR. *točiti* 'whet, grind off the edge'. Tiktin 1616.

3. Ir. *maol*, Nlr. *maol*, also 'bald, hornless' : OW *mail* 'mutilum', W. *mael* 'bare, bald, hornless', fr. the root *\*mai-* in Goth. *maitan* 'cut, hew', etc. Walde-P. 2.222.

W. *pwl*, origin?

Br. *souc'h* : Ir. *socc* 'snout'. Thurneysen ap. Ernault, Dict. étym. 382.

Br. *dall*, lit. 'blind' (W., Ir. *dall* 'blind', cf. ME *dul*(l), below).

Br. *tougn* also 'shortened, snub-nosed', MBr. *tougn*, fr. *touigna* 'make blunt', fr. Lat. *tundere* (cf. above). Ernault, Glossaire 703. Henry 268.

4. ON *sljōr*, *slēr*, Dan. *slōn*, Sw. *slō*, OHG *slō* (also 'weak, tepid'), MHG *slē* (-ves) = OE *slāw* 'dull (of persons), sluggish, lazy' (ME *slaw* 'dull' in one quot. in NED, NE *slow* in dial. also 'dull'), root connection dub. Walde-P. 2.378. Falk-Torp 1075. Hellquist 998.

OE *astynt* : (ā)stytan, *for-stytan* 'make blunt' (NE *stint*), ON *styttla* 'shorten', fr. OE *stunt* 'foolish', ON *stuttr* 'short', etc., prob. fr. the root of Goth. *stautan* 'shove', Lat. *tundere* 'beat, pound'. Ernout-M. 1064.

'weak, tender', prob. fr. the root in Lat. *mollis*, Grk. *μαλακός* 'soft', etc. (15.75). Walde-P. 2.285, 292).

2. Lat. *hebes*, beside *hebere* 'be blunt', etym. dub. Walde 1.349. Ernout-M. 447 (suggesting borrowing). Walde-H. 1.637 f.

Lat. *obtūsus* (> It. *ottuso*), fr. *obtundere* 'beat', of a weapon 'beat back the point, dull', cpd. of *tundere* 'beat, pound'. Ernout-M. 1064.

It. *smussato*, ppl. of *smussare*, fr. Fr.

## 15.81 HEAVY

|      |                 |       |                      |       |         |
|------|-----------------|-------|----------------------|-------|---------|
| Grk. | βαρὺς           | Goth. | kaurus               | Lith. | sunkus  |
| NG   | βαρὺς           | ON    | pungr, hufgr (svärr) | Lett. | smags   |
| Lat. | gravis          | Dan.  | tung, svær           | ChSl. | težikü  |
| It.  | pesante (grave) | Sw.   | tung                 | SCR.  | tešak   |
| Fr.  | lourd, pesant   | OE    | swær, hefig          | Boh.  | těžký   |
| Sp.  | pesado, grave   | ME    | hevi                 | Pol.  | ciężki  |
| Rum. | greu            | NE    | heavy                | Russ. | тяжелый |
| Ir.  | tromm           | Du.   | zwaar                | Skt.  | guru-   |
| Nlr. | trom            | OHG   | suāri, hebig         | Av.   | gouru-  |
| W.   | trum            | MHG   | swære                |       |         |
| Br.  | ponner          | NHG   | schwer               |       |         |

Apart from the inherited group, words for 'heavy' are mostly connected with others for 'lift', 'weigh', 'pull', etc. In a few cases the application to mentality, usually secondary, appears to be the earlier.

1. IE *\*g<sup>h</sup>ru-*, *\*g<sup>h</sup>ru-*, etc. Walde-P. 1.684 ff. Ernout-M. 434. Walde-H. 1.620 f.

Grk. *βαρὺς*; Lat. *gravis* (> It., Sp. *grave*, but mostly 'grave', etc.), VLat. (after *levis* 'light') *\*grevis* (> Rum. *greu*); perh. the rare Ir. *bair* (Stokes, RC 27.85); Goth. *kaurus*; Skt. *guru-*, Av. *gouru-* (in *gouru-zaōtra-* 'having heavy libations'); here also Lett. *grūls* 'difficult, wretched, pregnant' and locally 'heavy' (cf. Mühl-Endz. 1.669 f.); Lat. *brūtus* 'cumbrous, dull, stupid', arch. 'heavy' (Paul. Fest.), loanword fr. Osc-Umb. (Ernout-M. 119. Walde-H. 1.117).

2. It. *pesante*, Sp. *pesado*, Fr. *pesant* fr. It. *pesare*, Sp. *pesar*, Fr. *peser* 'weigh' (Lat. *pēnsāre*). REW 6391. Fr. *lourd*, Prov. *lord*, fr. OFr., OProv. *lort* 'foolish, heavy of mind' (physical sense in Fr. from 17th. cent.), cf. Lyon. *lord* 'dizzy', prob. fr. Lat. *lūridus* 'pale yellow, ghastly'. Semantic development from 'pale' to 'dizzy', whence 'heavy' of mind, later in physical sense. REW 5176. Bloch 2.24. Otherwise Gamillscheg 571.

3. Ir. *tromm*, Nlr. *trom*, W. *trum*,

MBr. *troum*, prob. (*\*trud-smo-*) fr. the root of Lat. *trudere* 'push, shove', Goth. *us-priutan* 'trouble, vex', ChSl. *trudū* 'toil', etc. Walde-P. 1.755. Pedersen 1.362. Stokes 139.

Br. *ponner*, prob. fr. an oblique case of Lat. *pondus*, gen. *ponderis* 'weight'. Loth, Mots lat. 197.

4. Goth. *kaurus*, above, 1.

ON *pungr*, Dan., Sw. *tung* : ChSl. *težikü* 'heavy', *tegošti* 'burden', Lith. *tingus* 'lazy', fr. the root in ChSl. *tegnati* 'pull'. Walde-P. 1.726 f. Falk-Torp 1299. Brückner 64.

ON *svārr* (poet. and here in fig. sense; cf. Sw. *svår* 'difficult'), OE *svær* (ME *swere*, but never in physical sense), Du. *zwaar*, OHG *suāri*, MHG *swære*, NHG *schwer* (> Dan. *svær*) = Goth. *svērs* only 'honored' : Lith. *svėrtis* 'weigh', *svarus* 'weighty, ponderous', *svaras* 'pound', etc., prob. fr. *\*swær-*, beside *\*wer-* in Grk. *ἀείρω* 'lift'. Walde-P. 1.265. Falk-Torp 1222 f.

ON *hufgr*, OHG *hebig*, OE *hefig*, ME *hevi*, NE *heavy* : Goth. *hafjan*, OE *hebban*, OHG *heffen*, heben 'lift' (10.21). Walde-P. 1.343 (but not necessarily as orig. 'capax'). The natural association between 'lift' and 'heavy' is sufficient). NED s.v. *heavy*.

5. Lith. *sunkus* : *sunkti* 'grow heavy', older Lith. *sunkinga* 'pregnant', fr. *\*sunk-* beside *\*suenk-* in OE *evangor* 'heavy of movement, slow, sluggish',

## 15.83 WET, DAMP

|      |                  |       |                  |       |                              |
|------|------------------|-------|------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| Grk. | ὕγρὸς, vorerós   | Goth. | (natjan, vb.)    | Lith. | šlapias, drėgnas             |
| NG   | ὕγρὸς, vorerós   | ON    | vātr, vōtr       | Lett. | slapys, mīkls, mitrs, drēgns |
| Lat. | timidus, madidus | Dan.  | vaad, fugtig     | ChSl. | mokrā                        |
| It.  | uidus            | Sw.   | vad, fuktig      | SCR.  | mokar, vlažan                |
| Fr.  | bagnato, umido   | OE    | vāt, fūht        | Boh.  | mokry, vlhky                 |
| Sp.  | mouillé, humide  | ME    | wet, moyste      | Pol.  | mokry, wilgotny              |
| Rum. | moite            | NE    | wet, damp, moist | Russ. | mokryj, syroj, vlažnyj       |
| Ir.  | majado, húmedo   | Du.   | nat, vochtig     | Skt.  | ārdra-                       |
| Nlr. | ud, umed         | OHG   | naz, fūhti       | Av.   | napla-                       |
| W.   | fiuch            | MHG   | naz, viuhle      |       |                              |
| Br.  | fiuch            | NHG   | nass, feucht     |       |                              |
|      | gleb, leiz       |       |                  |       |                              |

It is impossible to draw a sharp line between 'wet' and 'damp'. The distinction according to the degree of wetness, as in the current use of NE *wet* and *damp*, holds also in the main for the Gmc. and Balto-Slavic words. But elsewhere this is ignored, and where several words are in use, as in Latin and the Romance languages, the choice depends on the kind of object described, the ground, a rag, etc., whether naturally wet or made wet, etc., all too diverse and complicated to be noted here.

Apart from the inherited group, the words are connected with others for 'water', 'bathe', 'leak', 'melt', 'vapor', 'soften', 'mire, filth'(?).

1. IE *\*ueg-*. Walde-P. 1.248. Ernout-M. 1123. REW 4233, 9030.

Grk. *ὕγρὸς*; Lat. *umidus*, and (by association with *humus* 'earth') *hūmidus* (> It. *umido*, Rum. *umed*, Fr. *humide*, Sp. *húmedo*), and *uidus*, whence *uidus* (> Rum. *ud*); ON *vokr*.

2. Grk. (Hom.) *vōrios*, Att. *vorerós*, beside *voris* 'moisture', *vōrios* 'south wind' (= 'damp'), prob. : Arm. *naγ* 'wet, liquid', Lat. *natāre* 'swim', fr. an extension of the root *\*s(n)ā-* in Grk. *νήχω*, Lat. *nāre* (cf. Umbr. *veskla snata* 'vessels for liquids'), Skt. *snā-* 'swim', etc. Walde-P. 2.692 f.

NG *βρεγμένος*, ppl. of *βρέχω* 'wet, moisten', intr. 'rain', class. Grk. 'wet,

steep', pass. 'get wet, be rained on' : *βροχή* 'rain', Lett. *mārga* 'gentle rain', etc. Walde P. 1.280.

3. Lat. *madidus*, fr. *madere* 'be wet, drip with' : Grk. *μαδᾶω* 'be moist, fall off (of hair)', Ir. *maidim* 'break out, go to pieces', etc. Walde-P. 2.231. Ernout-M. 579. Walde-H. 2.6 f.

It. *bagnato*, ppl. of *bagnare* 'bathe, wet, moisten' (VLat. *balneāre* fr. *balnea*, earlier *balineum* 'bath', fr. Grk. *βαλανεῖον*). Ernout-M. 101. REW 913.

Fr. *mouillé*, Sp. *mojado*, ppl. of Fr. *mouiller*, Sp. *majar* 'wet, moisten', fr. a VLat. *\*mollīare*, fr. *mollis* 'soft'. REW 5646.

Fr. *moite*, OFr. *moiste* (> ME *moyste*, NE *moist*), prob. fr. *\*muscidus* for Lat. *micidius* 'moldy' blended with *musteus* 'musty'. REW 5711. Gamillscheg 618. Bloch 2.71.

4. Ir. *fiuch*, W. *gulyb*, MBr. *gleob*, Br. *gleb*, perh. : Lat. *liquidus* 'liquid', etc., root *\*uleik-*(?). Walde-P. 2.397. Pedersen 1.60. Stokes 285. Walde-H. 1.812.

W. *llaith*, Br. *leiz* : W. *dad-laith* 'thaw', Ir. *legaim* 'dissolve, melt', ON *leka* 'leak', OE *leccan* 'moisten, wet', etc. Walde-P. 2.422 f. Pedersen 1.123.

5. ON *vātr*, Dan. *vaad*, Sw. *våt*, OE *wāt*, ME, NE *wet*, OFris. *wēt* : ON *vain*, OE *water*, Goth. *walō*, etc. 'water' (1.31). Falk-Torp 1337.

NHG *schwanger* 'pregnant'. Walde-P. 2.525.

Lett. *smags* : Lith. dial. *smagus* 'heavy to carry or pull', Grk. *μόγος* 'toil', *μογερός* 'laborious', etc. Walde-P. 2.692. Mühl-Endz. 3.928.

6. ChSl. *težikü*, general Slavic (but Russ. *тяжкий* in physical sense mostly replaced by new formation *тяжелый*) : ChSl. *tegnati* 'pull', ON *pungr* 'heavy', etc. (above, 4).

7. Skt. *guru-*, Av. *gouru-*, above, 1.

## 15.82 LIGHT (in Weight)

|      |                  |       |        |       |         |
|------|------------------|-------|--------|-------|---------|
| Grk. | λαφρός (κοῖφος)  | Goth. | leihts | Lith. | lengvas |
| NG   | λαφρός           | ON    | lēttr  | Lett. | viegls  |
| Lat. | levis            | Dan.  | let    | ChSl. | līgākū  |
| It.  | leggiero (lieve) | Sw.   | lätt   | SCR.  | lak     |

In the principal inherited groups and in most of the other words one cannot go behind the sense of 'dry'. A few are from the notion of 'extract the juice', and in a Gmc. group 'dry' is probably associated with 'firm', as sometimes 'wet' with 'soft'.

1. IE \*saus-, \*sus-. Walde-P. 2.447. Grk. (Hom.) *abos*, Att. *abos*; OE *sēar*, ME (NE) *sere* (esp. 'withered'), MLG *sōr*; Lith. *sausas*, Lett. *sauss*, ChSl. *sukhū*, etc., general Balto-Slavic; Skt. *guṣka-* (for \**suṣ-ka-*), Av. *huška-*, OPers. *uška-*.

2. IE \*ters- in words for 'dry', 'be dry', (dry) 'land' (1.21), 'thirst' (5.15), etc. Walde-P. 1.737 f. Ernout-M. 1048. Falk-Torp 1318.

Here as adj. 'dry'. Ir. *ṡr* (rare), usually *ṡrim*, Nlr. *tirim*, *trim*; Goth. *þaur-sus*, ON *þurr*, Dan. *tør*, Sw. *torr*, OE *þyrre*, OHG *durri*, MHG *dürre*, NHG *dürr*.

3. Grk. *ξηρός*, NG pop. *ξερός* (*ηρ* > *ερ* reg., as in *νερός* 'water', etc.) prob. : Lat. *serēscere* 'become dry', *serēnus* 'fair' (of weather), OHG *serawēn* 'become dry, wither'. Walde-P. 1.503. Ernout-M. 928.

NG *στεγνός*, fr. class. Grk. *στεγνός* 'waterproof', this fr. *στέρω* 'cover'.

4. Lat. *siccus* (> It. *secco*, Fr. *sec*, Sp. *seco*, Rum. *sec*), etym. disputed; perh. : Av. *hiku-* 'dry', *hačēah-* 'dryness', etc.: Av. Skt. *sic-*, *hič-* 'pour out', Ernout-M. 937. Barth. 1812. Otherwise, fr. \**sit(i)-co-s* : *sitis* 'thirst', Walde-P. 1.506, etc.

Lat. *aridus* (> It., Sp. *arido*, OFr. *are*, Fr. *aride*), with *arēre* 'be dry' : Skt. *āsa-* 'ashes, dust', Toch. A *āsar* 'dry', root \**ās-*, with guttural extension in

Goth. *azgō*, OHG *asca* 'ashes', Arm. *azazem* 'I dry', dental in Grk. *ἀζω* 'dry up', etc. Walde-H. 1.65. Ernout-M. 70.

It. *asciutto*, fr. Lat. *exsūctus*, pple. of *exsūgere* 'suck out', cpd. of *sūgere* 'suck'. REW 3074.

Rum. *uscat*, pple. of *usca* 'to dry' (= It. *asciugare*, Fr. *essuyer* 'dry, wipe dry'), fr. VLat. \**ex-sūcāre* 'extract the juice' (*sūcus* 'juice'). REW 3073. Pušcariu 1841.

5. Ir. *ṡrim*, etc., above, 2. W. *sydh*, Br. *sec'h*, also Mir. *secc*. (Cormac), fr. Lat. *siccus* (above, 4). Loth, Mots lat. 209. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 176.

Br. *krin* : W. *crin* 'withered, sere', Ir. *crin*, Nlr. *crion* 'worn out, withered, old', Ir. *air-crinim* 'disappear, perish', root connection? Pedersen 2.498.

6. Goth. *þaurusus*, OE *þyrre*, etc., above, 2.

OE *drīge*, ME *drie*, NE *dry*, Du. *droog*, and with *n*-suffix OHG *truchan*, MHG *trucken*, NHG *trocken*; cf. ON *draugr* 'dry log', prob. : OPruss *drāktai* (of weather), OHG *serawēn* 'become dry, wither'. Walde-P. 1.503. Ernout-M. 928.

NG *στεγνός*, fr. class. Grk. *στεγνός* 'waterproof', this fr. *στέρω* 'cover'. 4. Lat. *siccus* (> It. *secco*, Fr. *sec*, Sp. *seco*, Rum. *sec*), etym. disputed; perh. : Av. *hiku-* 'dry', *hačēah-* 'dryness', etc.: Av. Skt. *sic-*, *hič-* 'pour out', Ernout-M. 937. Barth. 1812. Otherwise, fr. \**sit(i)-co-s* : *sitis* 'thirst', Walde-P. 1.506, etc.

Lat. *aridus* (> It., Sp. *arido*, OFr. *are*, Fr. *aride*), with *arēre* 'be dry' : Skt. *āsa-* 'ashes, dust', Toch. A *āsar* 'dry', root \**ās-*, with guttural extension in

### 15.85 HOT, WARM (Separated by; where distinction holds)

|      |                    |       |                     |       |                          |
|------|--------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| Grk. | θερμός             | Goth. | *warm (vb. warmjan) | Lith. | karštas; šiltas          |
| NG   | ῥερός              | ON    | heitr; warmr        | Let.  | karštas; šiltas          |
| Lat. | calidus            | Dan.  | hed; varm           | ChSl. | toplū                    |
| It.  | cald               | Sw.   | het; varm           | SCR.  | vruc; topao              |
| Fr.  | chaud              | OE    | hāt; wearm          | Boh.  | horký; teplo             |
| Sp.  | caliente, cálido   | ME    | hoot; warm          | Pol.  | gorący; ciepły           |
| Rum. | cald               | NE    | hot; warm           | Russ. | žarkij; gorjačij; teplyj |
| Ir.  | ṡe                 | Du.   | heet; warm          | Skt.  | uṣṇa-, tapta-            |
| Nlr. | te                 | MHG   | heiz; warm          | Av.   | garama-, tapla-          |
| W.   | poeth, twym, brud; | NHG   | heiss; warm         |       |                          |
| Br.  | cynnes             |       |                     |       |                          |
|      | tomn               |       |                     |       |                          |

The distinction according to the degree of heat, as in NE *hot*, *warm*, holds for the Gmc. and Balto-Slavic words. Most of the other words listed are used without such distinction, though there may be special words for 'lukewarm, tepid', which are not included.

Apart from inherited groups, the words are connected with verbs for 'boil' (5.22, 10.31) or 'burn' (1.84).

It is well known that extreme heat and cold, as in touching a red-hot iron or a piece of ice, produce the same sensation, and there is every probability that a certain group of words for 'hot' (Lat. *calidus*, etc.) and another for 'cold' are, in fact, cognate. Cf. also Lat. *prūna* 'hoar-frost' beside *prūna* 'live coal', *prurire* 'itch', and OE *frēosan*, etc. 'freeze'.

1. IE \**gʰer-*, adj. esp. with *mo-* suffix, *\*gʰermo-*, *\*gʰormo-*. Walde-P. 1.687 f. Ernout-M. 380. Walde-H. 1.532 f.

Grk. *θερμός*; OLat. *formus*; Av. *garama-* (also sb. 'heat' = Skt. *gharma-* id.); Arm. *ferm*. Here prob. the Gmc. group, ON *varmr*, OE *wearm*, etc., but disputed and taken by some (cf. Falk-Torp 1354, 1375) fr. the root of ChSl. *varū* 'heat', *virēti* 'well up, boil' (cf. below, 8). With different suffix ChSl. *gorikū* 'bitter', etc., the usual sense in modern Slavic

(cf. 15.37), but Boh. *horký*, Slov. *gorak* 'hot', with vb. Slav. *gorēti* 'burn', pres. act. pple. often merely 'hot' in modern Slavic, Pol. *gorący*, Russ. *gorjačij* (cf. Berneker 333 f.); also Russ. *žarkij* (: žar 'heat', žariti 'roast, scorch', ChSl. *žeravū* 'glowing', *po-žarū* 'burning').

2. IE \**tep-*. Walde-P. 1.718 f. Ernout-M. 1030 f. Pedersen 1.87, 92 f., 2.19. Stokes 124 f.

Ir. *tē*, pl. *tēt* (pple. \**tepent-*), Nlr. *te*; W. *twym*, Br. *tomn*, OCorn. *toim* (\**tepesmo-*); ChSl. *toplū*, SCR. *topao*, Boh. *teplý*, Pol. *ciepły*, Russ. *teplyj*; Skt., Av. *tapla-* (pple. of *tap-* 'be hot, warm'); Lat. *tepidus* 'lukewarm, tepid', *tepēre* 'be tepid', cpd. of *tes*, Ir. *teas* 'heat' (\**teps-tu*). Morris Jones 63.

3. IE \**kel-*, prob. the same ultimately as in words for 'cold', Lith. *šaltas*, etc. Walde-P. 1.429. Ernout-M. 134. Walde-H. 1137.

Lat. *calidus* (> borrowed Sp. *cálido*), *caldus* (> It. *caldo*, Fr. *chaud*, Rum. *cald*), with vb. *calēre* 'be warm' (> OSP. *caler*, deriv. *caliente* 'hot'); Lith. *šiltas*, Lett. *silts*, with vb. Lith. *šilti*, Lett. *silt* 'grow warm'; fr. an extended form of the root prob. ON *hlǫ* 'warmth', *hlær* 'warm, mild' (of weather), OE *hleowe* 'comfortable, sheltered', OHG *lao*, NHG *lau* 'tepid', etc.

'breathe, blow, refresh, cool off', ψυχέ 'breath, spirit'. Boisacq 1079.

NG κρύος, fr. sb. κρύος 'cold' (κάνει κρύο 'it is cold'), in class. Grk. 'icy cold, frost': OHG (*h*)*roso* 'ice, crust', OE *hrāse* 'earth, ground', Lett. *krūvestis* 'rough frozen dung in the road', etc. Walde-P. 1.479. Boisacq 522.

4. Lat. *frigidus* (> Sp. *frío*), VLat. also *frigūsus* (> It. *freddo*, Fr. *froid*), with sb. *frigus* 'cold' (> Rum. *frig*), whence late *frigorōsus* (> Rum. *frigoros*, etc.), fr. *frigēre* 'be cold, freeze': Grk. *ῥγος* 'frost', *ῥγίω* 'shiver (with cold), shudder'. Walde-P. 2.705. Ernout-M. 390. Walde-H. 1.547. REW 3512, 3514.

Rum. *rece*, fr. Lat. *recens* 'fresh, recent, young', with development fr. 'fresh' through 'cool'. REW 7109.

5. Ir. *uar*, Nlr. *fuur*, W. *oer*, OCorn. *oir*, cf. Gall. *Ogron* name of a month (\**oug-ro-*), beside sb. Ir. *uacht* (\**oug-to-*): Arm. *oic* 'cold', *ucanam* 'grow cold', all prob. fr. an extension of a root \**eu-* seen also in Lett. *auksts* 'cold', Lith. *aušti* 'grow cool', and in Av. *aota-* 'cold', sb. *aošar-*, Skt. *ādhar-* 'cold', further root connections (as with Grk. *ἀημι*, Skt. *vā-* 'blow', etc.; cf. above, Grk. ψύχος : ψέχω) more doubtful. Walde-P. 1.222. Persson, Beiträge 10 f. Pedersen 1.103. Löwenthal, Wört. u. Sach. 11.54.

Br. *yen* : W. *iaen* 'sheet of ice, glacier', *ia*, Ir. *aig* 'ice', ON *jaki* 'piece of ice', etc. Walde-P. 1.206.

6. Gmc. words, above, 2.

7. Lith. *šaltas*, Lett. *salts*, above, 1.

8. ChSl. *studenū*, SCR. *studen*, Boh. *studený*, Russ. *studenij*, with sb. *studū* 'cold', vb. *stynāti* 'become cooler', fr. \**stew-d-*, beside \**stew-g-* in Grk. *στῖγες* 'chill, frost', *στῖγος* 'abomination', *στῖγω* 'abhor', etc., fr. \**stew-* in Skt. *ghṛtāstāvas* 'drops of melted butter'. The primary meaning of the root was perh. 'congeal, become stiff'. Walde-P. 2.620.

SCR. *hladan*, Russ. *chodnnyj* (Boh. *chlādnyj*, Pol. *chłodny* 'cool'), with sb. Russ. *chodol* 'cold', ChSl. *chlādū* 'coolness', etc., etym. dub. Berneker 393.

Pol. *zimny* beside sb. *zimno*, fr. *zima* 'winter' (14.74). Cf. Boh. *zima*, used also as 'cold' sb., and so ChSl. *zima* in Gospels, Jn. 18.18; likewise Skt. *hima-* 'cold' sb. and adj.

9. Skt. *çīta-*, *çītila-* : *çyā-* 'freeze, congeal', outside connections dub. Uhlenbeck 318.

Skt. *çīçira-*, Av. *sarata-*, above, 1.

Skt. *hima-*, see under Pol. *zimny*, above, 8.

Av. *aota-*, see under Ir. *uar*, above, 5.

### 15.87 CLEAN

|      |                   |       |              |       |                 |
|------|-------------------|-------|--------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | καθαρός           | Goth. | hrains       | Lith. | švarus, švastas |
| NG   | καθαρός, παστικός | ON    | hreinn       | Let.  | tīrs, glīts     |
| Lat. | mundus, purus     | Dan.  | ren          | ChSl. | čistū           |
| It.  | pulito, netto     | Sw.   | ren          | SCR.  | čist            |
| Fr.  | propre, net       | OE    | clāne        | Boh.  | čistý           |
| Sp.  | limpio            | ME    | clene        | Pol.  | czysty          |
| Rum. | rece, friguros    | NE    | clean        | Russ. | čistij          |
| Ir.  | uar               | Du.   | rein, zuiver | Skt.  | çuddha-         |
| Nlr. | fuur              | MHG   | reini, sübar | Av.   | .....           |
| W.   | oer               | NHG   | reine, süber |       |                 |
| Br.  | yen               |       | rein, sauber |       |                 |

words for 'hot', Lat. *calidus*, etc. See 15.85.

Lith. *šaltas*, Lett. *salts* (with vbs. Lith. *šalti*, Lett. *salt* 'freeze'); Skt. *kalas*, (with reduplication) *çīçira-*, Av. *sarata-*, NPers. *sard*, also in Av. *sara-ša-* 'bringing cold'; Osset. *sal* sb. 'cold'.

2. IE \**gel-*. Walde-P. 1.622. Ernout-M. 412. Walde-H. 1.585 f. Falk-Torp 560 f.

Lat. *gelidus* (with sb. *gelu* 'cold, frost', vb. *gelāre* 'freeze'); Goth. *kalds*, OE *ceald*, etc., general Gmc. (orig. pple. to ON *kala* 'freeze', OE *calan* 'become cold', whence also sbs. ON *kuldi*, OE *ceald*, OHG *calt*, etc.), here also sb. OE *cele*, *ciele* (> NE *chill*, whence adj. *chilly*), with ablaut OE *cōl*, NE *cool*, OHG *kuoli*, NHG *kühl* 'cool'.

3. Grk. ψύχος (NG 'chilly' or fig.), with sb. ψύχος 'cold, coolness' : ψέχω

Words for 'clean' and 'dirty', though these notions are by no means exclusively distinguished by the sense of touch (more often by smell or sight), are conveniently introduced here. Many of the words for 'clean' are the same that are used for 'pure, unmixed', and in several of these this is clearly the earlier notion. Others are of too diverse or doubtful origin for summary.

1. Grk. *καθαρός*, etym.? Walde-P. 1.368. Boisacq 389.

NG pop. *παστικός*, with *πάστρα* 'cleanliness', *παστρέω* 'cleanse', Byz. *παστικός*, *πάστρα*, *παστρέω*, etym. dub., perh. first *πάστρα* fr. *πῆσσω* 'draw, carry off'. Otherwise (fr. *σάπρον* 'Spanish broom', the plant) Koras, *Ἀτακτα* 1.288 f., Hatzidakis, *Mez*. 1.327.

2. Lat. *mundus* (> It. *mondo* 'peeled, cleaned', Sp. *mondo* 'neat, pure'), perh. as orig. 'washed' fr. \**mudnos* : ChSl. *myti* 'wash', MLG *mülen* 'wash the clothes', OHG *muzzan* 'clean, adorn', Grk. *μύδος* 'dampness', etc. Walde-P. 2.250 f.

Lat. *pūrus* : Skt. *pu-* 'cleanse, purify', OHG *foven* 'sift, clean grain', etc., root \**peu-*. Walde-P. 2.13. Ernout-M. 826.

It. *pulito*, pple. of *pulire* 'cleanse', fr. Lat. *polire* 'smooth, polish'.

It. *netto*, Fr. *net* (Ofr. *neit*, *net* > ME *neate*, *nete* 'clean, pure, bright', NE *neat*), fr. Lat. *nītīdus* 'bright, shining, polished' (15.57). REW 5929.

Fr. *propre*, in sense 'clean' from perh. 16th cent., earlier 'correctly arranged' fr. 'having necessary qualities, proper', fr. Lat. *proprius* 'own, special, proper'. Bloch 2.188.

Sp. *limpio*, fr. Lat. *limpidus* 'clear, transparent' also late 'pure, clean' (L. *panis*, Cael. Aur.). REW 5056.

Rum. *curat*, fr. Lat. *cōlātus*, pple. of *cōlāre* 'filter, purify'. REW 2035a. Pušcariu 454.

3. Ir., W. *glan* : Ir. *gel* 'white', etc. (15.64). Walde-P. 1.624.

Br. *net*, *neat*, fr. Fr. *net*.

4. Goth. *hrains*, ON *hreinn*, Dan., Sw. *ren*, OHG (*h*)*reini*, MHG *reine*, NHG, Du. *rein*; in Rhine Frank. and in Swiss 'finely ground or sifted'; hence perh. fr. the root of Grk. *κρίνω* 'choose, decide, judge', *κρίμων* 'coarse barley meal', Lat. *cernere* 'separate, sift, distinguish', *cribrum*, OE *hriddre* 'sieve', etc. Walde-P. 2.585. Falk-Torp 889. Kluge-G. 477.

OE *clāne*, ME *clene*, NE *clean* (OHG *kleini* 'shining, fine', etc., NHG *klein* 'small') prob. : Grk. *γλῆνεα* 'bright things, trinkets, stars', *γλήνη* 'pupil of the eye', etc. (cf. 12.56), with development of 'bright' to 'clean' as in Fr. *net*, etc. (above, 2). Walde-P. 1.623.

OHG *sūbar*, *sūbiri*, MHG *sūber*, *sū-ver*, NHG *sauber*, OS *sūbar*, Du. *zuiver* (OE *syfre* 'sober, temperate, pure'), fr. Lat. *sōbrius* 'sober, moderate, temperate'. Weigand-H. 2.655. Franck-v. W. 829.

5. Lith. *švarus*, and vb. *švarinti* 'cleanse', etym.? Walde 1.462.

Lith. *čystas* (formerly the usual word but now being discarded in favor of *švarus*; NSB s.v.), fr. Slavic (below, 6).

Lett. *tīrs* : Lith. *tyrus*, *tyras* 'pure, unmixed', further connection dub. (Mühl.-Endz. 4.204 : Lith. *tyras*, *tyrė* 'pap, pulp', Lett. *frēlis* 'swamp', etc., lat semantically difficult).

Lett. *glīts*, perh. : *glīts* 'slippery soft', Lith. *glītus* 'viscous', Lett. *glīt* 'get slimy', etc. Walde-P. 1.620. Mühl.-Endz. 1.627.

6. ChSl. *čistū*, etc., general Slavic, with vb. *čistiti* 'cleanse' : OPruss. *skistān* (acc.) 'clean', *skistinti* 'cleanse', Lith. *skystas* 'liquid, fluid', Lett. *skīstis* 'thin' (of liquids), also 'clean, chaste', fr. the root of ChSl. *čěditi* 'strain, filter' (etc.,

'dark-colored, turbid, dirty' : OE *salu* 'dark-colored' (cf. Ir. *salach* 'dirty', etc., below). REW 7547.

Fr. *malpropre* (esp. of persons 'habitually dirty'), cpd. of *mal* 'bad' with neg. force and *propre* 'clean' (15.87).

Rum. *murdar*, fr. Turk. *murdar* 'dirty', this fr. Pers. *murdar* 'corpse' (: *murdan* 'die', Av. *mar-*, etc.). Titkin 1022. Lokotsch 1516. Horn 973.

3. Ir. *salach*, fr. *sal* 'dirty, filth' : OHG *salo* 'dark-colored, turbid, dirty', OE *salu* 'dark-colored' (NE *sallow*), etc. Walde-P. 2.420.

W. *budr*, with vb. *budro* 'soil', Mir. *buidrim* 'roll up, confuse', prob. : OE *cwead*, OHG *quāt*, NHG *kot* 'dung, etc.' (4.66). Walde-P. 1.696.

W. *brient*, etym.?

Br. *lous*, same word as *louz*, MBr. *louçz* 'badger', fr. (or conversely) Fr. dial. *louze* 'badger' and 'trickery', etc., hence orig. an opprobrious term. Ernaut, RC 14.287, Glossaire 377.

Br. *lousier*, cf. W. *lludedic* 'muddy' : Ir. *loth* 'dirty', Lat. *lutum* 'mud', Grk. *λύμα* 'washings, filth', etc. Walde-P. 2.406. Stokes 250.

4. Goth. *unhrains*, ON *ühreinn*, Dan. *uren*, Sw. *oren*, OHG *un(h)reini*, MHG *unreine* (NHG *unrein*), likewise OE *unclāne*, ME *uncleane* (NE *unclean*), and OHG *unsūbar*, *unsūbiri*, MHG *unsūber* (NHG *unsauber*), neg. cpds. of words for 'clean' (on use see above), and common today in the physical sense only in Scandinavian.

ON *saurigr*, *saurigr*, also *saurigr*, fr. *saur* 'mud, dirt, excrements', this prob. : ON *sūr*, OE *sūr*, etc. 'sour' (15.38). Walde-P. 1.469, 513. Falk-Torp 1236. Dan. *snaveset* and vb. *snaves*, fr. *snæs* 'dirt, muck', Sw. dial. *snafs*, with vb. *snaffsa* 'spill', perh. = *snaffsa* 'snap

general Slavic), Lith. *skiesti* 'adulterate, thin down' (a liquid), OHG *heilār* 'bright, shining', OE *hādor* 'brightness (of the sky)', Skt. *ketu-* 'light, shape, form', etc. Walde-P. 2.537 f. Berneker 157 f.

### 15.88 DIRTY, SOILED

# CHAPTER 16 EMOTION (WITH SOME PHYSICAL EXPRESSIONS OF EMOTION); TEMPERAMENTAL, MORAL, AND AESTHETIC NOTIONS

|                                  |                        |
|----------------------------------|------------------------|
| 16.11 SOUL, SPIRIT               | 16.43 RAGE, FURY       |
| 16.12 EMOTION, FEELING           | 16.44 ENVY, JEALOUSY   |
| 16.13 PASSION                    | 16.45 SHAME (sb.)      |
| 16.14 CARE (sb.)                 | 16.46 HONOR (sb.)      |
| 16.15 WONDER, ASTONISHMENT       | 16.47 GLORY            |
| 16.16 SURPRISE                   | 16.48 PROUD            |
| 16.17 FORTUNE (Good or Bad)      | 16.51 DARE             |
| 16.18 GOOD FORTUNE               | 16.52 BRAVE            |
| 16.19 MISFORTUNE                 | 16.53 FEAR, FRIGHT     |
| 16.21 PLEASE                     | 16.54 DANGER           |
| 16.212 PLEASE (in polite phrase) | 16.55 TIMID, COWARDLY  |
| 16.22 JOY                        | 16.61 WILL, WISH (vb.) |
| 16.23 JOYFUL, GLAD               | 16.62 DESIRE (vb.)     |
| 16.24 HAPPY, HAPPINESS           | 16.63 HOPE (sb.)       |
| 16.25 LAUGH (vb.); SMILE (vb.)   | 16.64 THANKS           |
| 16.26 PLAY (vb.)                 | 16.65 FAITHFUL         |
| 16.27 LOVE (sb.; vb.)            | 16.66 TRUE             |
| 16.28 DEAR                       | 16.67 LIE (sb.)        |
| 16.29 KISS (vb.)                 | 16.68 DECEIT           |
| 16.31 PAIN, SUFFERING            | 16.69 FORGIVE          |
| 16.32 GRIEF, SORROW              | 16.71 GOOD             |
| 16.33 ANXIETY                    | 16.72 BAD              |
| 16.34 REGRET (vb.), REPENT       | 16.73 RIGHT (adj.)     |
| 16.35 PITY (sb.)                 | 16.74 WRONG (adj.)     |
| 16.36 SAD                        | 16.75 SIN              |
| 16.37 CRY, WEEP                  | 16.76 FAULT, GUILT     |
| 16.38 TEAR (sb.)                 | 16.77 MISTAKE, ERROR   |
| 16.39 GROAN (vb.)                | 16.78 BLAME (sb.)      |
| 16.41 HATE (sb.)                 | 16.79 PRAISE (sb.)     |
| 16.42 ANGER                      | 16.81 BEAUTIFUL        |
|                                  | 16.82 UGLY             |

In this chapter we need not be concerned with such moot questions as the definition and precise character of emotions; the differentiation of emotions, passions, moods, etc.; the selection of certain emotions as primary; the division into pleasant and unpleasant or other types of classification. The rela-

tions are so complex that no rigid classification has proved acceptable to psychologists generally; and there is certainly none which it would be profitable to impose upon our study, in which we are dealing with unsophisticated and often overlapping notions.

While attempting to bring into con-

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junction certain obviously related emotions, we lay no emphasis on the arrangement adopted. Some of the items, if taken by themselves, would seem to have no proper place in a chapter on emotions but are most conveniently brought into a series with others of distinctly emotional value. So especially are certain situations or objective notions which inspire emotional reactions. Thus 'danger' may lead to 'fear'; 'what is wonderful, a wonder' to the feeling of 'wonder, astonishment'; 'fame, renown' to the highly emotional 'glory'; a 'shameful act, disgrace' to the feeling of 'shame'; 'care' as 'attention' to 'anxiety, grief, sorrow, sometimes 'danger' or 'hate' and 'fondness, love'; 'distress, trouble' may lead to 'anger'; objects of repulsion provoke 'disgust' and then 'hate' and similarly in other cases, while the opposite shift from subjective to objective ('fear' to 'danger', etc.) is, of course, also attested.

Words for certain actions that are expressive of emotion, whether or not they lead to actual names of emotions, are included, as 'laugh, smile', 'weep', 'kiss'. In a few cases the emotion is antecedent to its expression ('love' > 'kiss' in Grk. *φίλω*, 16.29). Or there may be a shift of meaning from one physical act to another, when both are expressive of the same emotion ('beat the breast' > 'weep').

Some moral and aesthetic notions are also included for convenience, as 'good', 'bad', 'sin' (with the overlapping 'fault', 'error', 'blame'); and 'beautiful', 'ugly'. It must be assumed, of course, that all expressions of emotion, as well as those for sense-perceptions and thought processes, rest ultimately on physical actions or situations. In large measure this is shown in the history of the words, either in a shift of application observable within

the historical period of a given language or by the cognates in other languages. But in some groups of cognates an emotional value is so widespread that no certain trace is left of the underlying physical value, so that its determination is highly speculative or hopeless.

Many parts of the body or bodily actions are associated with emotions. Notably the heart, the words for which are universally used to denote the seat of emotion or 'temperament, disposition', and in part (alone or in derivs. or cpds.) for special emotions such as 'courage', 'fondness, love', 'sympathy, pity', and (in Balto-Slavic) 'anger'. Bristling of the hair may indicate 'horror' (Lat. *horror*; cf. NE adj. *hair-raising*) or pleasurable excitement, 'joy' (Skt. *harṣa*, 16.22). To lower or wrinkle the eyebrows, 'frown, scowl', usually shows displeasure, but also arrogance (cf. numerous Grk. phrases with *ὀφρύς*, LS s.v.; NE *supercilious*). Not only tears but also downcast eyes indicate 'grief, sadness' (NG *καρπός* 'sad', 16.36). Laughter may show pleasure or ridicule. Puffing out the chest suggests 'pride' (cf. NG *καυρώω* etc., 16.48), as does also strutting or a stiff bearing. Words for 'breath' are the most common source of those for 'soul, spirit', and heavy breathing may indicate 'hate' (OE *anda*, 16.41) or 'anger' (Lett. *dusmas*, 16.42). The bile or gall is associated with bitter anger (Grk. *χόλος*, 16.42; NE *gall* in U.S. slang 'excessive assurance, impudence'; cf. also Grk. *μελαγχολία* 'black gall, melancholy'; the spleen with a variety of quite disparate emotions (NED s.v. *spleen*). A Greek word for the principal internal organs (*σπλάγχνα*) was felt as the seat of various emotions (cf. LS s.v.), and later, through its use in the LXX and NT to translate a certain Hebrew word and rendered in our

## EMOTION; TEMPERAMENTAL, MORAL, AESTHETIC NOTIONS 1087

| 16.11 SOUL, SPIRIT |                                |       |                             |
|--------------------|--------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|
| Grk.               | <i>ψυχή, θύμος, πνεῦμα</i>     | Goth. | <i>saiwala, ahma</i>        |
| NG                 | <i>ψυχή, πνεῦμα</i>            | ON    | <i>and, sál(a), andi</i>    |
| Lat.               | <i>anima, animus, spiritus</i> | Dan.  | <i>sjæl, aand</i>           |
| It.                | <i>anima, spirito, animo</i>   | Sw.   | <i>själ, ande</i>           |
| Fr.                | <i>âme, esprit</i>             | OE    | <i>sáwel, gād</i>           |
| Sp.                | <i>alma, espíritu, animo</i>   | OE    | <i>soule, spírít, goot</i>  |
| Rum.               | <i>suflet, spirít</i>          | NE    | <i>soul, spírít (ghost)</i> |
| Ir.                | <i>anim, spirít</i>            | Du.   | <i>ziel, geest</i>          |
| Nir.               | <i>anam, spíorad</i>           | OHG   | <i>sēla, geist</i>          |
| W.                 | <i>enaid, ysbrýd</i>           | MHG   | <i>sēle, geist</i>          |
| Br.                | <i>enc, spered</i>             | NHG   | <i>seele, geist</i>         |

Under 'soul, spirit' it is intended to group the main words that are used for the seat of emotion, as contrasted with 'mind' for the seat of intelligence (17.11). But there is no hard-and-fast line between the two groups. Several of the words listed here carry over into the field of intelligence (so Lat. *animus* also 'mind', Fr. *esprit* in which the intellectual element is more dominant, and imitated in NHG *geist*), as, conversely, several of those listed under 'mind' are also used with reference to feelings.

The distinction between 'soul' and 'spirit' (or NE *ghost* in *Holy Ghost*), which became current in Christian terminology (Grk. *ψυχή* vs. *πνεῦμα*, Lat. *anima* vs. *spiritus*), is without significance for earlier periods, but the Eur. words are listed in accordance with this order.

The most usual semantic source is 'breath', hence first 'breath of life, vital principle'. But some are from (physical > mental) 'agitation' or other sources.

Besides the words listed, those for 'heart' are often used fig. in a similar sense. Likewise not included are certain words that are more nearly 'mood, temperament', as NHM *gemüt*.

1. Grk. *ψυχή*, also and orig. 'breath of life' (Hom., etc.): *ψύχω* 'breath, blow' (Hom.), whence commonly 'make cool' (cf. *ψύχος* 'cold'), further connection

dub. (*ψύ-* with early transposition fr. *φύω* in *φύσας* 'blow?'). Boisacq 1079.

Grk. *θύμος*, with a wide range of meanings ('soul, spirit, mood, anger, courage, breath of life'), through 'agitation' fr. the root of *θω* 'rage', Skt. *dhu-* 'shake, agitate', etc., and in form esp.: Lat. *fūmus*, Lith. *dūmai* 'smoke', Skt. *dhūma-* 'smoke, vapor'. For the shift of physical to mental, cf. Lat. *animus, anima* (below, 2), Lett. *gars* (below, 5) and NE *fume* (fr. Lat. *fūmus*) in *in a fume* or as vb. in *fret and fume*. Walde-P. 1.835 f. Boisacq 356 f.

Grk. *πνεῦμα*, orig. 'breath' (: *πνέω* 'breathe', 4.51), hence 'breath of life', and in NT and other Christian writings the usual term for 'spirit' contrasted with *ψυχή* 'soul'.

For Grk. *φρόν*, poet. word for both the seat of emotion and 'mind', with numerous derivs., partly of emotional but more commonly of intellectual character, see under 'mind' (17.11).

2. Lat. *anima* (> It. *anima*, Fr. *âme*, Sp. *alma*), orig. 'air, breath' (4.51), and the semantic equivalent of Grk. *ψυχή*; *animus* (> It., Sp. *ánimo*), also etymologically 'air, breath' (in form = Grk. *ἀνέμος* 'wind'), but never used in this sense, corresponds semantically to Grk. *θύμος*, but eventually yields place to *spírítus* (cf. below). Ernout-M. 53 f. Walde-H. 1.49 f.

## SELECTED INDO-EUROPEAN SYNONYMS

Lat. *spírítus* (> It. *spirito*, Fr. *esprit*, Sp. *espíritu*, Rum. *spírít*), usually in class. Lat. 'breath' (4.51), replaces *animus* in the sense 'spirit' in the imperial period and is used in Christian writings as the usual equivalent of Grk. *πνεῦμα*. Ernout-M. 966.

Rum. *suflet*, orig. 'breath', but not used in this sense now except in certain locations: *sufla* 'blow', *rásufila* 'breathe', etc. (4.51). Tiktin 1526 f.

3. Ir. *anim*, Nir. *anam*, Br. *anaon* (only 'souls of the dead'): Lat. *anima* (above); fr. the same root with different suffix (*\*ana-ti*) W. *enaid*; Br. *ene*, MBr. *eneff*, Corn. *enef* loanwords fr. Lat. *animas* Walde-P. 1.57. Pedersen 1.170.

Ir. *spírít*, Nir. *spíorad*, W. *ysbrýd*, Br. *spered*, fr. Lat. *spírítus*. Pedersen 1.211.

4. Goth. *saiwala*, OE *sáwel* (> ON *sála, sál*), ME *soule*, NE *soul*, OS *siala* (> Dan. *sjæl*, Sw. *själ*), Du. *ziel*, OHG *sēla, sēula*, MHG *sēle*, NHG *seele* (in Gospel translations the usual renderings of Grk. *ψυχή* or Lat. *anima*), etym. dub. (: Grk. *αἰόλος* 'quick moving' or ChSl. *sila* 'power?'). Falk-Torp 974. Feist 406. Weigand-H. 2.832.

Goth. *ahma* (= *πνεῦμα*) : *aha* 'mind', etc. (17.11). Feist 16 f.

ON *and*, *andi*, both lit. 'breath' (4.51), whence 'breath of life, soul, spirit', as 'soul' more frequently in early ecd. writings *and* (replaced by *sála* in this sense, and *sál*, not *and* is the usual Nicel. word), *andi* esp. 'spirit, spiritual being', and so in Nicel., as also Dan. *aand* (distinguished fr. *aande* 'breath'), Sw. *ande*. Falk-Torp 5. Hellquist 20.

OE *gást*, ME *gost* (NE *ghost* in *Holy Ghost*), OS *gēst*, Du. *geest*, OHG-NHG *geist*, the usual rendering of Lat. *spírítus*, but also old and general for a 'supernatural being': OE *gæstan* 'frighten', Skt. *hēḍa-* 'anger, wrath', Av. *zōiādišta-* 'most frightful', fr. IE *\*gheisd-*, extension of *\*gheis-* in Goth. *us-gaigan* 'frighten', Av. *zāšša-* 'horrible'. Walde-P. 1.554. Feist 531. NED s.v. *ghost*.

ME, NE *spírít*, fr. Anglo-Fr. *spírít* = OFr. *esp(e)rit*, Fr. *esprit* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *dūša* 'soul', fr. Slavic *duša* (below). Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 82.

Lith. *duasia* 'spirit', dial. still 'breath', Lett. *dūsele* 'soul' also 'breath': Lett. *duša* 'breath', *dušaut*, *dvest* 'breathe' (4.51) and the Slavic group below.

Lett. *gars* 'steam' and 'spirit, soul, intellect': Lith. *garas* 'steam', ChSl. *gorēti* 'burn', Grk. *θερός* 'hot', etc. Walde-P. 1.688. Berneker 234. Mühl-Endz 1.604.

6. ChSl. *duša*, etc., general Slavic for 'soul': ChSl. *duchŭ* 'breath' and 'spirit' (*πνεῦμα*), but in modern Slavic usual only in the latter sense: ChSl. *dycheati*, *duchati* 'breathe', etc. (4.51). Walde-P. 1.846. Berneker 234 f. 239.

7. Skt. *ātman-*, orig. 'breath': OHG *ātum* 'breath', etc. (4.51).

Skt. *prāṇa-*, orig. 'breath', and esp. 'inhalation', fr. *pra-an-*, cpd. of *an-* 'breathe' (4.51).

Av. *urvan-*, the usual term for 'soul, spirit', etym. ? Barth. 1537 ff.

Av. *mainyu-* 'spirit' in various applications, partly personified = Skt. *manu-* 'spirit, mood, anger': Skt., Av. *man-* 'think', etc. (17.13). Barth. 1136 ff.

cent.) in current sense, prob. fr. Fr. *émotion* (above, 2). Otherwise (as independently coined) NED s.v.

Du. *aandoening*, deriv. of *aandoen* 'touch upon, cause, affect', semantic borrowing fr. Lat. *adfectus, adficere* (above, 2). Franck-v. W. 3.

5. Lith. *jausmas*, Lett. *jūtas, jūsmā*: Lith. *jausti*, Lett. *jaust* 'perceive by the senses, feel' (15.11).

6. ChSl. *čuvstvo*, SCR. Russ. *čuvstvo*, Pol. *czucie, uczucie*: ChSl. *po-čuti*, etc. 'feel, perceive by the senses' (15.11). Berneker 162.

Boh. *cit*: SCR. *čut* 'sense', *čutjeti* 'perceive by the senses', etc. (15.11). Gebauer 1.273, 384.

7. Skt. *bhāva-*, lit. 'becoming, being', whence 'state' of anything, and 'state of mind or body', 'way of thinking, feeling, sentiment': *bhū-* 'become, be'.

NE *emotion*, in earliest use 'a moving out, migration', then 'agitation' (physical or mental), finally (since early 18th

'Passion' is understood here as a generic word for violent emotion. But the distinction from 'emotion' in general is lacking in some languages (Grk. *πάθος*) and incomplete in others (e.g. NE *passions*, sometimes = *emotions*; cf. NED s.v., 6). Most of the words meant originally 'suffering', with generalization in imitation of Grk. *πάθος* : *πάσχω* 'suffer'.

A few are from other sources, as 'disturbance', 'inflammation', 'enmity'.

## 16.13 PASSION

|      |                      |       |                       |       |                   |
|------|----------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk. | <i>πάθος, πάθημα</i> | Goth. | <i>gairuni, winnō</i> | Lith. | <i>aistra</i>     |
| NG   | <i>πάθος</i>         | ON    | .....                 | Lett. | <i>kaislība</i>   |
| Lat. | <i>perturbatio</i>   | Dan.  | <i>lidenskab</i>      | ChSl. | <i>strast</i>     |
| It.  | <i>passione</i>      | Sw.   | <i>lidens</i>         | SCR.  | <i>strast</i>     |
| Fr.  | <i>passion</i>       | OE    | <i>þolung</i>         | Boh.  | <i>vážet</i>      |
| Sp.  | <i>pasión</i>        | NE    | <i>þolung</i>         | Pol.  | <i>namiętność</i> |
| Rum. | <i>patimă</i>        | Du.   | <i>hartsocht</i>      | Russ. | <i>strast</i>     |
| Ir.  | <i>ceasadh, páis</i> | OHG   | <i>dolunga</i>        | Skt.  | <i>bhāva-</i>     |
| Nir. | <i>páis</i>          | MHG   | <i>lidunge</i>        |       |                   |
| W.   | <i>nuyd</i>          | NHG   | <i>leidunge</i>       |       |                   |
| Br.  | <i>c'hoantidigez</i> |       | <i>leidenskab</i>     |       |                   |

1. Grk. *πάθος, πάθημα*, see 16.12.

2. Lat. *perturbatio* 'disturbance', used by Cicero to render Grk. *πάθος*, deriv. of *perturbare* 'throw into confusion, disorder', cpd. of *turbare* 'disturb, agitate'.

Late Lat. *passio*, deriv. of *pati* 'suffer' (like Grk. *πάθος* : *πάσχω*). Used in ecd. Lat. esp. to render the 'passion' of Christ. Borrowed in It. *passione*, Fr. *passion*, Sp. *pasión*. Ernout-M. 741.

Rum. *patimă*, fr. Grk. *πάθημα* 'emotion' (16.12). Tiktin 1133.

## 16.12 EMOTION, FEELING

|      |                              |      |                           |       |                     |
|------|------------------------------|------|---------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | <i>πάθος, πάθημα</i>         | Dan. | <i>fjlelse</i>            | Lith. | <i>jausmas</i>      |
| NG   | <i>πάθος</i>                 | Sw.  | <i>kinata</i>             | Lett. | <i>jūtas, jūsmā</i> |
| Lat. | <i>animus, animi, sensus</i> | NE   | <i>emotion, feeling</i>   | ChSl. | <i>čuvstvo</i>      |
| It.  | <i>sensimento, emozione</i>  | Du.  | <i>gevoel, aandoening</i> | SCR.  | <i>čuvstvo</i>      |
| Fr.  | <i>sensiment, émotion</i>    | NHG  | <i>gefühl</i>             | Boh.  | <i>cit</i>          |
| Sp.  | <i>sentimiento, emoción</i>  |      |                           | Pol.  | <i>(u)czucie</i>    |
| Rum. | <i>simțire, emoțiune</i>     |      |                           | Russ. | <i>čuvstvo</i>      |
| Ir.  | <i>céibuid(?)</i>            |      |                           | Skt.  | <i>bhāva-</i>       |
| Nir. | <i>mothughadh</i>            |      |                           |       |                     |
| W.   | <i>teimlad</i>               |      |                           |       |                     |
| Br.  | <i>(trivliad)</i>            |      |                           |       |                     |

The majority of words for 'emotion, feeling', that is, generic terms covering the emotions of 'love, joy, anger, hate', etc., are derived from verbs for 'feel', which are either 'perceive by the senses' (15.11), or else originally denoted 'feel' by the sense of touch (15.72). Some are based on the notion of 'movement' (of the mind) or 'experience'.

In technical language there are many other terms, not included in the list, either loanwords or semantic borrowings, as NHG *affekt* fr. Lat. *affectus*, or OE *mōdes styrung*, NHG *gemütsbewegung*, Dan. *sindsbevægelse*, Sw. *sinnestörelse* in imitation of Lat. *mōtus animi*.

1. Grk. *πάθος, πάθημα* 'what befalls one, experience, suffering, misfortune', but also generic 'emotion' (*πάθημα* Plato +; *πάθος* more common in Aristot., e.g. EN 1105<sup>b</sup> 21 ff.; NG *πάθος* 'disease, misfortune, malice', also 'passion'), beside *πένθος* 'grief, sorrow', *πάσχω* 'suffer, experience', prob.: Ir. *céssaim*, Lith. *kenčiu, kęsti* 'suffer', etc. Walde-P. 1.513. Boisacq 766. Otherwise ultimately: Lat. *pati* 'suffer' Ernout-M. 741.

Grk. *αἰσθημα* 'object of sensation' (: *αἰσθάνομαι* 'perceive by the senses', 15.11), in NG 'feeling, emotion'.

2. Lat. *mōtus animi* (cf. *ira et metus*

*et reliquī mōtus animi*, Cic.), lit. 'movement of the spirit'.

Lat. *sensus*, orig. 'sense, power of feeling', fr. *sentire* 'feel, perceive by the senses' (15.11), whence also the vbs. It. *sentire*, etc. and their new derivs. It. *sentimento*, Fr. *sentiment*, Sp. *sentimiento*, Rum. *simțire*.

Lat. *adfectus* (*affectus*), like *adfectiō*, orig. translation of *ἀδάσεις* ('bodily') state or condition, disposition', later in the sense of *πάθος* (*adfectiō* in that of *στροφή*), fr. *adficere* 'exert an influence on (body or mind), put in a certain disposition', cpd. of *facere* 'do, make'. Ernout-M. 323 f.

Fr. *émotion* (> It. *emozione*, Sp. *emoción*, Rum. *emoțiune*), deriv. of *emouvoir* 'stir, agitate, move' (orig. in physical sense); formation after *motion* 'movement'. Gamillscheg 352.

3. Ir. *céibuid* (Mir. *céifaid*), the usual word for 'sense' (15.11), but prob. also 'feeling', cf. Passions and Homilies 1.722 (*in gentilecht*) *formuchaid na céifada* ('paganism') stifles the senses' (but trans. p. 301 'opinions'), l. 6868 *ho dunmait-ne ar céifade fria ceoh n-ole* 'sensibus nostris contra mala obduratis' (trans. p. 469), where the reference is certainly not to physical feelings.

Ir. *mothughadh*, Nir. *mothughadh* 'perception, sense' and 'feeling', see 15.11.

W. *teimlad*, also of physical feeling,

ME, NE *passion*, fr. OFr. *passion*, Lat. *passiō* (above, 2).

Du. *hartsocht*, cpd. of *hart* 'heart' and *trocht* 'pull, tug'. Franck-v. W. 234.

Br. *c'hoantidigez*, deriv. of *c'hoant* 'desire' (16.62).

4. Goth. *gairuni* (*gairunja lustana* = *πάθος* *ἐπιθυμία*, 1 Thess. 4. 5) : *gairnei* 'desire', vb. *gairnjan*, OE *giernan* 'desire', etc. (16.62).

Goth. *winno, winna* (Col. 3.5 = *πάθος* 'passion' in bad sense) : *winnan* 'suffer' = OE *winnan* 'toil, suffer', etc. Semantic borrowing fr. Grk. *πάθος*.

OE *þolung*, OHG *dolunga* (render Lat. *passiō*, cf. Bosworth-Toller, Suppl. s.v., Graff 5.135; clearly semantic borrowings), lit. 'suffering', derivs. of OE *þolian*, OHG *dolēn* 'suffer': Goth. *þulan* 'endure', Lat. *tollere* 'raise, carry', Grk. *τλά-* (aor. *ἐτλην*, etc.) 'bear, endure, suffer'. Walde-P. 1.739.

MHG *lidunge*, NHG *leidenschaft* (> Dan. *lidenskab*), Sw. *lidelse* fr. the vbs.

Boh. *vážet*: Pol. *vážni* 'quarrel', ChSl. *vaditi* 'accuse'. Brückner 598, 603.

Pol. *namiętność*, deriv. of *namiętny* 'passionate', prob. fr. the root in ChSl. *męta, męsti* 'disturb, trouble' (Berneker 2.45 without mention of these Pol. words). Otherwise Brückner 392 f. (: *pamięć*, ChSl. *pa-měti* 'memory', but semantically unlikely).



1. Grk. *μέλει* : *μέλω* (esp. 3sg. *μέλει*) 'be an object of care', root connection dub. (: *μέλα* 'very', Lat. *melior* 'better'). Walde-P. 2.292 (top). NG *μέλει* is 'study', but cf. *τί με μέλει*; 'what do I care?', etc.

Grk. *φρονίς* 'earnest thought' and so 'care' : *φρονώ* 'think' (17.14).

Grk. *μέμνημα* (in class. Grk. mostly poet., but freq. in NT) : Lat. *memor* 'mindful', Skt. *smar-* 'remember', etc. Walde-P. 2.689.

Late Grk. (LXX+), NG *προσοχή* 'attention, care' : *προσέχω* 'hold to, turn to, attend to', cpd. of *έχω* 'hold'.

2. Lat. *cūra* (> It. *cura*; Fr. *cure* in OFr. and modern dial. 'care', now 'medical care'; Sp. *cura* 'medical or religious care' or 'curing' = 'seasoning'), fr. *\*koi-sā-* (cf. Pael. *coisatens* 'curaverunt', OLat. *coiravit*, etc.), but root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.455. Ernout-M. 245 f. Walde-H. 1.314. H. Hendriksen, IF 56.21 (: Skt. *cesa-* 'remainder', but??).

Fr. *soin*, MLat. *sonium*, prob. fr. Gmc., cf. OS *sunnea* 'care', etc. (: MHG *senen* 'long for passionately', NHG *sehen*). REW 8089a. Gamillscheg 804.

Fr. *souci*, back-formation fr. *soucier* 'be anxious', fr. Lat. *sollicitare* 'disturb, distress'. REW 8076. Gamillscheg 810. Sp. *cuidado*, fr. late Lat. *cōgitātus* 'thought' : *cōgitāre* 'ponder, think'. REW 2028.

Rum. *grija*, fr. Slavic, cf. Bulg. *griža* 'care' = ChSl. *gryža* 'ache' : *gryza*, *grysi* 'bite, gnaw'. Tiktin 701. Berneker 359.

3. OIr. *uān menman* (gl. Lat. *animadversio*, MI. 28d12), lit. 'lending of the mind', *uān* vbl. n. of *od-* 'lend' (Pedersen 2.587, Thurneysen, Gram. 466) with gen. sg. of *menne* 'mind'.

Mr. *ōid* (cf. RIA Contrib. s.v.), imperat. form of *od-* 'lend' (cf. *ōid menmain*,

gl. *intuere*) used substantively with elipsis of *menmain* (cf. Lat. *advertere* = *animadvertere*). Cf. T. O'Maille, Lia Fáil 1.181 f. Nlr. *aidh* 'heed, attention'. Ir. *deithen*, *deithiu* mostly in the sense of 'care, anxiety', see 16.33.

Ir. *aire* 'watching, heed, attention', in Nlr. the usual word for 'care', etym.? Walde-P. 2.29.

W. *gofal*, cpd. of *-mal* as in *dyfal* 'careful, diligent', *diofal* 'careless', vb. *malio* 'care for' (also Corn. *mal* 'desire', Br. *mall* 'haste'), perh. : Grk. *μέλω*, etc. (above, 1). Loth, RC 41.211 f. Henry 194.

W. *pryder*, Br. *predrer* : W. *pryd*, Br. *pred* 'time' (14.11), with development through 'what takes time' or 'timeliness'. Pedersen 2.50. Henry 227.

4. Goth. *saurga* (mostly 'care' = 'worry, grief', but 'care' = 'attention' in 2 Cor. 11.28), (ON, Dan., Sw. *sorg* 'sorrow'), Dan., Sw. *omsorg* 'care' (OE *sorh* 'anxiety, grief, sorrow', ME *soru*, etc., NE *sorrow*). Du. *sorg* ('care' in all senses), OHG *sorga* (reg. for Lat. *cūra* in all senses), MHG, NHG *sorge* mostly 'care' as 'anxious thought', etc., for 'care, attention', esp. MHG *vürsorge*, NHG *fürsorge*—a group in which the notion of 'anxiety, grief, sorrow' is dominant, prob. : Skt. *sūrks-* 'trouble oneself about', Lith. *sirgti* 'be ill', Ir. *serg* 'illness', etc. Walde-P. 2.529. Falk-Torp 1109. Feist 413.

Goth. *kara* (*ni kar* 'ist' = *οὐ μέλει*, etc.), OE *caru*, *cearu* (also 'grief, sorrow'), ME, NE *care* (OHG *kara* 'lamentation', NHG *kar-freitag*), prob. through 'cry of grief' : Ir. *gair* 'cry', Grk. *γῆνυς*, Dor. *γῆνυς* 'voice', etc. Walde-P. 1.537. Falk-Torp 520. Feist 307 f.

ON *umhyggja* (so also Nlcel.), cpd. of *hyggja* 'thought' : vb. *hyggja* 'think' (17.14). Here also Dan. *omhu*.

Goth. *kara* (*ni kar* 'ist' = *οὐ μέλει*, etc.), OE *caru*, *cearu* (also 'grief, sorrow'), ME, NE *care* (OHG *kara* 'lamentation', NHG *kar-freitag*), prob. through 'cry of grief' : Ir. *gair* 'cry', Grk. *γῆνυς*, Dor. *γῆνυς* 'voice', etc. Walde-P. 1.537. Falk-Torp 520. Feist 307 f.

ON *umhyggja* (so also Nlcel.), cpd. of *hyggja* 'thought' : vb. *hyggja* 'think' (17.14). Here also Dan. *omhu*.

5. Lith. *rūpestis*, Lett. *rūpes* (pl.), with vbs. Lith. *rūpėti*, Lett. *rūpēt* 'be anxious about', prob. : Lat. *rumpere* 'break', etc. Walde-P. 2.355. Mühl-Endz. 3.571.

6. ChSl. *roditī*, *raditī* most usual vb. for Grk. *μέλω* (Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 370) : Skt. *rādḥ-* 'prepare, succeed', etc. (cf. ChSl. *radi* 'on account of' = OPers. *rādiy* id.). Walde-P. 1.74.

ChSl. *pečālī* (but = *μέριμα* as 'care, anxiety' or *λύπη* 'grief'), Boh. *peče*, Pol. *piecza* (SCR. *pečal*, Russ. *pečal* 'grief') : ChSl. *pekā*, *pešti* 'bake, roast' used in refl. phrases for 'be troubled, care', e.g. *ne pečēši se* = *οὐ μέλει σοι*, *pečāse* = *ἐμελεν* (Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 370). Brückner 406. Meillet, Études 416.

SCR. *briga*, fr. It. *briga* 'burden, trouble'. Berneker 86.

Boh. *starost* (also 'old age'), Pol. *staranie* : Boh. *staratī* 'be anxious, be concerned with', Pol. *starat się* 'try' (9.99), orig. 'be old', fr. word for 'old', ChSl. *starŭ*, etc. (14.15), with the notion of 'care' accompanying 'old age' becoming dominant.

Russ. *zabota*, prob. through 'alarm' : Russ. *botat* 'shake, beat, stamp with the feet'. Cf. Pol. *kłopot* 'trouble, anxiety, care' : ChSl. *kłopotā* 'noise'. Berneker 78. Otherwise Walde-P. 1.530.

7. Skt. *yatna-* 'effort, pains' (: *yat-* 'strive for', etc.) is perh. also the best word for 'care' as intended here (*cintā-* is 'thought', and 'care' = 'anxiety').

## 16.15 WONDER, ASTONISHMENT

|      |                         |       |                                   |       |                                   |
|------|-------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk. | θαῦμος, θαῦμα, ἐκπληξις | Goth. | sildaleik, afslaufnan             | Lith. | nusistebėjimas, nustebimas        |
| NG   | ἐκπληξις                | ON    | (undr)                            | Let.  | brīnams                           |
| Lat. | admīrātiō, stupor       | Dan.  | undren, forundring, forbavelse    | ChSl. | brīnas                            |
| It.  | maraviglia, stupore     | Sw.   | (f)örundran, förvåning            | SCR.  | čudjenje, zaprepašćenje, diolenje |
| Fr.  | étonnement              | OE    | wund-ung                          | Boh.  | údiv, úžas                        |
| Sp.  | pasmo                   | ME    | wonder                            | Pol.  | zadziwienie                       |
| Rum. | mirare                  | NE    | wonder, astonishment              | Russ. | удивление                         |
| Ir.  | machad, ingantas        | Du.   | verbazing (wunder)                | Skt.  | vismaya-                          |
| Nlr. | iongantas               | OHG   | wunder                            |       |                                   |
| W.   | rhyfeddod, syndod       | MHG   | bewunderung (wunder), (er)staunen |       |                                   |
| Br.  | souez                   | NHG   |                                   |       |                                   |

Many of the words for 'wonder' denoted originally the obj. 'wonder' ('a wonder' = 'something wonderful'), and only secondarily, mostly through the medium of their deriv. vbs. meaning 'to wonder at', the subj. feeling of 'wonder'. These are based on such notions as 'something seen, perceived', (felt as 'a sight' = 'something worth seeing'), or 'something unknown or of unusual form', etc.

On the other hand, the more distinctive words for the feeling of 'wonder,

'astonishment' are connected with words for '(be) struck, stunned, rigid, displaced', etc., with extension from a physical condition to a mental attitude. In some of these there is interchange between 'astonishment' and 'fear, terror'. 'Wonder' may turn to 'admiration'.

1. Grk. *θαῦμος*, *τάφος*, beside vb. aor. *ἐταφον*, perf. *τέθηκα* 'be astonished', etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.824. Boisacq 333.

Grk. *θαῦμα* (mostly obj. 'wonder', but also subj.) : *θεῖα* 'sight, aspect', fr. *\*θῆῶ*, *ἀ*,

*slauþips* 'anxious, perplexed', root connection dub. Walde-P. 2.709. Feist 9 f.

ON undr, OE *wundor*, OHG *wuntar*, etc., gen. Gmc. except Goth., etym.? Falk-Torp 1332. Weigand-H. 2.1290. These words expressed orig. the obj. 'wonder', and only secondarily emotion. Thus OE *wundor* 'a wonder', ME, NE *wonder* also of the emotion (NED s.v. 7); OHG *wuntar* mostly 'a wonder' (rarely subj., as *sie the wuntar gifang*, Otr. 3.16.5), MHG, NHG *wunder* also of the emotion (NHG still in phrases like *wunder nimmt mich*). But emotional value prevailed in the vbs., as OE *wundrian*, OHG *wuntarōn*, etc. 'wonder at', and so in their derivs., as OE *wundring*, Dan. *undren*, *forundring*, NHG *verwunderung*, etc.

Dan. *forbavelse*, fr. vb. *forbavse* 'astonish', fr. MLG *forbassen* 'disturb' = Du. *verbazen* 'astonish', *verbazing* 'astonishment', cpds. of MLG *basen* 'rave, rage'. Falk-Torp 253. Franck-v. W. 37.

Sw. *förvåning*, fr. vb. *förvåna* 'surprise, astonish', through the notion of 'beyond expectation' : *vån*, ON *vān* 'hope, expectation' (16.63), Sw. *vånta* 'expect', etc. Hellquist 264.

NE *astonishment*, fr. vb. *astonish*, earlier *astony*, ME *astone*, fr. OFr. *estoner* (Fr. *étonner*, above, 2). NED s.v. *astone*, *astony*, etc.

NE *amazement*, fr. vb. *amaze* beside *maze* 'stupefy, daze'. NED s.v.

NHG (*er*)*staunen*, sb. use of vb., this fr. a Swiss form *stüenen* 'stare' ('stare at' > 'wonder at'), this prob. fr. *\*stā-* in words based on the notion of 'fixed, stiff'. Walde-P. 2.608. Falk-Torp 1187 f. Kluge-G. 588.

5. Lith. *nusistebėjimas*, *nustebimas*, fr. *stebėti* 'be astonished', as orig. 'be stiff, rigid' : Lith. *stiebas* 'stake, mast',

Skt. *stabh-* 'support, prop', *stabdhah-* 'stiff, rigid', etc. Walde-P. 2.625.

Let. *brīnams*, etym.? Mühl-Endz. 1.335.

6. ChSl. *užasŭ* (renders *θαῦμος* and *ἐκστασις*), Boh. *úžas* 'astonishment' and 'terror' (SCR., Russ. *užas* 'terror') : ChSl. *u-žasnati se* 'be frightened', etym.? Walde-P. 1.554.

SCR. *čudenje*, fr. vb. *čuditi se* 'wonder' = ChSl. *čuditi se* id., fr. ChSl. *čudo*, etc. general Slavic for the obj. 'wonder' (rare or dial. for the feeling), this : *čuti* 'perceive' (17.11). Berneker 161.

SCR. *zaprepašćenje* (or *zaprepašćenost*), fr. *zaprepašiti se* 'be astonished' : *prepašiti se* 'be frightened' (Pol. *przepaść* 'be lost'), ChSl. *pasti* 'fall'. Brückner 390.

SCR. *diolenje*, Boh. *údiv*, Pol. *zadziwienie*, *podziwienie*, Russ. *udivlenie*, all through deriv. vbs. : ChSl. *divŭ*, *divo*, etc., general Slavic for the obj. 'wonder', this as orig. 'a sight' (cf. *θαῦμα*, above) : Skt. *di-*, *div-* 'shine', etc. Walde-P. 1.774. Berneker 202.

7. Skt. *vi-smaya-*, above, 2.

16.16. 'Surprise'. The feeling evoked by the unexpected is in large measure included in the scope of words listed in 16.15. So far as there are more distinctive terms, they are modern and originally denoted the physical act of 'surprise, sudden overtaking'.

1. It. *sorpresa*, Fr. *surprise* (> NE *surprise*, Rum. *surpriză*), orig. denoting the physical 'surprise, taking unawares', fr. fem. pple. of It. *sorprendere*, Fr. *surprendre*, MLat. *superprendere*, cpd. of *prēndere* 'seize' (11.14). Gamillscheg 824. NED s.v. *surprise*.

2. NHG *überraschung* (hence by semantic borrowing Dan. *overraskelse*, Sw. *överraskning*), fr. vb. *überraschen*, orig.

'surprise' in a military sense, lit. 'be swift over one' (cf. *überrumpeln*, *überlaufen*, etc.), fr. *rasch* 'swift'. Kluge-G. 638. Similarly Du. *verrassing*.

3. Boh. *překvapení*, fr. vb. *překvapiti*, cpd. of *kvapiti* 'hasten', fr. *kvap* 'haste,

'hurry'. Evidently modeled on NHG *überraschen*, *überraschung*, and likewise used for both act and emotion. There are various other Slavic words for the physical 'surprise', but they seem not to be current for the resulting feeling.

## 16.17 FORTUNE (Good or Bad)

|      |                       |       |               |       |           |
|------|-----------------------|-------|---------------|-------|-----------|
| Grk. | τύχη, συμφορά         | Goth. | ....          | Lith. | laimė     |
| NG   | τύχη                  | ON    | happ, lukka   | Let.  | laime     |
| Lat. | fortūna (fors, cāsus) | Dan.  | skabne, lykke | ChSl. | (kobi)    |
| It.  | fortuna, ventura      | Sw.   | lycka         | SCR.  | sreća     |
| Fr.  | fortune, chance       | OE    | wyrd          | Boh.  | šlěsti    |
| Sp.  | fortuna, ventura      | ME    | fortune, hap  | Pol.  | szczęście |
| Rum. | soarte, noroc         | NE    | fortune, luck | Russ. | счастье   |
| Ir.  | tocad                 | Du.   | geluk         | Skt.  | bhāgya-   |
| Nlr. | ad                    | OHG   | wurt          |       |           |
| W.   | fawd, ffortun         | MHG   | gelücke       |       |           |
| Br.  | chans                 | NHG   | glück         |       |           |

Words for 'fortune' in the neutral sense (good or bad) are based on notions like 'what happens, befalls, becomes, arrives', 'part, share', 'augury', 'declaration', but several are of doubtful origin.

Most of them are used also and most commonly for 'good fortune'. A few tend to specialization in the other direction, to 'misfortune'.

1. Grk. *τύχη* 'fortune' and esp. 'good fortune', beside *τυγχάνω* 'happen', aor. *ἐτυχον*, prob. : *τεύχω* 'make, prepare', Goth. *daug*, OE *deag*, OHG *loug* 'is of use', etc. Hence also *εὐτυχία*, *εὐρίχημα* 'good fortune' and *δυστυχία*, *δυσρίχημα* 'misfortune'. Walde-P. 1.847. LS<sup>9</sup> s.v. *τυγχάνω*, end.

Grk. *συμφορά* 'fortune, circumstance', sometimes 'good fortune', but mostly 'misfortune' (as NG), fr. *συνφέρω* 'bring together', 3sg. impers. *συνφέρεται* 'is of use', pple. *συνφέρων* 'useful', etc.

2. Lat. *fortūna* (> It., Sp. *fortuna*, Fr. *fortune* > ME, NE *fortune*), beside *fors*, *fortis* 'chance', fr. the root of *ferre* 'bear, carry'. Walde-P. 2.155. Ernout-M. 382 (with doubt). Walde-H. 1.534. REW 3458. The development has been

mostly in the direction of 'good fortune', hence also 'wealth, riches' in Fr. and NE, but among sailors of the Mediterranean (through 'risk' of the sea) 'storm', as It. *fortuna* (> NG *φουρτίνα*), etc.

Lat. *cāsus* 'what happens, chance', fr. *cadere* 'fall' (10.23), also 'befall, happen', whence OFr. *cheoir* and the new sb. OFr. *cheance* (> ME *cheance*, *chance*, NE *chance*), Fr. *chance*, now esp. *bonne chance* 'good luck'. Ernout-M. 126. REW 1451.

Lat. *sors*, *sortis* 'lot, fate' (> Romance words, of which Rum. *soarte* is also the one for 'fortune'), prob. (with reference to drawing lots) fr. the root of *serere* 'bind together, arrange', *seriēs* 'row, series'. Walde-P. 2.500. Ernout-M. 959. REW 8107.

It., Sp. *ventura* 'fortune' and 'good fortune' = OFr. *aventure* 'event' (> ME *aventure*, NE *adventure*), fr. deriv. of Lat. *advenire* 'come to, arrive', hence 'happen' as Fr. *avenir*, etc. REW 216.

Fr. *heur*, now obs. but source of *bonheur* 'good fortune' and *malheur* 'misfortune', fr. Lat. *augurium* 'augury'. REW 785. Wartburg 1.174 f.

## 16.18 GOOD FORTUNE

|      |                   |       |                      |       |          |
|------|-------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|----------|
| Grk. | τύχη, εὐτυχία     | Goth. | ....                 | Lith. | laimė    |
| NG   | εὐρίχημα, εὐτυχία | ON    | happ                 | Let.  | laime    |
| Lat. | fortūna (secunda) | Dan.  | lykke                | ChSl. | ....     |
| It.  | (buena) fortuna   | Sw.   | lycka                | SCR.  | sreća    |
| Fr.  | bonheur           | OE    | wyrd gōd(?)          | Boh.  | šlěsti   |
| Sp.  | (buena) fortuna   | ME    | fortune, hap         | Pol.  | szyćście |
| Rum. | noroc             | NE    | (good) fortune, luck | Russ. | счастье  |
| Ir.  | ad, tocad         | Du.   | geluk                | Skt.  | bhāgya-  |
| Nlr. | adh, sonas        | OHG   | ....                 |       |          |
| W.   | fjortun           | MHG   | gelücke              |       |          |
| Br.  | eurvad            | NHG   | glück                |       |          |

'Good fortune' is expressed by words listed or discussed in 16.17, either with words for 'good, well, favorable', or, commonly in most languages, alone. Ir.

*sonas*, fr. adj. *sona* 'fortunate, happy' (16.24).

A good part of these words come to express the resulting state of 'happiness' (see 16.24), a few 'wealth, riches'.

## 16.19 MISFORTUNE

|      |                             |       |                              |       |                  |
|------|-----------------------------|-------|------------------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | συμφορά, δυστυχία, ἀρίχημα  | Goth. | ....                         | Lith. | nelaimė          |
| NG   | συμφορά, δυστυχία           | ON    | ulykka                       | Let.  | nelaime          |
| Lat. | fortūna adversa, infortūnum | Dan.  | ulykke, vanskabne            | ChSl. | ....             |
| It.  | sfortuna, disgrazia         | Sw.   | olycka                       | SCR.  | nesreća          |
| Fr.  | malheur, infortune          | OE    | unwyrd                       | Boh.  | neštěstí, nehoda |
| Sp.  | desgracia, infortunio       | ME    | mishap, mischance, infortune | Pol.  | nieszczęście     |
| Rum. | nenorocire                  | NE    | misfortune                   | Russ. | несчастье        |
| Ir.  | dodcad                      | Du.   | ongeluk                      | Skt.  | dāurbhāgya-      |
| Nlr. | midah, donas                | OHG   | ungifuri, wēnagheit          |       |                  |
| W.   | anfjau                      | MHG   | ungelücke                    |       |                  |
| Br.  | reuz, droukeur, drouk-verz  | NHG   | unglück                      |       |                  |

'Misfortune' is most commonly expressed by words for 'fortune' (16.17) combined with words for 'ill, mis-, adverse', or a negative prefix, rarely alone with specialization in this direction (Grk. *συμφορά*).

Thus with words for 'ill-' (16.72), etc. Grk. *δυστυχία* (or *-ia*), Lat. *fortūna adversa*, Ir. *sfortuna*, OFr. *meschance* (> ME *mischance*), Fr. *malheur*, Ir. *dodcad* (fr. *tocad* with *do-* 'ill'; Thurneysen Gram. 231), Nlr. *miādāh* (*mī-*, Pedersen 2.10), Br. *droukeur*, Dan. *vanskabne* (van- 'mis-, un-', Falk-Torp 1347), NE *misfortune*, Skt. *dāurbhāgya-* (fr. adj. *dur-bhaga-* 'unfortunate', with vrddhi of both syllables); with neg. prefix, Grk.

*ἀρίχημα* (or *-ia*), Lat. *infortūnum* (> Fr., ME *infortune*, Sp. *infortunio*), Rum. *nenorocire*, W. *anfjau*, ON *ulykka* (late), Dan. *ulykke*, Sw. *olycka*, Du. *ongeluk*, NHG *unglück*, OE *unwyrd*, Lith. *nelaimė*, SCR. *nesreća*, Russ. *nesčastie*, etc.

But several other words, of quite different origin, are used in substantially the same sense, of which may be mentioned the following. Still others which cover 'misfortune' but are felt as much stronger, like NE *disaster*, *catastrophe*, *calamity*, *ruin*, etc. are not considered, except the interesting *disaster* group.

Grk. *πάθος*, *πάθημα* 'what happens, emotion' (16.12), often 'misfortune'.

Rum. *noroc* (partly neutral, but mostly 'good fortune'), fr. Slavic, SCR. *narok* 'fortune' (obs.), ChSl. *narokŭ* 'declaration, appellation', etc., fr. cpd. of *reka*, *rešti* 'say' (18.22). Cf. Lat. *fātum* 'fate', fr. *fāri* 'speak, say'. Tiktin 1061. Brückner 355.







Sp. *dolor*, ORum. *duroare* 'grief' and 'pain', *dolere* 'suffer, feel pain' (> Rum. *durea*, whence sb. *durere*), prob. through notion of a 'throbbing' or 'splitting' pain (cf. NE *splitting headache*): *dolere* 'hew', Lith. *dalyti* 'divide', Skt. *dāl-* 'burst'. Walde-P. 1.810. Ernout-M. 279. Walde-H. 1.364.

It. *sofferenza*, Fr. *souffrance*, Sp. *sufri-miento*, Rum. *suferință*, fr. It. *soffrire*, Fr. *souffrir*, Sp. *sufrir*, Rum. *suferi* 'suffer', Lat. *sub-ferre* 'hold up, bear, endure, suffer', cpd. of *sub* 'under' and *ferre* 'carry'. REW 8428.

Sp. *padecimiento*, fr. *padecer* 'suffer', fr. OSP. *padir*, Lat. *patire*, class. *pati* 'suffer, endure, bear': Grk. *πάσις* 'evil, injury, harm', *παλαι-ωπος* 'miserable', etc. Walde-P. 2.8. Ernout-M. 741 (placing here also Grk. *πάθος*, *ἐπαθόν*, etc., 16.12). REW 6294.

Lat. *poena* 'penalty, punishment' (fr. Grk. *ποινή* 'penalty'), late Lat. also 'hardship, torment, suffering', has furnished many words for pain, physical or mental, namely It. *pena*, Fr. *peine* (Ofr. > ME *peine* mostly 'penalty, punishment', NE *pain*), Sp. *pena* (the Romance words now mostly of mental affliction 'grief'); Nlr. *pian* (Mlr. mostly 'penalty'), W. *poen*, Br. *poan*; Du. *pijn* (MDu. *pine* also 'penalty'), OHG *pīna*, MHG *pīn*, *pīne*, NHG *pein*. Ernout-M. 784. REW 6628. Pedersen 1.213. Franck-v. W. 500. Weigand-H. 2.391.

3. Ir. *imned*, perh. a cpd. of *imb*- and root *neth*- in *air-neth*- (1sg. *ar-neut-sa*) gl. *expectare, sustinere*, etc. Pedersen 2.584 f. (but further connection with Goth. *niþan* 'support', etc., rejected by Walde-P. 2.327).

Ir. *cēssad*, vbl. n. of *cēssaim* 'suffer': Lith. *kęsti*, *kenčiu* 'suffer', prob. Grk. *πάσχω* 'suffer'. Walde-P. 1.513. Pedersen 2.486.

Nlr. *pian*, W. *poen*, Br. *poan*, above, 2.

*sed-*, cpd. of \**pi-* beside \**epi* (in Grk. *ἐπί*) and the root \**sed-* 'sit'. Walde-P. 2.486.

Skt. *vedanā*, orig. 'sensation, perception', beside *vedana*- 'knowledge': *vid-* 'know, become acquainted with'.

Av. *azti-*, etym.? Barth. 51.

Av. *sādra-* (mostly 'torment'): Grk. *ῥήδος*, Dor. *kādos* 'care, trouble, funeral

## 16.32 GRIEF, SORROW

|      |   |       |  |       |  |
|------|---|-------|--|-------|--|
| Grk. | λύπη, ἄλγος, ὀδύνη  | Goth. | <i>saurga</i> , <i>gaurei</i> , <i>gau-riþa</i>          | Lith. | <i>tužba</i> , <i>rūpestis</i>               |
| NG   | λύπη  |       |  | Lett. | <i>bēda</i> , <i>raizes</i> , <i>skumjas</i> |
| Lat. | <i>dolor</i> , <i>aegritudo</i>                             | ON    | <i>harmr</i> , <i>hryðð</i> , <i>sorg</i> , <i>tregi</i> | ChSl. | <i>pečalt</i> , <i>skrūbt</i>                |
| It.  | <i>dolore</i> , <i>pena</i> , <i>affanno</i>                |       |  | SCr.  | <i>briga</i> , <i>tuga</i> , <i>žalost</i>   |
| Fr.  | <i>chagrin</i> , <i>peine</i> , <i>dou-leur</i>             | Dan.  | <i>kummer</i> , <i>sorg</i>                              | Boh.  | <i>pečal</i>                                 |
| Sp.  | <i>pesar</i> , <i>dolor</i> , <i>pena</i>                   | Sw.   | <i>sorg</i> , <i>grämlöse</i>                            |       | <i>zámutek</i> , <i>smutek</i>               |
| Rum. | <i>măhnire</i> , <i>supărare</i>                            | OE    | <i>sār</i> , <i>sorh</i> , <i>hearm</i> , <i>gyrn</i>    |       | <i>žal</i> (ost)                             |
| Ir.  | <i>brón</i> , <i>cuma</i> , <i>dubh</i>                     | ME    | <i>sorg</i> , <i>gref</i> , <i>sor</i> , <i>harm</i>     | Pol.  | <i>boleść</i> , <i>żał</i> , <i>żałost</i>   |
| Nlr. | <i>brón</i> , <i>cuma</i> , <i>dolighas</i>                 | NE    | <i>grief</i> , <i>sorrow</i>                             |       | <i>smutek</i>                                |
| W.   | <i>gofid</i> , <i>galar</i>                                 | Du.   | <i>kummer</i> , <i>verdriet</i>                          | Russ. | <i>gore</i> , <i>pečal</i> , <i>skorb</i>    |
| Br.  | <i>doan</i> , <i>glac'har</i> , <i>anken</i> , <i>rec'h</i> | OHG   | <i>sēr</i> , <i>sorga</i> , <i>harm</i>                  | Skt.  | <i>çoka-</i> , <i>çuc-</i> , <i>dukhka-</i>  |
|      |   | MHG   | <i>sēr</i> , <i>sorge</i> , <i>harm</i>                  | Av.   | ....   |
|      |   | NHG   | <i>kummer</i> , <i>betrübnis</i> , <i>sorge</i>          |       |  |

Several of the words for 'grief, sorrow' are the same as those for physical 'pain, suffering' (16.31), and some belong to groups discussed under 'care' (16.14). The others are from a great variety of notions, mostly physical.

1. Grk. *λύπη* (rarely also of 'physical pain'), with *λύπew* 'grieve, vex' (trans.), mid. 'grieve' (intr.); NG *λυπούμαι* also 'be 'sorry, regret': Skt. *lup-* 'break, injure, spoil', Lith. *lupti* 'flay, peel', Russ. *lupit'* 'peel, shell', etc. Walde-P. 2.417 f. Boisacq 591 f.

Grk. *πένθος* 'grief', but esp. 'mourning': *πάθος* 'emotion', *πάσχω* 'suffer', etc. (16.12).

Grk. *ἄλγος* and *ὀδύνη*, see 16.31.

2. Lat. *dolor*, It. *dolore*, etc., see 16.31. Lat. *aegritudo*, also of physical 'illness', and *aegrimonia* less frequent but only of mental 'sorrow, grief', fr. *aeger* 'sick, ill', etym. dub. (4.84).

Nlr. *fulang* 'suffering, endurance, patience' (vbl. n. of *fulaingim* 'suffer') = Ir. *fulang* vbl. n. of *fo-long-* 'support, endure' (nasal pres. of \**legh-* 'lie'). Pedersen 2.568 ff. Thurneysen, Gram. 447.

W. *diaddef*, also vbl. n. 'to suffer', cpd. of *di-* (intensive) and *goddef* 'bear, suffer, permit': Br. *gousañv* 'suffer, endure, bear', Ir. *fo-daimim* 'suffer', cpd. of root in Ir. *-daim* 'submit, endure, allow', Skt. *dam-*, Grk. *δαμάζω*, *δάμνημι* 'tame, subdue', etc. Walde-P. 1.789. Pedersen 2.504. Thurneysen, Gram. 118.

Br. *gloaz* (W. *gloes* 'pang, ache, pain'), etym.? Henry 135.

4. Goth. *sair*, OE *sār*, ME *sor* (NE *sore*), OHG, MHG *sēr* (NHG *sehr* 'very'), all used of both physical and mental pain, ON *sār* 'wound' (whence *sārs-auki* and *sārs-leikr* 'pain, soreness'): Ir. *sāeth* 'affliction, sickness', *saethar* 'affliction, toil', perh. Lat. *saevus* 'fierce'. Walde-P. 2.445. Feist 405.

Goth. *winno* (renders *πάθωμα*, *πάθος*), and *wunns* (*πάθωμα*), beside *winnan* 'suffer' = ON *vinna* 'work', OE *winnan* 'work, labor, suffer', OHG *winnan* 'fight': Skt. *van-* 'desire, gain', etc. Walde-P. 1.260. Feist 566.

Goth. *baluweis* (renders *βάσανος* 'torment', Lk. 16.23, also *kóbas* 'punishment', Mt. 25.46), beside *balujan* 'tor-ture': OE *bealu* 'evil, harm', ON *ból* 'misfortune', OHG *balo* 'ruin', prob. also, with different suffix, ChSl. *bol'* 'sick person', SCr. *bol* 'pain', etc. (below, 6). Walde-P. 2.189. Feist 79.

ON *verkr* (Dan. *værk*, Sw. *vårk* 'ache, rheumatic pain'), OE *wærc*, ME *warche*, *warke*, prob. fr. the same root as OE *weorc* 'work, toil', OHG *werah*, ON *verk* 'work', etc. Walde-P. 1.291. Falk-Torp 1369.

OE *æce*, ME *ache* (NE *ache* 'continuous pain'), beside the vb. OE *acan* 'ache': LG *āken* 'pain, fester', MDu. *akel* 'in-

rites', etc., Ir. *caiss*, Goth. *hatis* 'hate', etc. (16.41). Walde-P. 1.340.

Av. *inti-* ('violence, torment'): *aēn-* 'violate, injure', Skt. *in-* 'press, oppress, force', Grk. *αἰνυμαι* 'take, seize', etc. Walde-P. 1.1.

Av. *ātri-* ('hurt, injury'), perh.: Skt. *ātri-* 'trouble, misfortune, pain' (Walde-P. 1.136). Barth. 334.

Ir. *cuma*, Nlr. *cumha*, Corn. *cavow*, MBr. *caffow* (NBr. *kañ* 'mourning'): Grk. *κάμνω* 'tire', Skt. *çam-* 'toil, labor', etc. Walde-P. 1.387. Pedersen 1.47. Henry 53.

ON *hrygð*, fr. *hryggr* 'grieved, sad' (16.36).

Sw. *grämlöse*, fr. *gräma* 'grieve': Dan. *gremme sig* 'become angry', ON *gremja* 'make angry', *gremi* 'anger' (16.42). Falk-Torp 340.

ME *gref*, *grief*, NE *grief*, in ME also 'hardship, hurt, harm', fr. OFr. *grief*, *gref*, back-formation to *grever* (> ME *greve*, NE *grieve*), VLat. \**grēvare*, for *gravāre* 'weigh down, burden, oppress', fr. *gravis* 'heavy' (VLat. \**grēvis* after opp. *lenis* 'light'). NED s.v.

ME *destrasse*, NE *distress*, fr. OFr. *destrasse*, VLat. *districtia*, deriv. of Lat. *districtus*, ppl. of *di-stringere* 'detain, hinder'. NED s.v. *distress*, sb.

Du. *kummer*, NHG (> Dan.) *kummer*, fr. MLG *kummer*, MHG *kumber* 'rubbish, heap of ruins', also 'hindrance', whence 'harm, injury, distress' and finally 'grief'. Cf. also MLat. (Merov.) *cumbrus* 'barrier of felled trees', OFr. *combre* id. Etym. disputed, but prob. a Gmc. word fr. the root seen in Grk. *γέμω* 'be full', etc. Falk-Torp 593 f. Franck-v. W. 334. Otherwise (as a Gallo-Lat. \**com-boros* 'brought together') Kluge-G. 336. REW 2075.

NHG *betrübnis*, late MHG *betrüeb-nisse*, fr. *betrüben*, MHG *betrüeben* 'grieve, afflict', orig. 'make turbid', fr. *trüb(e)* 'turbid, troubled, muddy'. Weigand-H. 1.223.

5. Lith. *tužba*, with vb. *tužytis* (refl.) 'be afflicted, grieved', fr. the Slavic, cf.

death, torment', *cvelan* 'die' (4.75), etc. Walde-P. 1.680. Weigand-H. 2.498.

5. Lith. *skausmas*, *skaudėjimas*, with *skausti*, *skaudėti* 'be painful', adj. *skaudus* 'painful': Lett. *skaušt*, *skaudēt* 'en-vy', Grk. *σκόδαίω*, *σκόδομαι* 'be angry'. Walde-P. 2.554. Mühl.-Endz. 3.876.

Lith. *kentėjimas*, Lett. *ciešana*, fr. vbs. *kęsti*, *ciest* 'suffer': Ir. *cēssaim* (above, 3).

Lith. *kančia*, *kanka* : *kenkia* 'it hurts, aches', Grk. *κένκει* *ἐπιδένκει* (Hesych.), OE *hungor*, etc. 'hunger' (5.14). Walde-P. 1.401.

Lett. *sāpe*, usually pl. *sāpes*, cf. Lith. *soptėti* 'ache, ail', etym.? Mühl.-Endz. 3.805.

6. ChSl. *bolěznī*, also 'sickness', be-side *bolěti* 'be sick, feel pain', *bolī* 'sick person', SCr. *bol*, Pol. *ból*, Russ. *bol'*, Boh. *bolest*, Pol. *boleść*, perh.: Goth. *baluweis*, etc. (above, 4). Berneker 71.

ChSl. *strastī* (*βάσανος* Mt. 4.24, *πάθος*, *πάθωμα*, Supr.), Russ. *stradanie* : ChSl. *stradati*, Russ. *stradat'* 'suffer', general Slavic, ChSl. *strada* 'labor, toil', perh. fr. the root of Grk. *στερεός* 'firm, stiff, hard', NHG *starr*, etc. 'stiff'. Walde-P. 2.628. Miklosich 324.

SCr. *patnja*, fr. *patiti* 'suffer, endure', loanword fr. It. *patire* 'suffer'. Miklo-sich 233.

Boh. *u-trpěti*, Pol. *cierpienie*, fr. Boh. *trpěti*, Pol. *cierpieć* 'suffer' = ChSl. *trǫpěti* 'suffer, endure' (*trǫpěnie* 'patience'), etc., perh.: ChSl. *u-trǫpěti*, Russ. *terp-nut'* 'grow stiff', Lat. *torpēre* 'be stiff, torpid', etc., with semantic development 'be stiff, hard' > 'last, endure' > 'suffer', cf. above ChSl. *strastī*, etc. Walde-P. 2.631.

7. Skt. *duḥ-kha-* 'pain, suffering', also adj. 'unpleasant' deriv. of *duḥ-* 'ill', opp. to *su-kha-* 'pleasant'.

Skt. *piḍā-* : *piḍ-* 'press, squeeze, pain, distress', Grk. *πιέω* 'press', etc., fr. \**pi-*

jury, wrong', NFr. *akelig*, *ackelig* 'hor-rid, miserable', perh. fr. the same root as Skt. *āgas-* 'offense, crime', Grk. *ἄγος* 'curse, guilt, pollution'. Walde-P. 1.38. Falk-Torp 459 f. NED sv. *ache*, vb.

OE *brōwung*, fr. *brōwan* 'suffer': OHG *drueon* 'suffer', ON *brā* 'long, yearn', ChSl. *truti* 'consume', Lith. *trunėti* 'rot', beside ChSl. *tryti* 'rub', Grk. *τρώω* 'rub down, wear out', fr. an extended form of the root in Grk. *τρώω* 'rub', etc. Walde-P. 1.731. Falk-Torp 1276 f., 1288 f.

ME *peine*, NE *pain*, Du. *pijn*, NHG *pein*, above, 2.

ME *suffrynge* (but mostly 'bearing of pain, tribulation'), NE *suffering*, fr. ME *suffre*, *suffre* 'undergo (pain, grief, pen-alty, etc.)', bear, endure', etc., NE *suffer*, fr. Fr. *souffrir* (above, 2).

OHG *smërza*, MHG *smërze*, NHG *schmerz*, Du. *smart* (MLG *smerte* > Dan. *smerte*, Sw. *smärta*), also ME *sm(iz)erte* 'sharp pain, grief, sorrow' (NE *smart*), perh.: Grk. *σμερδνός*, *σμερδαλέος* 'fright-ful, fearful', and fr. a root \**smerd-* beside \**merd-* in Lat. *mordere* 'bite', Skt. *mrd-* 'squeeze, crush, bruise', etc. Walde-P. 2.279. Falk-Torp 1080 f.

Du. *lijden*, MHG *liden*, NHG *leiden*, sbs. fr. infins. Du. *lijden*, 'to suffer' (MLG *liden* > Dan. *lide*, Sw. *lida*, whence sbs. Dan. *lidelse*, Sw. *lidande*), NHG *leiden*, but OHG *ir-lidan* 'endure, pass through', then 'experience (go through) pain' (cf. phrases like NE *what she went through!*), the simple *lidan* orig. 'go' = Goth. *-leiþan* 'go', OE *liþan* 'go, voyage', ON *liða* 'go, pass away, die' (cf. pple. *liðinn* 'dead'). Walde-P. 2.401 f. Kluge-G. 352 f. Weigand-H. 2.47.

OHG *quala*, MHG *quäl(e)*, NHG *qual*, mostly 'violent pain, torment' (OHG also 'violent death'): OE *cwalu* 'violent

Rum. *supărare*, fr. *supăra* 'oppress, afflict', fr. Lat. *superāre* 'overcome, conquer'. REW 8458. Tiktin 1534.

3. Ir. *brōn*, W. (arch.) *brwyn*, perh. (*n* fr. *gn*) : Grk. *βρόχω* 'grind the teeth, bite', Lith. *graužti*, ChSl. *grysti* 'gnaw'. Walde-P. 1.698. Pedersen 1.103.

Ir. *cuma*, Nlr. *cumha*, Corn. *cavow*, MBr. *caffow* (NBr. *kañ* 'mourning'): Grk. *κάμνω* 'tire', Skt. *çam-* 'toil, labor', etc. Walde-P. 1.387. Pedersen 1.47. Henry 53.

ON *hrygð*, fr. *hryggr* 'grieved, sad' (16.36).

Sw. *grämlöse*, fr. *gräma* 'grieve': Dan. *gremme sig* 'become angry', ON *gremja* 'make angry', *gremi* 'anger' (16.42). Falk-Torp 340.

ME *gref*, *grief*, NE *grief*, in ME also 'hardship, hurt, harm', fr. OFr. *grief*, *gref*, back-formation to *grever* (> ME *greve*, NE *grieve*), VLat. \**grēvare*, for *gravāre* 'weigh down, burden, oppress', fr. *gravis* 'heavy' (VLat. \**grēvis* after opp. *lenis* 'light'). NED s.v.

ME *destrasse*, NE *distress*, fr. OFr. *destrasse*, VLat. *districtia*, deriv. of Lat. *districtus*, ppl. of *di-stringere* 'detain, hinder'. NED s.v. *distress*, sb.

Du. *kummer*, NHG (> Dan.) *kummer*, fr. MLG *kummer*, MHG *kumber* 'rubbish, heap of ruins', also 'hindrance', whence 'harm, injury, distress' and finally 'grief'. Cf. also MLat. (Merov.) *cumbrus* 'barrier of felled trees', OFr. *combre* id. Etym. disputed, but prob. a Gmc. word fr. the root seen in Grk. *γέμω* 'be full', etc. Falk-Torp 593 f. Franck-v. W. 334. Otherwise (as a Gallo-Lat. \**com-boros* 'brought together') Kluge-G. 336. REW 2075.

NHG *betrübnis*, late MHG *betrüeb-nisse*, fr. *betrüben*, MHG *betrüeben* 'grieve, afflict', orig. 'make turbid', fr. *trüb(e)* 'turbid, troubled, muddy'. Weigand-H. 1.223.

5. Lith. *tužba*, with vb. *tužytis* (refl.) 'be afflicted, grieved', fr. the Slavic, cf.

death, torment', *cvelan* 'die' (4.75), etc. Walde-P. 1.680. Weigand-H. 2.498.

5. Lith. *skausmas*, *skaudėjimas*, with *skausti*, *skaudėti* 'be painful', adj. *skaudus* 'painful': Lett. *skaušt*, *skaudēt* 'en-vy', Grk. *σκόδαίω*, *σκόδομαι* 'be angry'. Walde-P. 2.554. Mühl.-Endz. 3.876.

Lith. *kentėjimas*, Lett. *ciešana*, fr. vbs. *kęsti*, *ciest* 'suffer': Ir. *cēssaim* (above, 3).

Lith. *kančia*, *kanka* : *kenkia* 'it hurts, aches', Grk. *κένκει* *ἐπιδένκει* (Hesych.), OE *hungor*, etc. 'hunger' (5.14). Walde-P. 1.401.

Lett. *sāpe*, usually pl. *sāpes*, cf. Lith. *soptėti* 'ache, ail', etym.? Mühl.-Endz. 3.805.

6. ChSl. *bolěznī*, also 'sickness', be-side *bolěti* 'be sick, feel pain', *bolī* 'sick person', SCr. *bol*, Pol. *ból*, Russ. *bol'*, Boh. *bolest*, Pol. *boleść*, perh.: Goth. *baluweis*, etc. (above, 4). Berneker 71.

ChSl. *strastī* (*βάσανος* Mt. 4.24, *πάθος*, *πάθωμα*, Supr.), Russ. *stradanie* : ChSl. *stradati*, Russ. *stradat'* 'suffer', general Slavic, ChSl. *strada* 'labor, toil', perh. fr. the root of Grk. *στερεός* 'firm, stiff, hard', NHG *starr*, etc. 'stiff'. Walde-P. 2.628. Miklosich 324.

SCr. *patnja*, fr. *patiti* 'suffer, endure', loanword fr. It. *patire* 'suffer'. Miklo-sich 233.

Boh. *u-trpěti*, Pol. *cierpienie*, fr. Boh. *trpěti*, Pol. *cierpieć* 'suffer' = ChSl. *trǫpěti* 'suffer, endure' (*trǫpěnie* 'patience'), etc., perh.: ChSl. *u-trǫpěti*, Russ. *terp-nut'* 'grow stiff', Lat. *torpēre* 'be stiff, torpid', etc., with semantic development 'be stiff, hard' > 'last, endure' > 'suffer', cf. above ChSl. *strastī*, etc. Walde-P. 2.631.

7. Skt. *duḥ-kha-* 'pain, suffering', also adj. 'unpleasant' deriv. of *duḥ-* 'ill', opp. to *su-kha-* 'pleasant'.

Skt. *piḍā-* : *piḍ-* 'press, squeeze, pain, distress', Grk. *πιέω* 'press', etc., fr. \**pi-*

WhRuss. *tužba*, *tužít*, Russ. *tužít* 'be afflicted': ChSl. *taga* 'distress, anxiety', SCr. *tuga* 'sorrow, affliction', etc. (be-low, 6). Walde-P. 2.616. Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 148.

Lith. *rūpestis*, Lett. pl. *rūpes*, see under 'care' (16.14).

Lett. *bēda* (Lith. *bēda* 'misfortune, misery'), fr. Slavic, cf. ChSl. *bēda* 'neces-sity, distress' (9.93). Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 71. Walde-P. 2.185 (with-out the Baltic words). Mühl.-Endz. 1.288 (as cognate, not loanwords).

Lett. *raize*, usually pl. *raizes* : Lith. *rėsti* 'cut

MHG *riiwen* (impers. and refl.), OHG *hriuwōn*, -en, MHG *riiwen* (pers. and refl., weak vb.), NHG *(be)riuen*, Du. *berouwen*, also OE *hrēowsian*, OHG *rii-wison* (pers.): ON *hryggja* 'grieve', *hrygr* 'grieved, sad', root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.180. Falk-Torp 917.

OE *ofþyncan* (impers. *mē ofþincþ* 'penetate', Aelfric), ME *ofþinke*, cpd. of *of*-orig. 'off, away', but often as here denoting opposition, and OE *þyncan* 'seem, seem fit' (NE *methinks*). NED s.v.

ME, NE *repent* (ME and older NE also refl. and impers.), fr. Fr. *repentir* (above, 2).

NE *regret* (this sense since middle of 15th cent.), ME *regrete*, *regrate* 'lament, feel sorrow' (at loss, death, etc.), fr. OFr. *regreter*, *regreter* 'lament someone's death', Fr. *regretter* (above, 2).

Du. *betreuren*, also 'mourn', cpd. of *treuren* 'mourn for, grieve over' : *treurig*, NHG *traurig* 'sad', etc. (16.36).

NHG *bedauern*, fr. MHG *(be)tūren*, *tiuren* (impers.) 'be expensive, cost too much' (: *tiure* 'dear, expensive', 11.91), whence *mich bedauert* 'it pains me', later pers. *ich bedauere* 'lament, deplore, am sorry'. Kluge-G. 97. Weigand-H. 1.174.

### 16.35 PITY (sb.)

|                              |  |  |
|------------------------------|--|--|
| Grk. <i>ἔλεος, οἰκτος</i>    | Goth. <i>armaiō, armahairtei</i>             | Lith. <i>pasigailėjimas, susimylimas</i>     |
| NG <i>misericordia</i>       | ON <i>medlidene, medynk</i>                  | Lett. <i>žēlastība</i>                       |
| Lat. <i>misericordia</i>     | Dan. <i>medlidende, medomkan</i>             | ChSl. <i>milostī, milosrdīje</i>             |
| It. <i>pietù</i>             | Sw. <i>medlidande, medomkan</i>              | SCr. <i>milosrdje, sažaljenje, milosrdje</i> |
| Fr. <i>piété</i>             | OE <i>mildheortness</i>                      | Boh. <i>útrpnost, lítost</i>                 |
| Sp. <i>piédad</i>            | ME <i>pite(e)</i> , <i>mildhertness</i>      | Pol. <i>łitość, miłosierdzie</i>             |
| Rum. <i>mila</i>             | NE <i>pitie</i>                              | Russ. <i>žalost', sožalenie</i>              |
| Ir. <i>archiseacht</i>       | Du. <i>medeliden, meedoogen</i>              | Skt. <i>dayā, karuṇā, kṛpā, etc.</i>         |
| Nr. <i>truagh</i>            | OHG <i>irbarmida, mildida</i>                | Av. <i>marəždika-</i>                        |
| W. <i>losturi, trugaredd</i> | MHG <i>erbermede, barmunge, milde</i>        |  |
| Br. <i>truez, trugarez</i>   | NHG <i>erbarmen, mildeid, barmherzigheit</i> |  |

able, unhappy', etc. Falk-Torp 1409, 1420.

OE *mildheortness*, ME *mildhertness*, fr. OE *mildheort* 'kindhearted, gentle, merciful' (OHG *milt-herzi* 'misericors'), cpd. of *milde* 'gentle, mild, merciful', and *heort* 'heart'.

ME *pit(e)*, NE *pitie*, fr. OFr. *pitit*, *pitit*, *pitit* (above, 2).

Du. *medeliden* (MLG *medeliden*, *medelidende* > Dan. *medlid(n)ing*, *medlidelse*, now *medlidende*, Sw. *medlidande*), MHG *mitelidunge*, *miteliden*, NHG *miteliden* (Luther), now *mildeid*, cpd. of *mit* 'with' and Du. *lijden*, MHG *liden*, NHG *leiden* 'suffer' (cf. 16.32), orig. 'sympathy', whence 'compassion, pity'.

Translation of Lat. *compassio*, this of Grk. *συμπάθεια*. Falk-Torp 707. Kluge-G. 394. Weigand-H. 2.196 f.

Du. *meedoogen*, cpd. of *mede* 'with', and *doogen* (now only dial.), MDu. *dogen* 'endure, bear, suffer' : OS *adogian* 'endure, suffer', OE *gedegian* 'bear, overcome', caus. to OS *dōg*, OE *dēag*, Goth. *daug* 'is good, avails', etc. Falk-Torp 177, 163.

OHG *miltida*, *mitnissa*, MHG *milde*, etc., fr. OHG *mitli*, etc. 'friendly, gracious, generous', etc. = OE *milde*, etc. (cf. above), ON *mildr* 'mild, gentle, graceful', etc. Walde-P. 2.289.

5. Lith. *pasigailėjimas*, fr. *pasigailėti* 'take pity on', perfect. of *gailėti* (-s) 'pity, regret' (16.34).

Lith. *susimylimas*, *susimylėjimas*, fr. *susimilti*, *susimylėti* 'have pity' : Lith. *mylėti* 'love', *mylėtas* 'dear', etc. (16.27).

Lett. *žēlastība* (adj. *žēlīgs*, vb. *žēluot*), fr. *žēlas* 'grief, sorrow', adv. *žēl* 'it's a

5. Lith. *apgailauti, gailėti-s* (*gailauti, gailėti* mostly 'mourn, pity') : adv. *gaila* '(it is) a pity', adj. *gailus* 'pitiful, doleful' also 'biting, sharp', these perh. : OHG *geil*, OE *gāl* 'wanton'. Walde-P. 1.634.

Lett. *nuoželuot*, cpd. of *žēluot* 'pity' (16.35).

6. ChSl. (ras) *kajati se*, SCr. *kaja'i se*, Boh. *káti se*, Pol. (roz) *kajać się*, Russ. (ras) *kajati'sja*, with nonrefl. forms ChSl. *o-kajati* 'lament', SCr. *kajati* 'avenge', Russ. *kajal* 'admonish' : Skt. *ci* 'avenge, punish', Av. *čī* 'repay, atone', Grk. *τίωω* 'pay, atone', *τιμώω* 'punishment', etc. Berneker 469. Walde-P. 1.508 f.

SCr. *žaliti*, Boh. *želeťi* (Gebauer 1.197), Pol. *żałować*, Russ. *žaleť*, but ChSl. *žaliti* 'mourn, lament' : SCr. *žalost*, etc. 'grief, sorrow' (16.32).

Boh. *lívati*, fr. *lívý* 'furious, fierce, cruel' (*je mi líto* 'I am sorry'), see under *litosť* 'pity' (16.35).

7. Skt. *anu-tap-*, cpd. of *tap-*, lit. 'be hot, burn', but also in fig. sense 'suffer pain'. Similarly *anu-čuc-*, cpd. of *čuc-* 'flame, glow', fig. 'suffer violent pain, feel sorrow', etc.

Some of the words for 'pity' are specializations of 'affection, kindness, kindheartedness, love' or the like, and some, like the closely allied 'sympathy' and 'compassion', are from the notion of 'suffer with'.

Others are connected with words for 'wretched, poor' or 'harsh, cruel', which through 'miserable', etc. became 'pitiable', 'exciting pity', whence secondarily the subj. 'pity'.

Many of the words listed cover also 'mercy'.

1. Grk. *ἔλεος*, etym. dub. Boisacq 241.

Grk. *οἰκτος*, beside *οἰκρός* 'pitiable', *οἰκτῖρα* 'pity' (whence new sb. *οἰκτῖρος*) : Goth. *aihtōn* 'beg', and prob. Ir. *ar-ēpi* 'cries, out, complains'. Walde-P. 1.105. Boisacq 690.

In NG both the preceding words are lit. but familiar through use in the church. In common speech 'pity' would be most nearly expressed by the vb. *λυπούμαι* 'be sorry' (cf. 16.32, 16.34), in phrases like *τὸν λυπούμαι* 'I am sorry for him'. NG *κρίμα* (class. Grk. 'decision') is used for the obj. 'pity', as *κρίμα εἶναι* 'it's a pity', but not for the emotion.

2. Lat. *misericordia*, fr. *misericors*, -dis 'compassionate, pitiful', cpd. of *miser* 'wretched, miserable' and *cor* 'heart'. Hence the learned words in Romance, It., Sp. *misericordia*, Fr. *miséricorde* 'mercy, compassion'.

It. *pietà*, Fr. *piété*, Sp. *piedad*, fr. Lat. *pietās*, -tātis 'piety, affection, duty', late 'gentleness, kindness, pity', fr. *pius* 'pious, affectionate, loyal, etc.', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 2.69 f. Ernout-M. 773.

Rum. *mild*, fr. the Slavic, cf. ChSl. *milŭ* 'pitiable' (below, 6). Tiktin 980.

3. Ir. *airchiseacht*, fr. *ar-cessi* 'pities' : W. *arbed(u)* 'spare, save', Br. *erbed(i)*

'spare, manage', etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.513. Pedersen 2.486.

Nr. *truagh*, W. *trugaredd*, Br. *truez*, *trugarez*, fr. Ir. *tróg, truaig*, W., MBr. *tru* 'miserable', perh. : Grk. *τῖος* 'wear out, waste, distress', *τῖος* 'shred'. Pedersen 1.101. Walde-P. 1.732. Or : Grk. *σπείρωμαι* 'be exhausted, worn out, suffer pain'. Thurneysen, Gram. 40. Here also Ir. Nr. *trócaire* 'mercy', cpd. with root of *carim* 'love'. Pedersen 1.418. Thurneysen, Gram. 87.

W. *losturi*, fr. *lostur* 'pitiable', fr. *lost* 'hard, severe, cruel', fr. Lat. *lostus* 'roasted, burned', but deriv. influenced by Lat. *tortura* 'torment'. Loth, Mots lat. 211 f.

4. Goth. *armaiō*, fr. *arms* 'pitiable' = OHG *arm*, OE *earn* 'miserable, poor, etc.' (cf. 11.52). Hence adj. cpds. Goth. *armahairts*, OHG *armherzi*, *barmherzi* (bi-arm-), MHG *barmherze(c)*, NHG *barmherzig* 'compassionate', whence sbs. Goth. *armahairtei*, MHG *barmherze(c)heit*, NHG *barmherzigkeit* 'pity, compassion' (Christian imitations of the Lat. *misericors*, *misericordia*, above, 2), and vbs. Goth. *arman sik*, OHG *irbarmēn* (ir-bi-armēn), MHG *(er)barmen*, NHG *(sich) erbarmen* 'have pity', whence OHG *irbarmida*, MHG *erbermede*, (er)barmung, etc., NHG *erbarmen* (infin. as sb.). Weigand-H. 1.158 f., 455 f. Kluge-G., 40, 135.

ON *miskunn* (Dan., Sw. *miskund*, biblical), cpd. of the Gmc. neg. and pejorative prefix *mis*(s)- and *\*kunn* : ON *kenna* 'know, feel', but also 'lay to one's charge, impute', hence lit. 'non-accusation'. Falk-Torp 724.

Dan. *medynk*, Sw. *medömkan*, cpd. of *med* 'with' and Dan. *ynk* 'distress', Sw. *ömkan* 'compassion' : Dan. *ynke* 'regret', refl. 'complain', Sw. *ömka* 'com-miserate, pity', ON *aumka* 'beware, complain', refl. 'pity', fr. ON *aumr* 'miser-

### 16.36 SAD

|                                       |                                    |                                   |
|---------------------------------------|------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>λυπημένος, δυσθυμος, etc.</i> | Goth. <i>gaurs</i>                 | Lith. <i>liudnas, nuliudes</i>    |
| NG <i>lamentation, κατήφεια</i>       | ON <i>hrygg, dapr</i>              | Lett. <i>bēdīgs, skumīgs</i>      |
| Lat. <i>tristitia</i>                 | Dan. <i>sørgmodig, bedrøvet</i>    | ChSl. <i>pečalīna, skūbe</i>      |
| It. <i>triste</i>                     | Sw. <i>sorgsen, bedröad</i>        | SCr. <i>priskrūbīna</i>           |
| Fr. <i>triste</i>                     | OE <i>unrūt, drōrig</i>            | Boh. <i>smutný, tužan</i>         |
| Sp. <i>triste</i>                     | ME <i>sad, dregy</i>               | Rum. <i>smutny</i>                |
| Rum. <i>trist, mihnit</i>             | NE <i>sad</i>                      | Russ. <i>pečal'nyj</i>            |
| Ir. <i>brónach, dubach</i>            | Du. <i>treurig, droevig</i>        | Skt. <i>viṣaṇṇa, mīlāna-aśāta</i> |
| Nr. <i>brónach, doilgeasach</i>       | OHG <i>gitruobit, trūrag</i>       | Av. <i>asāta</i>                  |
| W. <i>trist, athrist</i>              | MHG <i>trüec, trüebe, betruobt</i> |                                   |
| Br. <i>trist, teñval</i>              | NHG <i>traurig, betrübt, trübe</i> |                                   |

In many languages the words for 'sad' are simply derivs. of those for 'grief, sorrow' (16.32) and so mean lit. 'grieving' or 'sorrowful'. But in others the common words for 'sad' are of quite different origin, based on such diverse notions as 'downcast', 'sated', 'troubled', 'dark', 'heavy', 'faded', 'sitting apart'.

1. Grk. *λυπημένος*, pple. of *λύπωμαι* 'grieve', act. *λύπω* 'cause grief' : *λύπη* 'grief' (16.32). NG *λυπημένος*, fr. perf. mid. pple. *λελύπημένος*, also *περί-λυπος* 'very sad'.

Grk. *δυσ-θυμος*, cpd. of *δυσ-* 'ill' and *θυμός* 'soul, spirit' (16.11).

Grk. *δυσ-φρων*, cpd. of *δυσ-* 'ill' and *-φρων* as in *σώ-φρων* 'wise', etc. (: *φρόν* as seat of thought and feeling, 17.11), hence 'ill-disposed' and also 'sad'.

Grk. *κατήφεια* 'with downcast eyes', also fig. 'downcast, dejected, sad' and so in NG, cpd. of *κατά* 'down' and the root of *ἄπρω* 'fasten, touch', sb. *ἀφή* 'touch', etc. Walde-P. 1.198. Boisacq 421 f.

2. Lat. *tristis* (> It. Fr., Sp. *triste*; late *tristus* > Rum. *trist*; REW 8918), etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.754 (as orig. 'grim' or the like : OE *briste*, OHG *drīsti* 'bold' in both good and bad sense). Ernout-M. 1058 ('sans étymologie').

Rum. *mihnit*, fr. *mihni* 'grieve', cf. *mihnire* 'grief' (16.32).

3. Ir. *brónach*, fr. *brón* 'grief'.

Ir. *dubach*, fr. *dube* 'grief'.

Nr. *doilgeasach*, fr. *doilgheas* 'grief'. W., Br. *trist* (W. also *athrist* with intensive *a-*), fr. Lat. *tristis*. Loth, Mots lat. 213.

Br. *teñval*, orig. 'dark' (: Ir. *temel* 'darkness', 1.62), hence 'somber, sad'. Cf. the use of Fr., NE *sombre*, orig. 'under a shadow'.

4. Goth. *gaurs* : *gaurīpa*, *gaurei* 'grief', etc.

ON *hrygg* : OE *hrēow* 'regret, sorrow', etc. (16.34).

ON *dap* ('heavy, slow', and 'sad') : OHG *tapfer* 'firm, weighty, durable' (NHG *tapfer* 'brave'), and prob. ChSl. *debelŭ* 'stout', Russ. dial. *dobolŭj* 'strong', OPruss. *debikan* 'big', etc. Walde-P. 1.850. Falk-Torp 1248. Berneker 182.

Dan. *sørgmodig*, cpd. of *sørg* 'grieve' (fr. *sorg* 'grief') and *modig*, fr. *mod* 'heart, courage'.

Sw. *sorgsen*, fr. *sorg* 'grief'.

OE *unrūt*, neg. of *rūt* 'cheerful, glad', more often 'noble, excellent' : ChSl. *radŭ* 'glad, willing', *radostŭ* 'joy', etc. (16.22).

OE *drēorig* (also 'gory, bloody', and 'cruel'), ME *drery* (NE *dreary* 'dismal, gloomy'), OHG *trārag*, MHG *trārec*, NHG *traurig*, Du. *treurig* (Du. *tr. HG*, or WGmc. init. variants?), with vbs. OHG *trārēn*, *drārēn*, MHG *trāren*, NHG *trauern* 'grieve, mourn' : OE *drēosan*,

Goth. *driusan* 'fall', OHG *trōren* 'drip', OE *drōr* 'blood, gore', MHG *trōr* 'dew, rain, blood', outside connections dub., but semantic development clear—'sad' fr. 'downcast, drooping', and 'gore, gory', fr. 'drip'. Walde-P. 1.873. Weigand-H. 2.1064. Franck-v. W. 708.

ME, NE *sad*, fr. OE *sad* 'sated' : Goth. *saps*, OHG *sat* 'full, sated', Lat. *satis* 'enough', etc. Semantic development through ME 'steadfast, firm, serious, grave'. NED s.v.

MHG *trüebe*, NHG *trübe*, Du. *droef*, *droevig*, orig. 'troubled, turbid', as OHG *truobi*, OE *drōf*, etc., beside vbs. Goth. *drōþjan*, OE *drēfan*, OHG *truoban*

'trouble' : ME *draf* 'dregs, refuse' (NE *druff*, cf. NED), MHG, NHG *treber* 'grains, husks', all prob. fr. a parallel extension of the root in ON *dreggja* 'dregs', Grk. *τάρσσω* 'trouble', etc.; hence the vbs. Du. *bedroeven*, MLG *bedroven* (> Dan. *bedrøve*, Sw. *bedröva*, with pples. *bedrövet*, *bedrövad* 'sad'), OHG *gitruoben*, MHG *be-*, *ge-trüeben*, NHG *betrüben* 'trouble, sadden', with pples. OHG *gitruobit*, MHG *betruobt*, NHG *betrübt* 'sad'. Walde-P. 1.856.

### 16.37 CRY, WEEP

|                            |   |                                 |
|----------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>κλαίω</i>          | Goth. <i>grētan</i>                               | Lith. <i>verkti</i>             |
| NG <i>κλαίω</i>            | ON <i>grāta</i>                                   | Lett. <i>raudāt</i>             |
| Lat. <i>flere, plorare</i> | Dan. <i>græde</i>                                 | ChSl. <i>plakati (se)</i>       |
| It. <i>piangere</i>        | Sw. <i>gråta</i>                                  | SCr. <i>plakati</i>             |
| Fr. <i>pleurer</i>         | OE <i>wēpan</i> , <i>grētan</i> , <i>grō-</i>     | Boh. <i>plakati</i>             |
| Sp. <i>llorar</i>          | ME <i>wepe</i> , <i>grēte</i> , <i>crie</i>       | Pol. <i>plakać</i>              |
| Rum. <i>plînge</i>         | NE <i>cry</i> , <i>weep</i>                       | Russ. <i>plakati</i>            |
| Ir. <i>ctim</i>            | Du. <i>weenen</i>                                 | Skt. <i>rud-</i>                |
| Nr. <i>gōlim</i>           | OHG <i>wuofan</i> , <i>riozan</i> , <i>wei-</i>   | Av. <i>rud-</i> , <i>garəz-</i> |
| W. <i>uwylo</i>            | MHG <i>weinen</i> , <i>riesen</i> , <i>wuēfen</i> |                                 |
| Br. <i>gouela</i>          | NHG <i>weinen</i>                                 |                                 |

Most of the words for 'cry, weep', as expressive of pain or grief, are like NE *cry* (the usual spoken word) from words meaning 'cry' in wider sense, 'cry out,

Falk-Torp 57. Feist 126. Weigand-H. 2.1079.

5. Lith. *liudnas*, with vb. *liusti* 'be sad, grieve', perfect. *nuliusti*, pple. *nuliudes* 'sad' : ChSl. *ludŭ*, SCr. *lud* 'foolish', Russ. *ludŭ* 'deceive', Goth. *liutei* 'deceit, hypocrisy', *lūōn* 'deceive', ON *luta*, OE *lutan* 'bow, fall'. 'Sad' prob. as 'downcast, dejected'. Walde-P. 2.416.

Lett. *bēdīgs*, fr. *bēda* 'grief'.

Lett. *skumīgs* : *skumjas* 'grief'.

6. ChSl. *pečalīnŭ* (with *byti* for *lūpio-*

ma), Russ. *pečal'nyj*, fr. ChSl. *pečalŭ*, Russ. *pečal* 'grief'.

ChSl. *skrūbŭ* (renders *λυπούμενος*), pple. of *skrūbēti* (*λυπώμαι*), also *priskrūbīnŭ* (*περίλυπος*) : *skrūbŭ* 'grief'.

SCr. *žalostan*, fr. *žalost* 'grief'.

SCr. *tužan*, fr. *tuža* 'grief'.

Boh. *smutný*, Pol. *smutny* : Boh. *zármutek*, *smutek* 'grief'.

7. Skt. *viṣaṇṇa*, pple. of *vi-ṣad-* 'be dejected, despond', lit. 'sit apart', cpd. of *sad-* 'sit'.

Skt. *mīlāna*, lit. 'faded, withered', pple. of *mīla-* 'fade, wither'.

Av. *aśāta*, neg. of *śāta-* 'glad' (16.23).

shout, scream, wail, groan'. Some show a shift from a different expression of the same emotion, namely 'beat' (the breast, etc.), as in Romance and Slavic, prob.

Fr. *crier* (18.13), also 'cry' = 'weep'. NED s.v. *cry*, vb. 9, 10.

OHG *weinān*, MHG, NHG *weinen*, Du. *weenen* : OE *wānian* 'lament', ON *veina* 'wail', derivs. of the interj. OHG, MHG *wē*, OE *wā*, ON *vei*, Goth. *wai* 'woe', as expressive of pain, sorrow, etc. A parallel deriv. is ON *vēla*, *veila* 'wail' (> ME *weile*, NE *wail*). Walde-P. 1.213.

6. Lith. *verkti* : *urkti* 'growl, snarl', Boh. *vrceti* id., *vrcati* 'purrr, coo', Russ. *vorčat* 'growl, snarl', etc., prob. of imitative origin. Walde-P. 1.284 (top). Trautmann 353.

7. ChSl. *plakati* (refl. in Gospels), etc., general Slavic, see under It. *piangere*, etc. (above, 3).

8. Skt., Av.

Br. *hivroudi*, with sb. *hivroud*, cpd. of *hir* 'long' and *boud* 'humming (sound)'.  
4. Goth. *svōgājan*, *gasvōgjan*, both for *srēvāw*, also *ufswōgjan* for *āwacerevāw* : OE *swōgan*, *swēgan*, OS *swōgan* 'make a noise, rush, roar', *swēg* 'sound', etc. (15.44).

ON *stynja*, OE *stenan*, etc., above, 1. OE *grānian*, ME *grone*, NE *groan* : OHG *grīnan*, MHG *grīnen* 'snarl, mutter, spread the mouth' (in laughing or weeping, NHG *greinen*), Nicel. *grīna* 'open the mouth, stare', further NHG *grinzen* 'grin', fr. a root \**ghrei-* 'stand open'(?), whence through 'open the mouth' both 'grin' and 'groan'. Falk-Torp 348. Kluge-G. 216. Weigand-H. 1.764.

OHG *sūftōn*, MHG *suiften*, *suifzen*, the usual renderings for Lat. *gemere*, NHG *seufzen* mostly 'sigh', as MLG *suchten* (Dan. *sukke*, Sw. *sucka*), Du. *zuchten* : OE *sōfian* 'lament, complain of', prob. as 'suck, draw in the breath',

| Grk. | μῦσος, ἔχθρα | Goth. | fjajþwa             | Lith. | neapykanta    |
|------|--------------|-------|---------------------|-------|---------------|
| NG   | μῦσος, ἔχθρα | ON    | hatr                | Lett. | (ie)naids     |
| Lat. | odium        | Dan.  | had                 | ChSl. | nenavistl     |
| It.  | odio         | Sw.   | hat                 | ScR.  | mrjnja        |
| Fr.  | haine        | OE    | hete, hatung        | Boh.  | nenavist      |
| Sp.  | odio         | ME    | hete, hate, hatrede | Pol.  | nienawist     |
| Rum. | odiu         | NE    | hate, hatred        | Russ. | nenavist      |
| Ir.  | (mis)cais    | Du.   | haat                | Skt.  | dviṣ-, dveṣa- |
| Nlr. | fuath        | OHG   | haz                 | Av.   | dvaēšah-      |
| W.   | cas, casineb | MHG   | haz                 |       |               |
| Br.  | kas, kasoni  | NHG   | hass                |       |               |

Words for 'hate', expressing intense dislike, and the strongest opposite of 'love', show a variety of connections, as with words for 'shudder', 'smell'(?), 'loathe, revile, blame', etc., in large measure through the obj. notion 'object of repulsion'. Some are from verbs for 'hate' which mean literally 'not endure' (cf. NE colloq. *I can't bear him* or *I can't stand him* = *I dislike him intensely*), or 'not look upon' (with favor).

While only the nouns are given in the list, they all have corresponding verbs.

1. Grk. *μῦσος* (not in Hom.), with vb. *μῦσσω* (once in Hom. as 'hate the thought of' with infin. clause), etym.? Boisacq 640.

Grk. *ἐχθρα*, with vb. *ἐχθαίρω* (usual words for 'hate' in Hom.), prose sb. *ἐχθρα* 'hatred, enmity', beside *ἐχθρός* 'hated, hateful, enemy' (19.52), derivs. of *ἐχ*

|      |                            |       |                        |  |
|------|----------------------------|-------|------------------------|--|
|      |                            |       | 16.42                  |  |
| Grk. | θυμός, ὀργή (μήνις, χόλος) | Goth. | þwairhēi               |  |
| Lat. | ira                        | ON    | reiði, gremi, mōðr     |  |
| NG   | θυμός, ὀργή                | Dan.  | vrede                  |  |
| It.  | collera, rabbia (ira)      | Sw.   | vrede                  |  |
| Fr.  | colère, courroux           | OE    | wrāþhu, irre, torn     |  |
| Sp.  | colera (ira)               | ME    | angre, wrathe, ire     |  |
| Rum. | minie                      | NE    | anger (wrath)          |  |
| Ir.  | ferg, baran                | Du.   | toorn                  |  |
| Nlr. | jeag                       | OHG   | zorn, gibuluht, ābulgī |  |
| W.   | dig, lliid                 | MHG   | zorn, ābulge           |  |
| Br.  | buanegez, droug            | NHG   | zorn                   |  |

Words for 'anger' show the most diverse connections, as with words for 'bile, gall', 'heart', 'vapor, smoke' ('ebullition'), 'swell', 'twist', 'tear', 'cross-wise', 'astray', 'rot', 'hasty', 'bad, evil', etc., the primary sense in some of the groups being doubtful. In several cases the emotion is clearly secondary to some outward expression of it, as 'make a thundering noise', 'breathe heavily, pant'.

Some of the words listed have the force of NE *wrath*, which, though once simply 'anger' (so OE, ON, etc.), is now used more specifically of 'lasting anger'.

Most of the adjectives for 'angry' are related to the nouns, but sometimes different forms are popular, as NE *mad* (orig. 'insane' 17.23; colloq. 'angry'; cf. NED s.v. 5), NHG *böse* 'bad, wicked' (16.72) and 'angry'.

1. Grk. *θυμός* 'soul, spirit', etc. (16.11), also 'anger' (Hom.+) and in NG reg. 'anger' with vb. *θυμῶνω* 'make angry' and 'be angry', *θυμῶμενος* 'angry'.

Grk. *ὀργή* 'mood, temperament', but esp. 'anger' (not in Hom.) : Ir. *ferg*, Nlr. *fearg* 'anger', Skt. *ārj-*, *ārjā-* 'sag, juice, rich food or drink', also 'strength, vigor' (of men), primary sense of the root 'swell, ripen' as in Grk. *ὀργᾶω* 'swell, ripen' (of fruit, trees, etc.), hence also 'swell with lust', 'be excited', etc., *ὀργᾶς* 'fertile land'. Walde-P. 1.289. Boisacq

710. Cf. OHG *gibuluht* (below, 4), and Lat. *turgere* 'swell' and colloq. 'be angry', as (*uazor*) *turget mihi* 'is angry with me', Plaut.

Grk. *χόλος* and *χολή*, orig. 'bile, gall', but also 'bitter anger' (mostly poet.) : Lat. *fel*, ON *gall*, OE *gealla*, etc. 'gall'. Walde-P. 1.624. Boisacq 1065.

Grk. *μήνις* (poet.), Dor. *μᾶνις* 'wrath' (cf. Cret. *ἐμᾶνις* 'wroth') : *μαίνωμαι* 'rage, be mad', *μανία* 'madness, rage', which, though starting fr. *man-* weak grade of IE \**men-*, follows in this semantic group (cf. perh. *μέμνην* vs. *μέμνην* 'be eager') the *a/ā* series of forms like *φαίω*, perf. *πέφνην*, Dor. *πέφᾶν*. Cf. Skt. *manyu-* 'spirit, anger, rage', Av. *mainyu-* 'spirit' (of good or evil). Otherwise Walde-P. 2.233, with separation from *μαίνωμαι* and attachment to Lat. *Mānes*, *immānis*, and Schwyzler, Rh. M. 80.216 (\**μᾶνις*), both views rejected by Walde-H. 2.27.

2. Lat. *ira* (> It., Sp. *ira*, OFr. *ire* > ME, NE *ire*, also now only lit. words), Plaut. *aira*, prob. : Skt. *iṣṭra-* 'vigorous, strong', Skt. *iṣ-*, Av. *iṣ-* 'set in rapid motion', Av. *aēšma-* 'anger, rage', Lith. *aistra* 'passion' (16.13), Grk. *αἰστρος* 'gadfly, sting, madness', etc. Walde-P. 1.107. Ernout-M. 496. Walde-H. 1.718.

It. *collera*, Fr. *colère*, Sp. *colera* (OFr. > ME *coler*, NE *choler*), fr. Lat. *cholera*

'out' through notion of 'alien' or 'exile'. Walde-P. 1.116 (with references).

2. Lat. *odium* (> It., Sp. *odio*), beside vb. *ōdi* : Arm. *ateam* 'hate', *ateli* 'hated, hostile', OE *atol* 'terrible, horrible', ON *atall* 'fierce', fr. a root \**od-*, perh. ultimately the same as \**od-* 'smell' in Grk. *ōw*, Lat. *odor*, etc. (15.21) through notion of 'disgust' (Lat. *odium* is also and in Plautus most frequently obj., an object of disgust, repulsion; cf. esp. Skutsch, Glotta 2.230 ff.; cf. also ScR. *mrjnja*, below, 6). Walde-P. 1.174. Ernout-M. 698 (not accepting connection with *odor*, etc.).

Fr. *haine*, for *haine*, fr. vb. *hair*, loan-word, fr. Gmc., cf. Goth. *hatjan* 'hate', etc. (below, 4). REW 4075.

Rum. *ură*, back-formation fr. vb. *uri* 'hate', this fr. Lat. *horrēre*, *horrēscere* 'shudder'. Cf. Alb. *urretje* 'hate' fr. the same source. REW 4185. Tiktin 1688, 1692. G. Meyer, Alb. Etym. Wtb. 459.

3. Ir. *cais* and *miscais* (cpd. with pejorative *mis-*), W. *cas*, Br. *kas*, derivs. W. *casineb*, Br. *kasoni* : Goth. *hatīs*, etc. (the Gmc. group, below, 4), Grk. *κῆπος* 'care, anxiety, grief, mourning', Av. *sādra-* 'hurt, harm'. The orig. meaning was perh. 'care', whence both 'hate' and 'love' in Ir. *cais* (cf. 16. 27). Walde-P. 1.340. Pedersen 1.121, 2.10. Falk-Torp 370 f.

Nlr. *fuath*, same word as *fuath* 'form, figure' and 'specter', with development of 'hate' through 'horror' (cf. Rum. *ură*, above, 2).

4. Goth. *hatīs* (only for *θυμός*, *ὀργή* 'anger', but vbs. *hatan*, *hatjan* for *μῦσσω*), ON *hatr*, OE *hete*, OHG *haz*, etc., general Gmc., with corresponding vbs. Goth. *hatjan*, OE *hatian*, etc. (influence of vowel of vb. on sb. in ME, NE *hate*; OE *hatung*, fr. vb.; ME *hatereden*, *hatrede*, etc., NE *hatred*, cpd. with OE *ræden* 'condition') : Ir. *cais* 'hate', etc. (above, 3).

'a bilious disorder' (fr. Grk. *χολέρα* id., prob. : *χολή*, above), but in late Lat. also (like Grk. *χολή*) 'bile' and 'anger'. REW 1879. Gamillscheg 236.

It. *rabbia* 'rage' (16.43) is now, I am told, also the pop. word for 'anger'.

Fr. *courroux*, OFr. *corroz*, prob. back-formation to *courroucer* 'make angry', fr. VLat. \**corruptiā*, this fr. *corruptum*, pple. of *corrumpere* 'destroy, ruin'. REW 2261 f. Bloch 1.185. Gamillscheg 266. Wartburg 2.1235 f.

Sp. adj. *enfadado* 'angry' (in common use in contrast to sb. *colera*), pple. of *enfadar* 'vex', deriv. of Fr. *fade* fr. VLat. \**fatidus* beside *fatuus* 'stupid'. REW 3223. Ernout-M. 337.

Rum. *minie*, fr. Grk. *μανία* 'rage' (above, 1). Tiktin 987 f.

3. Ir. *ferg*, Nlr. *fearg* : Grk. *ὀργή*, etc. (above, 1).

Ir. *bare*, *baran*, MW *bar*, *baran* : Lat. *ferire* 'strike', Lith. *barti* 'scold', ChSl. *brati* 'fight', etc. Walde-P. 2.160. Stokes 161. Loth, RC 38.152.

W. *dig* (also adj. 'angry'), cf. *ystig*. (\**ez-dic*) 'assiduous', MBr. *dig* 'zealous, diligent' (Loth, RC 42.85), perh. : Russ. *dikij*, Pol. *dziki*, etc. 'wild' (Berneker 199 f.), used also of 'savagely' temper. So briefly E. Lewy, Z. sl. Ph. 1.415 (quoted with approval by Pokorny, Z. celt. Ph. 20.513) and independently by G. S. Lane, Language 8.297, 9.268 ff. Adversely A. Senn, Language 9.206 ff., Mélanges Pedersen 456 ff.

W. *llid* perh. = Ir. *lith*, Br. *lid* 'festival', with development of 'anger' through the characteristic brawls of a celebration. Zimmer, Z. deutsch. Alt. 32.284. Pedersen 1.133. Walde-P. 2.394. Otherwise : (Ir. *lith* 'vigor, impetuosity') Loth, RC 40.358.

Br. *buanegez*, fr. *buaneke* 'angry, irri-

Goth. *fjajþwa* (reg. for *ἔχθρα*), with vb. *fjan* (more common than *hatan*, *hatjan* for *μῦσσω*) = ON *fjā*, OE *fēon*, *fēogan*, OHG *fēn* 'hate' (hence pples. Goth. *fjands*, OHG *fiant* 'enemy', ON *fjāndi*, OE *fēond* 'enemy, devil', NE *fēnd*) : Skt. *piy-* 'abuse, revile and Goth. *faian* 'blame'. Walde-P. 2.9. Falk-Torp 214 f. Feist 150.

5. Lith. *neapykanta*, fr. vb. *neapkęsti* 'hate', neg. of *apkęsti* 'endure, tolerate', cpd. of *kęsti* 'suffer, bear' (cf. *kentėjimas* 'suffering' 16.31).

Lett. (*ie*)naids : Lith. *pa-niedėtas* 'despised', Goth. *ga-naiþjan* 'treat shamefully', Skt. *nind-* 'blame, abuse, despise', etc. Walde-P. 2.322 f. Mühl-Endz. 2.689.

6. ChSl. *nenavistl* (Supr.), fr. vb. *nenaviditi* 'hate' (reg. in Gospels for *μῦσσω*), both with corresponding Boh., Pol., Russ. forms, neg. of \**na-vidēti* 'look upon', cpd. of *vidēti* 'see'. 'Hate' fr. 'not look upon' (with favor). Miklosich 390. Brückner 361.

ScR. *mrjnja* (also ScR., Slov., Bulg. *o-mrza*), fr. vb. *mrziti* 'hate' : *mrzak* 'disgusting', ChSl. *mržnati* 'loathe', and perh. ON *morkna* 'rot', W. *meryd* 'moist, damp, sluggish, lazy', etc., IE \**merǵ-* beside \**merk-* in Lat. *marcere* 'wither', etc. Walde-P. 2.282. Berneker 2.80.

7. Skt. *dviṣ-*, *dveṣa-*, Av. *dvaēšah-*, *ḥbaēšah-*, with vbs. Skt. *dviṣ-*, Av. *dviṣ-*, *ḥbaēš-*, fr. \**dweis-* beside \**dwei-* in Av. *dvaēšā-* 'threat', Grk. *δῖος* 'fear', etc. (16.53), either with 'fear' resulting in 'hate', or both groups through a common notion of 'discord' fr. IE \**dwi-*, \**dwis-* 'apart, asunder' in Goth. *twist-standan* 'separate', NHG *zwist* 'discord, quarrel', etc. Walde-P. 1.817, 821. Uhlenbeck 134.

table', this apparently fr. *buan* 'swift', as orig. 'quick to anger' (cf. NE *hasty*, NED s.v. 4).

Br. *droug*, properly 'an evil, harm', etc. : W. *drug* id. and adj. 'bad' (16.72).

4. Goth. *þwairhēi*, fr. *þwairhs* 'angry' : OE *þweorh* 'crooked' (12.74), esp. 'perverse' (cf. NE *thwart*, adj., adv., vb. and NE *cross* colloq. for 'ill-tempered'). Walde-P. 1.736. Feist 507.

Goth. *mōþs* (hence *mōdags* 'angry'; both rare vs. preceding), ON *mōðr* = OE *mōð* 'spirit, mind, mood, courage', ME *moode* also 'anger' (NED s.v. *mood* 2b), OHG *muot* 'mind, spirit, courage', etc., also 'anger' (NHG *mut* 'mood', but mostly 'courage'), outside connections (as : Grk. *μαίωμα* 'seek', ChSl. *sū-mēti* 'dare', etc.) dub. Walde-P. 2.239. Falk-Torp 726. Feist 365 f.

Goth. *hatīs* (freq. for *ὀργή*), see under 'hate' (16.41).

ON *reiði*, Dan., Sw. *vrede*, OE *wrāþhu*, ME *wrathe*, NE *wrath*, beside *adj.* ON *reiðr*, Dan., Sw. *vred*, OE *wrāþ*, NE *wroth*, orig. 'twisted' : ON *riða*, OE *wriþan* 'twist, bind', etc. Walde-P. 1.279. Falk-Torp 1396.

ON *gremi*, OE *grama*, etc., fr. *adj.* ON *gramr*, OE, OHG *gram* (also OE, NE *grim*, etc.) 'angry, fierce' (whence also the vbs. Goth. *gramjan*, OE *gremian* 'make angry') : Grk. *χεμῖω*, *χεμερίω* 'whinny', Lith. *gramēti* 'fall with a crash', *grumēti* 'thunder', ChSl. *gramŭ* 'thunder', etc., Av. *gram-* 'be angry', pple. *granta-* 'angry'. In this group the notion of 'anger' (in Gmc. and Av.) has developed from its outward expression. Walde-P. 1.655. Falk-Torp 340.

OE *irre*, fr. *adj.* *irre* = OS *irri* 'angry' : OHG *irri* 'wandering, deranged', also 'angry' (NHG *irre*), Goth. *airzeis* 'astray', Lat. *errare* 'wander, go astray,

err', and perh. ultimately also Skt. *irasya-* 'be angry' and the group discussed under NHG *raserei* 'rage' (16.43). Walde-P. 1.150. Feist 27.

OE *torn* 'violent emotion, anger, grief', OHG, MHG *zorn* 'anger, offense, strife', NHG *zorn*, Du. *toorn* 'anger', through 'cleavage, strife', or sb. fr. adj. like OE *torn*, fr. the root of OE *teran*, OHG *zeran*, etc. 'tear'. Walde-P. 1.798. Kluge-G. 715.

OE *anda*, etc. sometimes 'anger', see 16.44.

ME *angre*, NE *anger*, fr. ON *angr* 'trouble, affliction' (so also ME *angre*) : Lat. *angor* 'constriction of the throat, anguish, trouble', Skt. *anhas-* 'distress, need', ON *angr*, OE *enge*, OHG *angi*, *engi* 'narrow', etc. Falk-Torp 29. Walde-P. 1.62.

ME, NE *ire*, fr. OFr. *ire* (above, 2). OHG *gi-buluht*, *ā-bulgi*, MHG *ābulge* : OHG *belgan* 'swell', refl. 'be angry', OE, OS *belgan* 'be angry', Ir. *bolgaim* 'swell'. Walde-P. 2.183.

5. Lith. *piktumas*, fr. *piktas* 'angry', beside *pykti* 'become angry', *paikas* 'stupid, silly', *peikti* 'blame', OPruss. *paikemmai* 'we deceive', *pickuls* 'devil' : Goth. *bi-faith* 'covenantousness', OE *fāh*, OHG *gifeh* 'hostile', Skt. *piçuna-* 'be-trayer, slanderer, malignant', etc. Walde-P. 2.10 f. Feist 89 f.

Lett. *dusmas* (pl.) : *dusēl* 'pant, breathe', Lith. *dusēti* 'cough slightly', *dusēti* 'breathe heavily', ChSl. *dychati* 'breathe', etc. Orig. 'heavy breathing' indicating 'anger'. Cf. OE *anda* 'anger, hate, envy' (16.44) = ON *andi* 'breath', etc. Mühl-Endz. 1.521. Walde-P. 1.846.

6. ChSl. *gněvŭ* (reg. for *ὀργή*), GScr. *gnjev*, Boh. *hněb*, Pol. *gniew*, Russ. *gnev*, Russ-ChSl. *gněvŭ* once 'σάπια, rottenness', prob. : ChSl. *gnŭja*, *gniti*, Russ.

*wōd* 'mad, raving' (NE *wood*), Goth. *wōds* 'raging, possessed' : Ir. *fāith* 'poet', W. *gwaudd* 'satire, sneer' (arch. 'song'), Gall. *viāres* 'seers', Lat. *vātes* 'seer, poet' (cf. Grk. *μᾶνρις* 'seer' : *μαίνωμαι* 'be mad'), perh. (with a common element of mental excitement) fr. the root in Skt. *api-vat* 'understand'. Walde-P. 1.216. Weigand-H. 2.1296 f. Ernout-M. 1076.

ME, NE *rage*, fr. Fr. *rage* (above, 2). ME, *furie*, NE *fury*, fr. Fr. *furie* (above, 2).

NHG *raserei* (> Dan., Sw. *raseri*), fr. *rasen*, MHG *rāsen* 'rage, rave' : OE *rāsen* 'rush, assault', ON *rās*, OE *rās* 'running, race', etc., perh. fr. a form of the same root as in Lat. *errare* 'go astray', OE *irre* 'anger', etc. (16.42).

5. Lith. (*pa*)*dūkimas* : *dūkti* 'rage', Lett. *dūkt* 'rage, storm, roar', Skt. *dhukṣ-* 'kindle, influence, animate', etc., fr. the same root as Grk. *θυμός* 'spirit, anger, rage'. Walde-P. 1.838.

Lett. *trakums* (Drawneek, Ullmann : Brasche, not given by Mühl-Endz.) : *trakuo* 'romp, rush, rage', *traks* 'unruly, foolish, mad', Lith. *trakas* 'mad', perh. as 'twisted' : Lat. *torquere* 'twist, wind', Gall. *viāres* 'seers', Lat. *vātes* 'seer, poet' (cf. Grk. *μᾶνρις* 'seer' : *μαίνωμαι* 'be mad'), perh. (with a common element of mental excitement) fr. the root in Skt. *api-vat* 'understand'. Walde-P. 1.216. Weigand-H. 2.1296 f. Ernout-M. 1076.

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Lett. *trakums* (Drawneek, Ullmann : Brasche, not given by Mühl-Endz.) :

Words for 'envy' and 'jealousy' are taken together, since often the same word covers both notions and the distinction is a subtle one. Most of the

*gnit'* 'rot', ChSl. *gnojŭ* 'dung', Russ. *gnoj* 'pus', etc., with development of 'anger' through notion of disgust. Cf. NHG *gift* 'poison' and 'hate, anger'. Berneker 312 f. Brückner 147.

ChSl. *jarostŭ* (reg. for *θυμός*; cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 419), Russ. *jarost'* 'rage', ScR. *jarost* old and dial. 'heat, rage', etc., beside ChSl. *jariti* sē 'become angry', *jarŭ* 'severe, harsh', Russ. *jaryj* 'furious', etc., prob. : Grk. *ζῶπος* used of unmixed wine, etc., orig. 'har



and derivs. of root in ON *unna* 'to love', *dsl* 'love', etc. (16.27). Falk-Torp 37. Hence cpds. with adjs. for 'sick' ON *gundsjukr*, Sw. *avundsjuk* 'envious', whence sbs. ON *gundsjuki*, Sw. *avundsjuka* 'envy'.

Dan. *jalousi*, ME *jalousie*, NE *jealousy*, fr. Fr. *jalousie* (above, 2).

Dan. *skinsyge*, fr. *skinsyg* 'jealous', fr. earlier *skind-syg*, cpd. of *skind* 'hide, skin' and *syg* 'sick'. Explained by the Sw. dial. expression *få skinn* 'receive a refusal in courtship'. Falk-Torp 998.

Sw. *svartsjuka*, fr. adj. *svartsjuk* 'jealous', cpd. of *svart* 'black' and *sjuk* 'sick', fr. the phrase *bära svarta strumpor* lit. 'wear black stockings' = 'be jealous'. Hellquist 914.

OE *anda* 'zeal, hate, anger' and esp. 'envy' with vb. *andi(g)an* 'envy' and 'be zealous', ME *ando* 'envy', OHG *anto* 'zeal, envy', OS *ando* 'anger': ON *andi* 'breath, spirit', Goth. *uz-anan* 'breathe out', etc., with application to various emotions. Falk-Torp 5. Weigand-H. 1.29 f. NED s.v. *onde*, sb.

ME *envie*, NE *envy*, fr. Fr. *envie* (above, 2).

Du. *jaloerschheid*, fr. *jaloersch* 'jealous', MDu. *jaloers*, fr. Fr. *jalousch* (above, 2). Franck-v. W. 278.

MHG (late) *yfer* 'jealousy', NHG *eifer* in Luther mostly 'passion, anger', now 'zeal' in good sense, and for 'jealousy' = *eifersucht*, cpd. with *sucht* 'illness'; perh.: OHG *eivar*, *eivar* 'harsh, severe', OE *āfor* 'vehement, dire'. Kluge-G. 124. Weigand-H. 1.412. Walde-P. 1.6.

5. Lith. *pavydas*, beside *pavydas* 'envious', *pavydėti* 'envy', cpd. with perfect. *pa-*: *veizdėti* 'see, look', ChSL *viditi*, Lat. *videre* 'see', etc. (cf. Lat. *invidere*, above, 2). Walde-P. 1.238.

Lith. *skauge*: Lett. *skaugis* 'an envious person, enemy', perh. Ukr. *skuh-nij* 'miserable', Boh. *skuhrti* 'whine', root connection? (From a parallel ex-

tension of the root seen in Lett. *skaudība*, etc., below?) Mühl.-Endz. 3.876. Zubaty, Arch. sl. Ph. 16.413.

Lett. *skaudība*, with *skaudīgs* 'envious', fr. *skaudu*, *skaušt*, *skaudēt* 'envy': Lith. *skaudėti* 'hurt, ache', Grk. *σκίζομαι* 'be angry', etc. Walde-P. 2.554. Mühl.-Endz. 3.875, 876.

Lett. *greizsirdība*, with *greizsirdīgs* 'jealous', cpds. of *greizs* 'slanting, oblique' and *sirdība* 'zeal, courage', *sirdīgs* 'zealous, courageous', fr. *sirds* 'heart, courage'. Mühl.-Endz. 1.648, 3.843.

6. ChSL *zavistā* (in Gospels reg. = *φθόνος*, later also = *ζήλος*; also *zavida*; cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 287, 343 f.), SCR. *zavist*, etc., general Slavic, fr. *zavideiti* 'to envy', cpd. of *za-* 'after' and *vidēti* 'see' (cf. Lith. *pavydas*, above, 5, Lat. *invidia*, above, 2).

ChSL *ričivnīje* (= *ζήλος*, cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 343 f.), and *ričivnostī* (Supr.), Russ. *remost*, fr. ChSL *ričivnū* 'emulating, zealous', *ričivnovati* 'emulate', etc., prob.: Russ. *erit* 'be busy, zealous', and ChSL *rejš*, *rijaši* 'flow', modern Slavic also 'press, shove', etc., Grk. *ὀρνω* 'stir, raise, rouse', etc. Walde-P. 1.141. Meillet, Études 283, 386.

SCR. *ljubomornost*, fr. *ljubomoran* 'jealous', cpd. of derivs. of the stems of *ljubiti* 'love' and *mor* 'death'.

Boh. *žárlivost*, fr. *žárlivý* 'envious' = Pol. *żarliwy* 'fiery, zealous', etc., fr. Boh. *žár* 'heat, glow, ardor, passion', Pol. *żar* 'glow, embers', etc. Mikosch 409 f.

Pol. *zazdrość*, earlier *zazrość*: *zazréc*, *zazréc* 'look at', and 'envy' (*zazréc komu czego*), cpd. of *zréc* 'see, look' (15.52). New formation parallel to and replacing the older *zavistā*. Brückner 646, 656.

7. Skt. *īrṣyā-*, Av. *ərəši-*, *araska-*: Skt. *īrṣ-* 'be jealous, envy', Av. *arāšyant-* 'envious', OH *irri*, OE *irre* 'angry', etc. (16.42). Walde-P. 1.150.

| Grk. | αἰδώς, αἰσχρότης (ἐντροπή) | Goth. | gariudei (aiwiski, skanda) | Lith. | gėda                |
|------|----------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| NG   | ἐντροπή                    | ON    | kinnoři                    | Let.  | kauns               |
| Lat. | pudor, verēcundia          | Dan.  | skam                       | ChSL  | studa, sramā        |
| It.  | vergogna                   | Sw.   | skam                       | SCR.  | stid, sram          |
| Fr.  | honte                      | OE    | scamu                      | Boh.  | etud                |
| Sp.  | vergüenza                  | ME    | shame                      | Pol.  | ustyd, ustydliwosc  |
| Rum. | rușine                     | NE    | shame                      | Russ. | styd, stydlivost    |
| Nir. | mebul, ruce, nāire         | Du.   | schamle                    | Skt.  | lajjā, hrt-, vridā- |
| W.   | cywilydd, gwarad-uydd      | OHG   | scama                      | Av.   | šarama-             |
| Br.  | mez                        | MHG   | scham(e), scham(e)de       |       |                     |
|      |                            | NHG   | scham                      |       |                     |

Most of the words listed are used not only for the subj. sense of 'shame', but also or even more commonly for the obj. 'shame, dishonor, disgrace' (note the secondary differentiation in NHG *scham* vs. *schande*).

In some an earlier sense of 'respect, reverence or modesty' led to 'shame' in a good sense. In others, as shown by usage or etymology or both, 'shame' in a bad sense was the primary notion. Thus, for example, Grk. *αἰδώς* and *αἰσχρότης* are contrasted in origin and in their prevailing usage. Several are connected with words for 'red' through 'blushing' as a sign of shame.

1. Grk. *αἰδώς*, mostly 'shame' in good sense, 'respect, reverence, modesty', with *αἰδουμαι*, *αἰδομαι* 'be ashamed, stand in awe, respect', prob.: Goth. *aistān* 'revere', Skt. *īd-* 'praise, supplicate', fr. \**aīs-d-*, extension of \**aīs-* in OHG *ēra*, NHG *ehre* 'honor', etc. Walde-P. 1.13. Boissacq 22. Feist 27 f.

Grk. *αἰσχρότης*, beside *αἰσχρός* 'dishonor', pass. 'be dishonored, feel shame', *αἰσχος* 'a shame, disgrace', prob. fr. \**aig* 'h-s': Goth. *aiwiski* 'a shame, disgrace', OE *æwisc* 'dishonor, offense', MHG *eisch* 'ugly, repulsive', etc. Walde-P. 1.7. Boissacq 30. Feist 30.

Grk. *ἐντροπή*, in class. Grk. 'respect, modesty', in LXX 'humiliation', NT and NG reg. 'shame': *ἐντρέπω* 'turn about', also 'put to shame' (NT, etc.),

used mostly in mid. 'hesitate' and 'give heed to, respect, reverence' (Hom.+), later 'feel shame' (Polyb., NT), as reg. in NG.

2. Lat. *pudor* (also 'modesty' as mostly the borrowed Romance words, It. *pudore*, Fr. *pudeur*, etc.), with vb. impers. *pudet* 'feels ashamed', prob. as orig. 'feel repulsed or cast down': *repudium* 'divorce, repudiation', *tri-pudium* 'a certain dance', etc., those fr. the root of *pavire* 'beat, stamp' (or: *pēs*, *pedis* 'foot?'). Walde-P. 2.12. Ernout-M. 761, 820.

Lat. *verēcundia*, also 'bashfulness, modesty' (> It. *vergogna*, Sp. *vergüenza*; Fr. *vergogne* obs.), beside *verēcundus* 'ashamed, bashful, modest', fr. *verēri* 'feel awe of, be afraid (religious sense)': OE *wær* 'careful', *warian* 'preserve, protect', etc. Walde-P. 1.284. Ernout-M. 1089.

Fr. *honte*, fr. the Gmc., Frank. \**hau-niþa* fr. vb. \**haujan* (> Fr. *honnir*): OHG *hōnen* 'despise, dishonor', Goth. *haujan* 'debase', *hauns* 'humble', etc. REW 4080. Feist 249. Weigand-H. 1.881.

Rum. *rușine*, fr. *ruși*, *roși* (now *in-roși*) 'reddened, make red', refl. 'blush'. Tiktin 1348.

3. Ir. *mebul*, also obj. 'a shame', but reg. subj. in phrase *is mebul lemm* 'I am ashamed', Nir. *meobhal*, W. *meff* obj. 'a shame, disgrace', etym. dub. (: Grk.

| Grk. | τίμη              | Goth. | swēþra              | Lith. | garbė          |
|------|-------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|----------------|
| NG   | τιμή              | ON    | ðōmi, sēmd, heidr   | Let.  | guods, ciens   |
| Lat. | honor             | Dan.  | ære, hæder          | ChSL  | čistā, čēna    |
| It.  | onore             | Sw.   | ära, heder          | SCR.  | čast           |
| Fr.  | honneur           | OE    | ār, weorþscipe      | Boh.  | čest           |
| Sp.  | honor, honra      | ME    | (h)onor, worshipspe | Pol.  | część, honor   |
| Rum. | onoare            | NE    | honor               | Russ. | čest', počest' |
| Ir.  | enech, mīad, fiad | Du.   | eer                 | Skt.  | māna-, pūjā-   |
| Nir. | onōir             | OHG   | ēra                 | Av.   | ....           |
| W.   | anrhyddedd        | MHG   | ēre                 |       |                |
| Br.  | enor              | NHG   | ehre                |       |                |

Words for 'honor' are based on such notions as 'value, worth', 'what is seemly or pleasant', 'praise', 'thought' (through 'think highly of, esteem'), and in the case of some Celtic words 'face' (cf. some uses of NE *face* NED s.v. 7 and the Chinese idiom 'lose face, gain face, save face').

1. Grk. *τίμη*, also 'value, price, penalty', with *τιμάω* 'revere, honor, esteem, set a price or penalty', *τίμιος* 'of value, precious, honored', etc.: *τιώ* 'honor, value', *τιώω* 'pay for, atone, requite', Skt. *ci-* 'punish, avenge', Av. *či-* (*kāy-* Barth. 464) 'atone, avenge', etc. Walde-P. 1.509.

2. Lat. *honor* (> It. *onore*, OFr. *enor*, *onor*, etc., Fr. *honneur*, Sp. *honor*, Rum. *onoare*; vb. *honōrāre* > It. *onorare*, Sp. *honrar* whence *honra*), early *honōs*, gen. *honōris*, etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.583 f. Ernout-M. 458. Walde-H. 1.656.

3. Ir. *enech*, same word as *enech* 'face' (4.204). Loth, RC 41.380.

Ir. *mīad* (esp. in *ar-moiniur fēid* 'revere, honor', vbl. n. *airmītiur fēid* simply 'honor, reverence'): *fiad* 'coram', MW *gued* 'face' and 'honor', *ynguwyd* 'in sight of', MBr. *a goez* 'openly' (: Lith. *veidas* 'countenance', Grk. *εἶδος* 'appearance', etc. Walde-P. 1.239). Loth, RC 41.380, 47.171 f.

Mir., Nir. *onōir*, fr. Lat. *honor* (above, 2). Vendryes, De hib. voc. 161.

W. *anrhyddedd*, MW *enrydded*, prob. through 'high rank' and the obj. 'honor' (cf. *cadair anrhyddedd* 'seat of honor'): Ir. *ānsruth* (*ānsruth, ānsrad*) 'noble, champion' (Thurneysen, Abh. Preuss. Akad. 1928. phil.-hist. Kl. 2.14), *ānsrada* 'warlike, heroic'.

Br. *enor*, fr. OFr. *enor* (above, 2).

4. Goth. *swēþra*, fr. *swēþs* 'respected, honored', *swēþan* 'honor, respect': ON *swārr*, OE *swār*, OHG *swār(i)* 'heavy', etc. Walde-P. 1.265. Feist 466.

ON *ðōmi*, *sēmd*: *sēmr* 'becoming, fit', *sōma* 'be becoming, fit', OE *sōm* 'agreement, concord', *gesōm* 'unanimous, peaceable', MHG *suome* 'pleasant', etc. (these further: Skt. *sama-*, Goth. *sama-*, etc. 'same'). Walde-P. 2.492. Falk-Torp 1234.

ON *heidr*, Dan. *hæder*, Sw. *heder*: *heidr* 'clear, bright', OE *hæder* 'clear, serene', OHG *heitar* 'clear, shining', etc., Skt. *kētu-* 'light, shape, form', etc. Walde-P. 2.537. Falk-Torp 446.

OE *ār*, Du. *eer* (MLG *ēre* > late ON *ara*, Dan. *ære*, Sw. *ära*), OHG *ēra*, MHG *ēre*, NHG *ehre* > Goth. *aistan* 'stand in awe of, esteem', Grk. *αἰδώς* 'shame'. Walde-P. 1.13. Falk-Torp 1413.

OE *weorþscipe*, ME *worshippe* (NE *worship*), deriv. of OE *weorþ* 'worth, worthy'. NED s.v. *worship*, sb.

ME (*honor*), NE *honor*, fr. OFr. *onor* (above, 2). NED s.v.

5. Lith. *garbė*, beside vb. *gerbti*: OPruss. *gerbi* 'speak', fr. an extension of the root in Lith. *girti* 'praise', Skt. *gr-* 'invoke, praise, sing, recite', etc. Walde-P. 1.686.

Lett. *guods*, Lith. dial. *goda*: ChSL *godinā* 'pleasing', *u-goditi* 'please', Goth. *gōþs*, etc. 'good'. Mühl.-Endz. 1.690 f. Walde-P. 1.532.

Lett. *ciens*, either cognate with or more prob. borrowed fr. Russ. *cena* 'price, value, worth' = ChSL *cēna* id., fr. the same root as Grk. *τίμη* (above, 1) and in form = Grk. *ποινή* 'penalty'. Mühl.-Endz. 1.394 f.

| Grk. | κλῆος, δόξα, κύδος    | Goth. | wulþus                  | Let.  | slavi, garbė    |
|------|-----------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| NG   | δόξα                  | ON    | dǫðr, flr               | Let.  | slava, guodība  |
| Lat. | gloria                | Dan.  | ara, herlighed          | ChSL  | slava           |
| It.  | gloria                | Sw.   | ara, härlighet          | SCR.  | slava           |
| Fr.  | gloire                | OE    | wuldor, flr, magen-þrym | Boh.  | slava, chwala   |
| Sp.  | gloria                |       |                         | Pol.  | slawa, chwala   |
| Rum. | slavă, mărire, glorie | ME    | glorie                  | Russ. | slava           |
| Ir.  | glóir                 | NE    | glory                   | Skt.  | cravas-, yaças- |
| Nir. | glóir                 | Du.   | roem, heerlijkheid      | Av.   | z'armah-        |
| W.   | gogoniant             | OHG   | tiurida, guollichet     |       |                 |
| Br.  | gloar, hano kaer      | MHG   | ruom                    |       |                 |
|      |                       | NHG   | ruhm, herrlichkeit      |       |                 |

'Glory' is for the most part, in feeling and in origin, a highly emotionalized 'fame, renown' or 'honor'. But Grk. *δόξα* in biblical writings (LXX, NT) was used also, translating a Hebrew word, in the sense of 'brightness, splendor, magnificence, majesty'. This was followed in the translations (Lat. *glória*, ChSL *gloria*, etc.; but Luther differentiated, *ehre* vs. *klarheit* or *herrlichkeit*) and so has affected the use of most of the Eur. words (e.g. NE *glory*, cf. NED s.v. 5-9).

In fact the notion of 'splendor' or the like, rather than 'fame', is dominant, in use and etymology, in some of the Gmc. words, and, quite apart from biblical in-

fluence, probably in Skt. *yaças-* and certainly in Av. *z'armah-*. The inclusion of such words in the list is justified by their similar emotional value, rather than under any strict definition of 'glory'.

1. Derivs. of IE \**kleu-* in Grk. *κλῶω*, Skt. *cru-* 'hear', Lat. *clūere* 'be heard of, be famed', Grk. *κλύος*, Lat. *inclutus*, Skt. *grūta-* 'renowned, famous', etc. Walde-P. 1.494 f. Ernout-M. 199 f. Walde-H. 1.237 f.

Grk. *κλέ(ς)*; Lat. *clur* (only in a gloss); Lith. *šlovė*, Lett. *slava*; ChSL *slava*, etc. general Slavic (*slovo* 'word' in form = Grk. *κλῶος*); Skt. *cravas-* (Av. *srawah-* 'word').

8. Skt. *cravas-*, above, 1.

Skt. *yaças-* 'splendor, beauty' and 'glory, fame', etym.? Uhlenbeck 236.

Av. *z'armah-* (OPers. *farnah-* in proper names) 'glory' of divine beings, of the

| Grk. | ὕπερφανος (ὕπερφανος (cf. sb. καμάρ) | Goth. | hauh-hairts, -þāhts, mikil-þāhts | Lith. | puikus, (iš)didus |
|------|--------------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|-------|-------------------|
| NG   | ὕπερφανος                            | ON    | stōrlātr, drambblātr             | Let.  | lepnis            |
| Lat. | superbus                             | Dan.  | stolt                            | ChSL  | grūdā             |
| It.  | orgoglioso                           | Sw.   | stolt                            | SCR.  | ponositi, ohol    |
| Fr.  | fier, orgueilleux                    | OE    | ofer-mōd(i), -mēde, -hyddig      | Boh.  | pyšný, hrđý       |
| Sp.  | orgulloso                            |       |                                  | Pol.  | pyśny, dumny      |
| Rum. | mândru                               | ME    | over-mōd(i), prud                | Russ. | gorđý, nadmennýj  |
| Ir.  | uallach, dūmmusach                   | NE    | prod                             | Skt.  | garvita-, dṛpta-  |
| Nir. | mōrda(h), uaiðh-reach                | Du.   | trotsh                           | Av.   | ....              |
| W.   | balch                                | OHG   | ubar-muoti, -huhtig, höhmuetig   |       |                   |
| Br.  | balc'h                               | MHG   | stolz, übermüete(c), höhmüete    |       |                   |
|      |                                      | NHG   | stolz, hochmütig                 |       |                   |

The nouns for 'pride' are derived from the adjs. for 'proud', or conversely. The adjs. are chosen here for discussion. Most of them are used for 'proud' in both the good and the bad sense. But a few of the words listed are used only in the latter sense, that is 'proud' = 'haughty, arrogant', and in many of the others this is the earlier, either in actual use or as indicated by the etymology.

Several are compounds of 'over' or 'high' with words for 'heart, mood, thought, appearance', thus connoting superiority of spirit or mind. Mental superiority is also basic in some that are cognate with words for 'wise' or 'judgment'. Other sources are 'high, great, fierce, pampered, stubborn'. Some reflect a physical expression of pride, being 'puffed up' or 'swollen'.

1. Grk. *ὑπερφανής*, cpd. of *ὑπέρ* 'over' and *-φανος* 'appearing': *φαῖνομαι* 'appear', with *η* (Dor. *ā*) after the analogy of words with composition lengthening, esp. *ὑπερ-ἄνωος* 'arrogant'. Brugmann, Ber. Sächs. Ges. 1901.104 derives the

second member fr. *-φανος*, comparing *ὑπερφανής* 'arrogant, proud' fr. *-φανος* and Lat. *superbus* 'proud'. But there is no good reason to separate *ὑπερφανής* from the large group of cpds. in *-φανος*.

NG (beside adj. (*ὕπερφανος*, sb. lit. (*ὕπερφάνεια*) pop. sb. *καμάρ* 'pride', back-formation to *καμαρώνω* 'be proud', this fr. Grk. *καμαρῶω* 'furnish with a vault', pass. 'be vaulted' (fr. *καμάρα* 'anything with an arched cover, vaulted chamber'), with development through 'make an arch, puff out the chest, be puffed up'. For semantic parallels, cf. ON *dramblātr* (below, 4), Boh. *pyšný*, etc. (below, 6), and NE *puffed* up, U.S. slang *chesty*. Koukoules, *Ἀφίερωμα* Hat-zidakis 39 ff., derives the use more specifically from Byzantine marriage customs, in which the bride makes a bow (and is proud of the event). But this seems hardly necessary.

2. Lat. *superbus*, fr. *super* 'over' with suffix as in *probus* 'upright', either \**dhwo-* (: *dheu-* 'become', cf. Grk.

2. Grk. *δέξα* 'expectation' (Hom.), 'opinion', and 'fame, glory' and eventually the most usual word for 'glory': *δοκέω* 'expect, think, seem', *δέχομαι* (Att. *δέχομαι*) 'receive, expect', ChSL *desiti* 'find', etc. Walde-P. 1.783. Boissacq 172 f.

Grk. *κύδος* (poet.), prob.: ChSL *ēudo* 'wonder' (obj.), both fr. the root of Grk. *κύω* 'perceive', ChSL *ēuti* 'perceive, feel'. Walde-P. 1.369. Boissacq 529.

3. Lat. *glōria* (> It., Sp. *gloria*, OFr. *glorie*, Fr. *gloire*; Rum. *glorie* recent borrowing), etym.? Walde-P. 1.538. Ernout-M. 426. Walde-H. 1.609 f.

Rum. *slavă*, fr. Slavic (above, 1).

Rum. *mărire*, fr. *mări* 'enlarge, praise, glorify', fr. *mare* 'large'.

4. Ir. *glóir*, fr. Lat. *glōria*. Br. *gloar*, fr. Fr. *gloire*.

W. *gogoniant* and *gogonedd* (obs.), cpd. of *go-* and *conedd* 'pride, glory' (obs.), root connection?

Br. *hano kaer*, lit. 'good name, reputation' (*hano* 'name, reputation': Lat. *nōmen* 'name', etc., and *kaer* 'good').

5. Goth. *wulþus*, OE *wuldor* (ON *Ullr* name of a god), prob., as first 'glory' in the sense of '

set up', etc. Walde-P. 2.646. Falk-Torp 1173. Kluge-G. 596.

5. Lith. *puikus* (also 'splendid, magnificent'), fr. OLith. *puyka* 'pride', this fr. Pol. *pycha* (below, 6). Senn, Language 14.149 f. Otherwise (: *piklas* 'bad') Fränkel, Rev. ét. indo-eur. 1.426 f.

Lith. *išdidūs*, cpd. of *didūs* 'lofty, majestic', also 'proud': *didis* 'great, large' (12.55).

Lett. *lepns* (Lith. *lepnas* 'pampered, spoiled, sensual, dainty'): *lept* 'be proud, become proud', Lith. *lepti* 'be pampered, etc.', Lat. *lepidus* 'pleasant, fine, neat', Grk. *λεπρός* 'fine, thin, weak', etc. Walde-P. 2.430. Mühl.-Endz. 2.452 f.

6. ChSl. *grūdū*, with sb. *grūdymī* 'pride' (both in Gospels), Boh. *hrdý*, Russ. *gordyy*, prob. same word as in ChSl. *grūdū* 'frightful' (Supr.), SCR. *grd* 'ugly', SCR. *grditi*, Pol. *gardzić* 'scorn, despise', etc. Outside connections dub., but uses best combined under some such notion as 'repelling', whence 'proud', first in bad sense (as always in NT) and 'repulsive'. Walde-P. 1.641 (and 649, 650, making two separate groups). Berneker 370. Brückner 135.

SCR. *ponosī*, *ponosan*: *ponijeti* se

'carry oneself, have a certain bearing, be proud', ChSl. *nesti* 'carry', etc. Rječnik Akad. 10.741, 755.

SCR. (also Slov., Bulg.) *ohol*: Bulg. *o-holen* 'satisfied', *o-halen* 'living in ease', Russ. *na-chal'nyj* 'impudent' (through 'pampered, spoiled', cf. Lett. *lepns*, above), Russ. *cholit* 'clean, dress neatly, fondle, pamper', *cholja* 'neatness, caresses', but root connection dub. Berneker 395.

Boh. *pyšný*, Pol. *pyszny*, fr. sb. *pycha*: Boh. *pychatī* 'be proud, puff up, blow up', Russ. *pychat* 'pant, puff', ChSl. *pachati* 'blow', etc. Brückner 449. Walde-P. 2.81.

Pol. *dumny*, with *duma* 'conceit, pride': Russ. *duma* 'thought, idea, council, assembly', etc., Bulg. *duma* 'word', etc., fr. Gmc., Goth. *dōms* 'judgment', *dōmjān* 'judge', etc. Berneker 237.

Russ. *nadmennyy*, fr. ChSl. *na-dūmenū* 'blown up': ChSl. *dūma*, *dqti* 'blow'. Berneker 244.

7. Skt. *garvita*, with sb. *garva*- 'pride, conceit', perh. as 'pomposity, weighty manners': *guru*- 'heavy'. Walde-P. 1.684.

Skt. *drpta*-, also 'wild, arrogant', fr. *drp*- 'become mad, go crazy', etym.? Uhlenbeck 129.

## 16.51 DARE

|      |                    |       |               |        |                      |
|------|--------------------|-------|---------------|--------|----------------------|
| Grk. | τολμᾶω, θάρσσω     | Goth. | gādarsan      | Lith.  | drįsti               |
| NG   | τολμᾶω             | ON    | þora, dīrfask | Lett.  | drīkstēt             |
| Lat. | audere             | Dan.  | vove, turde   | ChSl.  | sūmēti, drūzati      |
| It.  | osare              | Sw.   | vāga, tōras   | SCR.   | smjēti, odvāziti se  |
| Rum. | oser               | OE    | durran        | Boh.   | odvāziti se          |
| Sp.  | osar               | ME    | durre, dore   | Pol.   | (od)vāzyc się, śmieć |
| Fr.  | indrāzīni, culeza  | NE    | dare          | Russ.  | smel', derzat'       |
| Ir.  | ro-lāmūr           | Du.   | wagen         | Skt.   | dhṛs-                |
| Nir. | lāmhaīm, dānuighīm | OHG   | giturran      | OPers. | darš-                |
| W.   | beiddio            | MHG   | turren        |        |                      |
| Br.  | kredi              | NHG   | wagen         |        |                      |

4. Ir. ro-lāmūr 'dare', lāmāim 'take in hand, undertake', Nir. lāmhaīm 'dare'

Apart from an inherited group, verbs for 'dare' are based on such varied notions as 'endure, undertake, be firm, be strong, be eager, have spirit, believe (have confidence), have need'. A few come through 'risk' from words for 'play with dice' or 'wager'.

1. IE \*dhers-. Walde-P. 1.864. Feist 177.

Grk. *θάρσσω*, Att. *θάρσσω* ('be of good courage, have confidence', not the common vb. for 'dare', but cf. *θάρσος* 'courage', *θρασίς* 'bold, daring'); Goth. *gādarsan*, OE *durran*, ME *durre*, *dore*, NE *dare*, OS *gidurran*, OHG *giturran*, MHG *turren*; nasalized Lith. *drįsti*, Lett. *drīkstēt*, *drīstēt* (on *k*, cf. Endz., Gramm. 172 ff.); Skt. *dhṛs*-, OPers. *darš*-.

2. Grk. *τολμᾶω* 'endure, submit, undertake' and esp. 'dare', beside *τόλμα* 'courage, boldness': *τολάσσαι*, *τλῆναι*, etc. 'bear, suffer, undergo', Lat. *tollere* 'lift', Goth. *þulan* 'bear, suffer', etc. Walde-P. 1.738 f. Ernout-M. 1044.

3. Lat. *audere* (pple. *ausus*, whence VLat. \**ausdre* > It. *osare*, Fr. *oser*, Sp. *osar*), deriv. of *avidus* 'eager': *avēre* 'desire eagerly'. Earliest sense 'desire', preserved in *sī audēs, sōdēs* 'if you like, if you please'. Development of 'dare' prob. first in neg. phrases like *hauē ausim dare, nōn ausit credere* (Plaut.) 'wouldn't like to' = 'wouldn't risk, dare'. Walde-P. 1.19. Ernout-M. 86, 87 f. Walde-H. 1.880, 1. REW 801.

Rum. *îndrăzni*, fr. Slavic, cf. ChSl. *drāznati*, Bulg. *drāznū* (below, 7). Tiktin 802.

Rum. *culeza*, fr. late Grk. *κορρίζω* 'play at dice' (fr. *κόρρος* 'die'), through the metaphorical sense 'risk, venture' (like Grk. *κυβέω* 'play dice, risk'). REW 2287.

4. Ir. ro-lāmūr 'dare', lāmāim 'take in hand, undertake', Nir. lāmhaīm 'dare'

and 'handle', beside W. (old) *lūafasu* 'venture, attempt', Corn. *lausas* 'dare, be permitted', W. *llawio* 'take in hand, undertake', fr. Ir. *lām*, W. *llaw* 'hand'. Pedersen 2.560 f. K. Meyer, Zur kelt. Wortkunde 179.

Nir. *dānuighīm*, *dānuim*, fr. *dāna* 'bold' (16.52).

W. *beiddio*, also 'challenge, defy' (cf. NE *dare* in this sense), perh. : Ir. *bid-cais* 'sprang' (pret.), *becc* 'start, leap', Nir. *biodhgaīm* 'start, rouse, startle', outside connections dub. Pedersen 1.88, 2.476.

Br. *kredi* 'believe' (17.15) is also 'dare', through 'have confidence'.

5. Goth. *gādarsan*, OE *durran*, OHG *giturran*, etc., above, 1.

ON *þora*, Dan. *turde* (secondary form; ODan. *thura*, *thora*), Sw. (refl.) *tōras* (also in Dan. and Sw. as auxiliary 'may, will'), beside ON *þoran* 'daring, courage', root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.710, 728. Falk-Torp 1299. Hellquist 1269 f.

ON *dīrfask* (refl.): *djarfr* 'bold, brave' (16.52).

NHG, Du. *wagen*, fr. MHG, MLG *wāgen* 'wager, put up as a stake, risk' (MLG > Dan. *vove*, Sw. *vāga*, late ON *vāga*), this fr. *wāge*, NHG *wage* 'balance, scales' (MHG also 'hazard, risk'), hence lit. 'put in the balance, weigh'. Falk-Torp 1394. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 623.

Du. *durven*, NHG *dürfen* 'may' (9.95), used also for a mild 'dare' (much as in NE *I dare say*).

6. Lith. *drįsti*, Lett. *drīkstēt*, above, 1.

7. ChSl. *sū-mēti* (usual for *τολμᾶω* in Gospels, Supr., etc.), SCR. *smjēti*, Boh. *smít* (now 'may', old 'dare'), Pol. *śmieć*, Russ. *smel'*, with adj. ChSl. *sū-mēlū*, Russ. *smel'ij* 'brave' (hence Russ. *osmelival'sja* 'dare', etc., prob. : Goth.

(and in this sense > It. *bravo* > Fr. *brave* > Rum. *brav*), fr. Lat. *barbarus* 'wild, savage', orig. 'foreign, a foreigner', fr. Grk. *βάρβαρος* id. REW 945. Gamillscheg 142. Wartburg 2.248 ff.

It. *coraggioso*, Fr. *courageux* (> Rum. *curagios*), fr. It. *coraggio* (fr. Prov. *coratge*), Fr. *courage* 'courage', derivs. of Fr. *cœur*, Prov. *cor*, etc. 'heart'. REW 2217.

Sp. *valiente* (and in this sense also It. *valente*, Fr. *vaillant* > ME *vailant*, NE *valiant*), pples. of *valere* (It. *valere*, Fr. *valoir*) 'be worth', fr. Lat. *valēre* 'be strong, be good for'. REW 9130.

Rum. *viteaz*, as sb. 'hero', fr. the Slavic, cf. late ChSl. *vitęz* 'hero', Boh. *vitěz* 'victor', Russ. *vitjaz* 'knight', etc., these prob. fr. ON *vikingr* 'viking'. Tiktin 1760. Stender-Petersen 67 (with refs. in ftn.). Otherwise on the Slavic words Brückner 658 f.

3. Ir. *dāna* (gl. *audaz*, Nir. 'bold, impudent'), prob. through 'gifted' or 'cunning' (cf. OE *cēne*, etc., below, 4) fr. *dān* 'gift, art, skill'. Stokes 143 (but *dān* 'art', orig. 'gift': Lat. *dōnum*, etc. 'gift'). Walde-P. 1.815. Pedersen 1.48, 177.

Ir. *essamin*, cf. MW *eh-ofyn* 'fearless', Gall. *Ex-obnus*, *Ex-omnus*, cpd. of \**eks*- (neg. force) and last member : Ir. *ōmun* 'fear' (16.53). Pedersen 2.12.

Ir., Nir. *calma* : OBr. *celmed* 'efficax', W. *celfydd* 'skilled', etym. dub. Pedersen 1.168.

Ir. sb. *gal* 'bravery' (more common than any adj.): W. *gallu*, Lith. *galėti* 'be able'. Walde-P. 1.539. Stokes 107 f. Pedersen 1.157 (another suggestion 2.25, but ?).

Nir. *crōdha*, fr. Ir. *crōda* 'bloody, cruel' (K. Meyer, Contrib. 525), fr. *crō* 'blood, gore'.

W. *deur*, as sb. 'hero', cpd. of de- 'good' (prefix beside *da* id., 16.71) and *gwr* 'man'. Pedersen 1.39.

W. *gwrol*, lit. 'manly, virile', whence 'brave' (cf. Grk. *ἀνδρείος*, above, 1), fr. *gwr* 'man'.

Br. *kalonek*, fr. kalon 'heart' (imitation of Fr. *courageux*?).

Br. *kadarn* = W. *cadarn* 'strong' (4.81).

4. ON *djarfr* : OS *derbi* 'strong, bold, hostile', OFris., MLG *derve* 'sturdy, robust, stout' (NHG *derb* fr. LG), root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.863. Falk-Torp 144.

ON *hraustir*, also 'strong, hearty, doughty', etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.481. Falk-Torp 905.

Dan., Sw. *modig*, OE *mōdig* (also 'highspirited, noble, proud'), ME *modi* (also 'angry', NE *moody*), Du. *moedig*, MHG *muotec*, NHG *mutig* (OHG only in sb. *muotig* 'excitement of spirit') : ON *mōðugr* 'fierce', Goth. *mōðags* 'angry', derivs. of OE *mōð*, OHG *muot* 'mind, spirit, disposition, courage', etc. = ON *mōþr*, Goth. *mōþs* 'anger' (16.42). Falk-Torp 726. Weigand-H. 2.245.

Goth. \**balþs* (in *balþaba* 'openly, boldly', *balþei* 'boldness', *balþjan* 'be bold'; cf. ON *balr* 'dangerous, frightful'), OE *beald*, ME *bold*, NE *bold* (in good sense now mostly replaced by *brave*), OHG *bald*, MHG *ball* (also 'quick', hence NHG adv. *bald* 'soon'), perh. orig. 'swollen', -to-pples. fr. the root \**bhel*- 'swell'. Walde-P. 2.179. Falk-Torp 91. Feist 79.

OE *cēne*, ME *keene* (OE and ME also 'wise, clever' and 'fierce', first 'sharp' in ME), Du. *koen*, OHG *kuoni* (also 'warlike' and 'sharp, rough'), MHG *kuene*, NHG *kühn* : ON *kenn* 'wise, skillful, clever', prob. fr. the root of OE *cunnan* 'know, know how, be able', OHG *kunnan* id., ON *kunna*, Goth. *kunnan*, Lat. *nōscere*, Grk. *γινώσκω*, etc. 'know' (17.17). Cf. Lat. *ignāvus* 'cowardly',

neg. cpd. of the same root. Walde-P. 1.580. Falk-Torp 523.

OE *dyrstig*, MHG *türstic*, beside OE *gedyrst*, OHG *giturst* 'boldness, bravery' : OE *durran*, OHG *turran* 'dare' (16.51).

ME *corageus*, NE *courageous*, fr. Anglo-Fr. *corageus*, Fr. *courageux* (above, 2).

NE *brave*, fr. Fr. *brave* (above, 2).

Du. *dapper* (Central German *tapper* > MLG *tapper* > Dan., Sw. *tapper*), NHG *tapfer*, fr. MLG *dapper* 'important, capable, industrious, brave', MHG *tapfer* 'firm, compact, weighty, important, enduring (in combat)', OHG *tapfar* 'firm, fast, weighty, lasting' : ON *dapr* 'heavy, slow, sad' and prob. ChSl. *debelŭ* 'stout', Russ. dial. *debelyj* 'strong, firm', OPruss. *debikan* 'big', etc. Walde-P. 1.850. Berneker 182. Falk-Torp 1248.

5. Lith. *narsus*, narsingas 'angry' and 'brave', beside *narsas* 'violent anger' and 'courage', *nartinti*, *narsinti* 'make angry', etc. (cf. NSB 2.119), OPruss. *nerties* (gen. sg.) 'anger', *er-nertimae* 'we anger', etc. (cf. Trautmann, Altpreuss. 331, 384).

Ir. *nert* 'strength, might', Grk. *ἀνὴρ* 'man', etc. Walde-P. 2.332 f. (but preferring to connect the Baltic words with Skt. *nṛt*- 'dance' with common notion of violence in motion or temperament). Trautmann, Altpreuss. 384. Endzelin, KZ 44.67.

Lith. *dąsus*, Lett. *druošs* : Lith. *drįsti*, Lett. *drīkstēt* 'dare' (16.51).

Av. *čirya*-, etym.? Barth. 598.

Av. *darši*-, *daršyu*-, *daršita* : OPers. *darš*- 'dare', etc. (16.51).

Lett. *dūšigs*, fr. *dūša* 'courage, spirit,

heart' : ChSl. *duša* 'soul', etc. (16.11). Mühl.-Endz. 1.530.

6. ChSl. *drūzū* : *drūzati* 'dare' (16.51). ChSl. *chrabūrū* (Supr. for *ἀπαρείς*, *πολεμιστής*, *πολεμικός*, etc.), SCR. *hrabar*, Russ. (old) *chorobrū*, now (fr. ChSl.) *chrabryj*, Bulg. *hrabry*, Slov. *hrabar*, etc., etym.? Berneker 396 f.

SCR. *odvažan*, Pol. *odważny* : SCR. *odvažiti se*, Pol. *odważyć się* 'dare' (16.51).

Boh. *statečný* = Pol. *stateczny* 'firm, fast, standing firmly', fr. Boh. (Pol.) *statek* 'strength, help', lit. 'stand' (now 'estate, landed property') : Boh. *státi*, Pol. *stać* 'stand', etc. Brückner 514.

Boh. *udatný*, fr. *udati* 'give', refl. *udati se* 'give oneself to, be at one's disposal', cpd. of *dati* 'give'. Development through 'devoted'.

Pol. *waleczny* : *walka*, Boh. *walka* 'war', Pol. *wi lezyć* 'fight', etc. Walde-P. 1.304 f. Brückner 599 (but with mistaken root connections).

Pol. *mężny*, orig. 'manly' (fr. *mąż* 'man'), now common for 'brave'.

7. Skt. *cūra*- (also 'heroic, warlike, mighty', as sb. 'hero') : Av. *sūra*- 'strong, powerful', Grk. *κῦρος* 'power', Skt. *gawas*- 'strength', W. *cawr* 'giant', etc. Walde-P. 1.365 ff.

Skt. *vīra*-, also 'heroic, powerful, excellent', lit. 'manly' : *vīra*- 'man, hero', Lat. *vir* 'man', etc. (2.21).

Av. *čirya*-, etym.? Barth. 598.

Av. *darši*-, *daršyu*-, *daršita* : OPers. *darš*- 'dare', etc. (16.51).

orig. 'be struck' : *pavire* 'beat, strike'. Ernout-M. 743. REW 6314.

Lat. *terror* (> It. *terrore*, Fr. *terreur*, etc., NE *terror*), see above under Grk. *τρόμος*.

It. *spavento*, Fr. *épouvante* ('terror'), fr. It. *spaventare* 'frighten', Fr. *épouvanter* 'terrify, horrify', fr. VLat. \**expaventare*, deriv. of *pavor*, etc. (above). REW 3035.

Fr. *crainte*, fr. vb. *craindre* 'fear', orig. *criembre*, representing a Gallo-Lat. \**cremere*, fr. Lat. *tremere* 'tremble', blended with a Gallic \**crit* : Ir. *crith* 'a trembling, shaking'. Cf. OProv. *cremer* 'fear'. REW 8877. Bloch 1.187. Gamillscheg 271.

Fr. *effroi*, fr. *effrayer* 'frighten', orig. *esfreer*, fr. VLat. \**esfridare*, deriv. of a Frank. form corresponding to OHG *fridu*, NHG *friede* 'peace'; orig. 'rouse from a state of peace', whence 'frighten'. REW 3008. Wartburg 3.293. Gamillscheg 344.

Sp. *susto*, deriv. of Lat. *suscitare* 'lift, raise, rouse, set in motion', also 'scare' (*suscitāt vulturium a cano capiti*, Cat. 68.126), cpd. of *citare* 'put in motion'. REW 8482.

Rum. *fried*, fr. Grk. *φρίξ* 'shivering, shuddering', with 'fear' : *φρίσσω* 'be rough, bristle up, ripple, shiver'. Tiktin 646 f.

Rum. *spaimă*, fr. VLat. \**expavimen* : *pavor*, etc. (above). Tiktin 1463.

4. Ir. *ōmun*, *ōman*, Nir. *uamhan*, W. *ofn*, Br. *aon*, Gall. *obnus*, *omnus* (in proper names, *Ex-obnus*, *-omnus* 'fearless'), etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.177 f. (Pedersen 1.49, Stokes 50 : Ir. *ōbar* 'arrogance', W. *ofer* 'vain', Goth. *abrs* 'strong, violent').

Ir. *ecla*, Nir. *eagla*, deriv. of Ir. *ecal* 'afraid', fr. \**ek-gal*, neg. cpd. of *gal* 'bravery'. Pedersen 1.477.

|      |                              |       |   |       |                        |
|------|------------------------------|-------|---|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | δύος, φόβος                  | Goth. | agis, faurhlei                                | Lith. | baimė, bailė, išgąstis |
| NG   | φόβος, τρόμος                | ON    | álts, ógn, hraza, skelkr                      | Lett. | bailes                 |
| Lat. | timor, metus, pavor, terror  | Dan.  | frugt, skrak                                  | ChSl. | strachū, bojaznī       |
| It.  | paura, timore, spavento      | Sw.   | fruktan, skräck                               | Boh.  | strach, bázeč          |
| Fr.  | peur, crainte, effroi        | OE    | ege, egesa, fyrhto                            | Pol.  | bojaźń, strach, trwoga |
| Sp.  | miedo, temor, pavora, susto  | ME    | fere, eye, frigt                              | Russ. | bojaźń, bojazn'        |
| Rum. | frică, teamă, spaimă         | NE    | fear, fright, terror                          | Skt.  | bhaya-, bhīti-, bhī-   |
| Ir.  | ōmun, ecla                   | Du.   | vrees, schrik                                 | Av.   | trāsa-                 |
| Nir. | miedo, temor, pavora, uamhan | OHG   | forhta, egi, egiso                            |       | θωαδῆα-, byah-, taršī- |
| W.   | ofn, dychryn                 | MHG   | vorht(e), ege, eis, eagle, faichteas, schreke |       |                        |
| Br.  | aon, ofreiz                  | NHG   | furcht, schrecken                             |       |                        |

Words for 'fear' and the stronger (and

in part more sudden) 'fright, terror' are mostly based upon those for physical actions expressive of fear, especially 'tremble, shake', also 'flee', 'be struck', etc. In some cases there has been a shift from the objective 'danger' to the subjective 'fear', as, conversely, words for 'fear' are often used objectively for what inspires fear, 'a horror, a terror, danger'. An important cognate group is common to Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian.

1. Derivs. of IE \**bhēi*-(?), \**bht*- in Balto-Slavic and Indo-Iranian words for 'fear', prob. (though disputed) the same root as in OE *beofan*, OHG *biden*, etc. 'shake, tremble' (redupl. formation). Walde-P. 2.124 f. Falk-Torp 125. Weigand-H. 1.173. Berneker 68.

Lith. *baimė*, *bailė* (also *baisa* 'fright', *baisus* 'frightful', fr. \**bai-d-s*), Lett. *baile* (usually pl. *bailēs*); Ch

'trial, attempt' (cf. *periculum facere*), whence 'risk' and (the usual class. sense) 'danger, peril': *ex-periri* 'try, test, prove', *op-periri* 'wait, expect', *peritus* 'experienced', etc., Grk. *πειρά* 'trial, attempt', and the Gmc. groups OE *fær* and OHG *freisa*, etc. (below, 4), ultimately as 'experience' fr. the same root as Grk. *περάω* 'go through', OE *faran* 'go, fare', etc. Walde-P. 2.28 ff. Ernout-M. 756 f.

Lat. *discrimen*, orig. 'that which separates' (with various applications, 'parting of the hair', 'diaphragm', etc.), whence 'act of deciding, decisive moment, crisis' and esp. 'moment of peril, danger' (often used in connection with *periculum*): *discernere* 'separate, distinguish', cpd. of *cernere* 'separate, sift, distinguish, perceive', etc. Walde-P. 2.584. Ernout-M. 178.

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Rum. *primejdie*, fr. Slav. cf. Bulg. *prēmējdije* 'danger', lit. 'that which is beyond the boundary', fr. *mežda* 'border, boundary' (= ChSl. *mežda* 'street': Skt. *madhya*, Grk. *μέσος* 'middle', etc.). Tiktin 1255. Berneker 2.32.

3. Ir. *gūas*, *gūasacht*, perh. (\**ghaud-to*): Lith. *žudyti* 'kill', OE (*ā*)*gētan* 'injure, kill'. Walde-P. 1.564.

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Nlr. *contabhairt*, fr. Ir. *cundubart* 'dubium', fr. \**con-di-to-ber-*, cpd. of root of *berim* 'bear, carry'. Pedersen 2.467.

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1.869. Weigand-H. 2.412 f. Kluge-G. 442.

OE *frēcen*, also *frēcen(n)es*, *frēcednes*: *frēcne* 'horrible, savage, daring, dangerous', OS *frōkan* 'wild, bold, impudent', ON *frækinn*, *frækinn* 'unafraid, courageous', OE *frec* 'greedy, bold', ON *frekr* 'greedy, severe', OHG *frēh* 'greedy', etc., outside connections dub. Falk-Torp 279. Walde-P. 2.88.

ON *fār* (ME *ferē*, NE *fear*, 16.53), OHG *fāra*, MHG *vāre* (also 'ambush', as OS *fār*; > Dan. *fare*, Sw. *fara*), NHG *gefahr*, Du. *gevaar*: Lat. *periculum*, etc. (above, 2). Falk-Torp 205. Hellquist 200. Franck-v. W. 192.

NE *danger*, fr. ME *daunger*, mostly 'power of a lord or master, jurisdiction' (first quoted in modern sense 1489 in NED), fr. OFr. *dangier*, *dangier* id. (above, 2).

ME *NE peril*, fr. Fr. *péril* (above, 2). OHG *freisa*, MHG *vreise* (also 'trial, hurt', etc., Du. *vrees* 'fear'): Goth. *fraisan* 'try', etc. fr. an extension of the root in OE *fær* and Lat. *periculum* (above, 2). Falk-Torp 275 f. Franck-v. W. 761 f.

5. Lith. *pavojus*, whence *pavojingas* 'dangerous': *veju*, *vyti* 'hunt, pursue' (10.53).

Let. *briesma*, usually pl. *briesmas*, etym. dub. Muhl.-Endz. 1.337 (Slavic *bridū* 'sharp, sour'?).

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W.



| 16.63 HOPE (sb.)              |                                       |                                 |  |
|-------------------------------|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|--|
| Grk. <i>ἐλπίς</i>             | Goth. <i>wēns</i>                     | Lith. <i>viltis</i>             |  |
| NG <i>ἐλπίδα</i>              | ON <i>vān</i>                         | Lett. <i>cerība</i>             |  |
| Lat. <i>spēs</i>              | Dan. <i>haab</i>                      | ChSl. <i>upūvaniję, nadežda</i> |  |
| It. <i>speranza</i>           | Sw. <i>hopp</i>                       | SCr. <i>nada</i>                |  |
| Fr. <i>espoir, espérance</i>  | OE <i>tōhpa, wēn</i>                  | Boh. <i>naděje</i>              |  |
| Sp. <i>esperanza</i>          | ME <i>hope, won, wene</i>             | Pol. <i>nadejcia</i>            |  |
| Rum. <i>speranța, nădejde</i> | NE <i>hope</i>                        | Russ. <i>nadežda</i>            |  |
| Ir. <i>frescisiu, dōchas</i>  | Du. <i>hoop</i>                       | Skt. <i>āḍa-</i>                |  |
| Nlr. <i>dōchas, sūil</i>      | OHG <i>gedingi, wān</i>               | Av. <i>vyabtra-</i>             |  |
| W. <i>gobaith</i>             | MHG <i>gedinge, hōffe(nunge), wān</i> |                                 |  |
| Br. <i>spi, ged</i>           | NHG <i>hoffnung</i>                   |                                 |  |

'Hope' is 'wishful expectation', and in the majority of the words 'hope' comes from, or at least through the medium of, either 'expectation' or 'wish'. A few of these are also used for simple 'expectation' (even of evil), as, conversely, words for 'expectation' may in certain contexts have the feeling of 'hope', e.g. NHG *erwartung*, especially in *erwartungsvoll* 'full of hope'.

1. Grk. *ἐλπίς* (NG pop. *ἐλπίδα*), with vb. *ἐλπίζω* 'hope', Hom. *ἐλπω* 'gladly', *ἐλπίσθαι* 'hope': Lat. *volup* 'make', *voluptās* 'pleasure', fr. an extension of the root \**wel-* in Lat. *velle* 'wish, will', etc. (16.61). Walde-P. 1.295. Boisacq 246.

2. Lat. *spēs* (OLat. pl. *spērēs*) with vb. *spērāre* (> It. *sperare*, Fr. *espérer*, Sp. *esperar*, whence derivs. It. *speranza* > Rum. *speranța*, Fr. *espoir, espérance*, Sp. *esperanza*), prob. through 'success, confidence': ChSl. *spěti* 'prosper, succeed', Lith. *spėti* 'have leisure, be fast enough', OE *spōwan* 'prosper, succeed', Skt. *spṛāy-* 'grow fat, grow'. Ernout-M. 964. Persson, Beiträage 400. Otherwise Walde-P. 2.680 (but??).

Rum. *nădejde*, fr. Slavice, cf. ChSl. *nadežda*, etc. (below, 6).

3. Ir. *frescisiu, frescisiu*, vbl. n. of *frisaicim* 'hope, expect', fr. \**frith-ad-ci-* : *ad-ciū* 'see', etc. (15.51). Pedersen 2.488. Thurneysen, Gram. 514.

Ir. *dōchas*, Nlr. *dōchas*, also 'expectation, supposition', orig. 'likelihood', fr. *dōig, dōich* 'likely' (cf. locutions like *is dōig lemm* 'I ween'), etym.? Pedersen 2.666 f. Macbain 137.

Nlr. *sūil*, the same word as *sūil* 'eye' (4.21), but with special semantic development through 'sight, view, prospect' (cf. W. *gobaith*). Gael. has *dūil* 'hope' = Nlr. *dūil* 'desire' (16.62).

W. *gobaith*, cpd. of *go-* 'sub-' and *paith* 'glance, prospect, scene', orig. dub. (cf. Loth, Mots lat. 192).

Br. *spi*, fr. vb. *spia* 'spy on, watch, hope', fr. OFr. *espier* (Fr. *épier*) 'spy'. Henry 250.

Br. *ged*, properly 'watch, guard' and, with semantic development as in *spi* (above), fr. Fr. *guet* 'watch'. Henry 131. 4. Goth. *wēns*, ON *vān* (> ME *woon*), OE *wēn*, ME *wene*, OHG, MHG *wān*, all, except Goth., also more general 'opinion, expectation', etc., MHG already 'supposition, fancy, false opinion, etc.' (NHG *wahn*), with vbs. Goth. *wēnan*, ON *vāna*, OE *wēnan* (NE *ween*), OHG *wānen*, etc. (with grade \**wēn-* beside \**wen-*): OE *winnan* 'work, strive, fight', Goth. *winnan* 'suffer', ON *vinna* 'work', etc., Skt. *van-* 'seek, desire, gain', etc. Walde-P. 1.260. Feist 561. Weigand-H. 2.1200.

OE *tō-hopa*, late *hōpa*, ME, NE *hope*, OLG *tō-hopa*, MLG *hope* (> Dan. *haab*,

Sw. *hopp*), Du. *hoop*, central MHG (fr. LG) *hoffe* and *hoffenunge*, NHG *hoffnung*, a group evidently starting fr. OE, OLG *tō-hopa*; etym. much disputed, but perh. as orig. 'refuge' fr. 'place one springs to': OE *hoppian* 'spring, hop'. Jespersen, Nord. Tidsskrift 8 (1919), 151 f. Weigand-H. 1.877 f. Otherwise Falk-Torp 365 f.

OHG *gedingi*, MHG *gedinge* (both also 'agreement') with vbs. OHG (*ge-*) *dingen*, MHG (*ge-*) *dingen*, not to be separated (as Walde-P. 1.705) fr. OHG *din-gōn* 'negotiate, come to terms', etc. (NHG *dingen* 'bargain'): OE *þingian* 'plead, make terms', etc. (Walde-P. 1.725). Development through 'agreement, promise' (attested for OHG, MHG forms) to 'expectation' and 'hope'.

5. Lith. *viltis*, beside vb. *vilti-s* : *pa-veltī* 'wish, permit', Lat. *velle* 'will', etc. (16.61). Walde-P. 1.294. Trautmann 348.

Lett. *cerība* fr. *cerēt* 'guess, suppose,

hope, think about, love', prob. deriv. of *ceras* 'devotion, reverence, ardor', also coll. 'hopes', perh. : MHG, NHG *harren* 'wait, award, tarry'. Walde-P. 1.411. Otherwise Mühl-Endz. 1.374.

6. ChSl. *upūvaniję* (with modern Slavic words for 'expectation, hope, trust', etc., as SCr. *ufanje*, Boh. *úfání, doufání*, Pol. *ufność*, etc., but not reg. for 'hope'), fr. vb. *upūvati* 'hope', SCr. *ufati se*, etc., etym.? Miklosich 269. Brückner 403, 449. For this group vs. following in ChSl., cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 410.

ChSl., Russ. *nadežda*, SCr. *nada*, Boh. *naděje*, Pol. *nadzieja*, fr. ChSl. *na-dějati se* 'rely, hope', Russ. *na-dejati'sja* 'hope', etc., lit. 'place oneself on', cpd. of *děja, dēti* 'place, put'. Berneker 182, 193.

7. Skt. *āḍā-, āḍās-*, fr. *ā-ḍās-* 'ask, supplicate, wish, hope for, expect', cpd. of *ḍās-* 'correct, instruct, rule'. Uhlenbeck 22.

Av. *vyabtra-*, etym.? Barth. 1475 f.

## 16.64 THANKS

|                                  |                            |                                |
|----------------------------------|----------------------------|--------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>χάρις</i>                | Goth. <i>awiliuþ, þank</i> | Lith. <i>padėka</i>            |
| NG <i>εὐχαριστία</i> (vb.)       | ON <i>þokk</i>             | Lett. <i>pateikšana</i>        |
| Lat. <i>grātiae</i>              | Dan. <i>tak</i>            | ChSl. <i>blagoděti, chvala</i> |
| It. <i>grazie</i>                | Sw. <i>tack</i>            | SCr. <i>hvala</i>              |
| Fr. <i>remerciements, grâces</i> | OE <i>þanc</i>             | Boh. <i>děky</i>               |
| Sp. <i>gracias</i>               | ME <i>thanke(s)</i>        | Pol. <i>dzięk</i>              |
| Rum. <i>mulțumire</i>            | NE <i>thanks</i>           | Russ. <i>blagodarnost'</i>     |
| Ir. <i>buidhe</i>                | Du. <i>dank</i>            | Skt. <i>kṛtājñātā-</i>         |
| Nlr. <i>buidhechas</i>           | OHG <i>danc</i>            |                                |
| W. <i>diolch</i>                 | MHG <i>danc</i>            |                                |
| Br. <i>trugarez</i>              | NHG <i>dank</i>            |                                |

Words that express the feeling of 'thankfulness, gratitude' are either the same as, or more often derived from, those for 'thanks' (e.g. through the adjs., NE *thank-ful-ness*, NHG *dank-bar-keit*, etc.), which are therefore preferred in the list and discussion. This heading is intended as = NE *thanks* in *give thanks*, etc. (sg. *thank* obs., and in several of the other languages the pl. obligatory or

usual in this sense); not as = *thanks!* and similar polite expressions, which, though of the same group, with some exceptions (e.g. Lith. *ačiū*, fr. the sound of a sneeze = 'good luck, God bless you'; Russ. *spasibo* : *spasat'* 'save, spare'), are not always identical with the forms listed (e.g. Fr. *merci*).

The words are cognate with others for 'joy, pleasure, praise, favor, recognition',

with good-will greetings (Rum.); and the Gmc. group was orig. 'thought' (> 'thoughtfulness' > 'thanks'). Or a verb for 'say' or the like may be specialized to 'say thanks, give thanks' (cf. under Ir. and Lett., below).

1. Grk. *χάρις* 'favor, grace' and esp. 'thanks' (Hom. +) : *χαρά* 'joy', *χαίρω* 'rejoice', etc. (16.22). Hence *εὐχαριστέω* usual vb. for 'thank' in LXX, NT, etc. (earlier *χάρις* with vbs.), as reg. in NG (where the sb. is used mostly in other senses or in phrases 'thanks to, for the sake of'); also *εὐχαριστία* 'giving of thanks, thankfulness' (so NG, but *εὐχαρίστησις* is 'satisfaction, pleasure').

2. Lat. *grātia* 'favor, kindness' and (mostly pl.) *grātiae* 'thanks' (> It. *grazie*, Fr. *grâces*, Sp. *gracias*), beside adj. *grātus* 'pleasing' and 'thankful', prob. (cf. Osc. *brateis* 'gratiae') : Skt. *gṛtāra* 'welcome, agreeable', gr- 'praise' (3sg. *gṛtāti*), Lith. *girti* 'praise', etc. Walde-P. 1.686. Ernout-M. 432 f. Walde-H. 1.619 f.

Fr. *remerciements*, fr. vb. *remercier*, OFr. *mercier* 'thank', fr. *merci* 'favor, kindness' (> ME, NE *mercy*), now 'thanks!', fr. Lat. *mercēs* 'wages, price', whence in eccl. language 'reward, favor'. REW 5517. Gamillscheg 607, 753.

Rum. *mulțumire*, fr. vb. *mulțumi* 'thank', this fr. the greeting *mulți ani* 'many years' (like NG *ἐν πολλῷ*). Tiktin 1019.

3. Ir. *buidhe*, Nlr. *buidhe* or *buidhechas* (fr. adj. *buidheach* 'thankful') : W. *bodd* 'will, good will, pleasure', *bod-dhan* 'please' (16.21), etc.

For vb. 'thank' Ir. *atluichur* (with or without *buidhe*), cpd. *ad-luich-* : *do-luichur* 'ask for', perh. ChSl. *tlūkā*, Russ. *tolk* 'meaning, sense'. Walde-P. 1.744. Pedersen 1.43, 2.650.

W. *diolch*, older *diolwch*, cpd. of *gotwch* 'worship, prayer', cf. also *adolwch* 'en-

treaty', root connection? Pedersen 2.650.

Br. *trugarez* 'pity' (16.35), used also for 'thanks' under influence of Fr. *merci*. 4. Goth. *þank* (once, acc. sg.), OE *þanc*, OHG *danc*, etc., general Gmc., orig. 'thought' (as, beside 'thanks', in OE, OHG) : Goth. *þankjan*, OE *þencan*, OHG *denken*, etc. 'think' (17.14). Walde-P. 1.744. Falk-Torp 1242.

Goth. *awiliuþ* (for *χάρις* and *εὐχαριστία*), with vb. *awiliuðōn* (reg. for 'thank', once also 'praise'), cpd. *awi-liuð-*, first part : Skt. *av-* 'favor', Lat. *auēre* 'desire eagerly', etc., second part : OE *lēoþ*, OHG *liod* 'song'. Walde-P. 1.19, 2.406. Feist 51.

5. Lith. *padėka*, less commonly *dėka*, through Slavic fr. Gmc., cf. Boh. *dík*, below, 6.

Lett. *pateikšana*, fr. *pateikti* 'say, relate' and esp. 'thank', cpd. of *teikt* 'say' (18.22). Mühl-Endz. 3.120, 4.156 f.

6. ChSl. *blagoděti, blagodati* (reg. for *χάρις* in Gospels), SCr. *blagodjet, blagodat* (mostly biblical), cpd. of *blagā* 'good' (influence of Grk. *εὖ* in *εὐχαριστία*) and \**dēti* : ChSl. *dēti* 'place, put', Grk. *τίθημι*, etc. Berneker 178. Similarly Russ. *blagodarnost'* ('thankfulness' and 'thanks'; SCr. *blagodarnost'* 'thankfulness'), *blagodarenie*, fr. vb. *blagodariti*, late ChSl. *blagodariti*, cpd. of *dariti* 'give'.

ChSl. *chvala* (in Gospels freq. for *χάρις*, but also for *αἶνος* 'praise'), SCr. *hvala*, both also and general Slavic 'praise' (16.79), use as 'thanks' prob. secondary. K. Meyer, Donum nat. Schrijnen 408 ff.

Boh. *dík* (mostly in pl. *děky*), earlier *děk, diek* (> Pol. *dzięka* > Ukr. *djaka*, Lith. *dėka*; Pol. now usually *dzięk* pl.), fr. OHG, MHG *danc* (above, 4). Berneker 193 f. Brückner 112.

7. Skt. *kṛtājñātā*, beside adj. *kṛtājñā* 'thankful', lit. 'recognizing the deed', cpd. of *kṛta-* 'done' and *jñā-* 'know'.

## 16.65 FAITHFUL

|                                   |   |                        |
|-----------------------------------|---|------------------------|
| Grk. <i>πίστις</i>                | Goth. <i>triggws</i>                    | Lith. <i>ištikimas</i> |
| NG <i>πίστις</i>                  | ON <i>tryggv, trār</i>                  | Lett. <i>uzticīgs</i>  |
| Lat. <i>fidus, fidelis</i>        | Dan. <i>tro</i>                         | ChSl. <i>věrnū</i>     |
| It. <i>fedele, leale</i>          | Sw. <i>trogen</i>                       | SCr. <i>vjeran</i>     |
| Fr. <i>fidèle, loyal</i>          | OE <i>getrēwe, trēowe</i>               | Boh. <i>věrný</i>      |
| Sp. <i>fiel, leal</i>             | ME <i>trewe, faithful</i>               | Pol. <i>wierny</i>     |
| Rum. <i>credincios, statornic</i> | NE <i>trouw, faithful, loyal (true)</i> | Russ. <i>vernij</i>    |
| Ir. <i>iressach</i>               | Du. <i>trouw</i>                        | Skt. <i>bhaktā-</i>    |
| Nlr. <i>dilis</i>                 | OHG <i>gitrīuwi</i>                     | Av. <i>aradra-</i>     |
| W. <i>fyddlon</i>                 | MHG <i>getruiwe, truiwe</i>             |                        |
| Br. <i>fiel, leal</i>             | NHG <i>treu, getreu</i>                 |                        |

Words for 'faithful' are most commonly connected with vbs. for 'trust' or 'believe', or with adjs. for 'true' (in the current sense of NE *true*, 16.66). The Gmc. group rests ultimately on the notion of 'sound, steadfast', or the like. Certain words for 'loyal', orig. 'conforming to the law', have come to be equivalent to 'faithful' in many phrases (cf. NE *loyal friend* = *faithful friend*).

1. Grk. *πίστις*, beside *πίστις* 'faith, belief' : *πειθω* 'persuade', mid. 'trust, obey, believe', Lat. *fidere* 'trust', *fidus*, *fidelis* 'faithful', *fidēs* 'faith, belief', further connections dub. Walde-P. 2.139. Ernout-M. 356 ff. Walde-H. 1.493 ff.

2. Lat. *fidus, fidelis* (> It. *fedele*, OFr. *feoil*, and *feal*, Fr. *fidèle*, Sp. *fiel*. REW 3283), above, 1.

Fr. *loyal* (OFr. *leel* > It. *leale*), Sp. *leal*, orig. 'according to law', fr. Lat. *lēgālis*, deriv. of *lēx* 'law'. REW 4968.

Rum. *credincios*, fr. *credință* 'faith, honor, uprightness', VLat. \**credentia* (cf. It. *credenza*, Fr. *croynance*, etc.), fr. Lat. *crēdere* 'believe'. REW 2307. Tiktin 433 f.

Rum. *statornic*, lit. 'constant, firm, steady', late formation fr. *sta* 'stand, sit, lie', in imitation of Slavic *stalan* 'stable, firm'. Tiktin 1486 f.

5. Lith. *ištikimas*, Lett. *uzticīgs*, fr. Lith. *ištikėti*, Lett. *uzticēt* 'trust', perfect forms of Lith. *tikėti*, Lett. *ticēt* 'believe' (17.15).

6. ChSl. *věrnū*, etc., general Slavic,

W. *fyddlon*, cpd. of *fydd* 'faith' (fr. Lat. *fidēs*) and *llawen* 'full', prob. semantic borrowing fr. NE *faithful*.

Br. *feal*, fr. OFr. *feal* (above, 2). Henry 120.

Br. *leal*, fr. OFr. *leel* (above, 2). Henry 181.

4. Goth. *triggws*, ON *tryggv* (Dan. *tryg*, Sw. *trygg* 'safe'), OE *getrēwe, trēwe*, ME *trewe*, NE *true* (now mostly arch. in this sense), OS *triuwi*, Du. *trouw*, OHG *gitrīuwi*, MHG *getruiwe*, late *triu(we)*, NHG *treu, getreu*, Gmc. \**trēw-* beside \**trūw-* in ON *trār*, Dan., Sw. *tro* (Sw. now only religious 'believing'; for general sense *trogen*, deriv. of vb. *tro* 'believe', cf. Hellquist 1008) : OPruss. *druiwis* 'belief, faith', *druiwīt* 'believe', Lith. *driūtas* 'strong, firm', ChSl. *sū-dravū* 'well, sound', Skt. *dhruwa-* Av. *drwa-*, OPers. *durwa-* 'firm, sound, secure', Ir. *derb* 'certain', *dron* 'firm', all ultimately, with notion of 'firm', connected with words for 'oak' and 'tree'. Walde-P. 1.804 ff. Falk-Torp 1284 f., 1290.

ME, NE *faithful*, fr. sb. *faith*, fr. OFr. *feid, feit*, fr. Lat. *fidēs* (above, 1). NED s.v.

NE *loyal*, fr. Fr. *loyal* (above, 2). NED s.v.

5. Lith. *ištikimas*, Lett. *uzticīgs*, fr. Lith. *ištikėti*, Lett. *uzticēt* 'trust', perfect forms of Lith. *tikėti*, Lett. *ticēt* 'believe' (17.15).

6. ChSl. *věrnū*, etc., general Slavic,

fr. *vēra* 'belief, faith' : Lat. *vērus* 'true', etc. (16.66). Walde-P. 1.286.

7. Skt. *bhaktā-*, also 'devoted to', lit. 'allotted to, granted' (cf. NHG *ergeben*), ppl. of *bhāj-* 'deal out, distribute, divide'. Walde-P. 2.127 f.

Av. *aradra-*, perh. : *arad-, arad-* 'promote, advance, make thrive', Skt. *radh-* 'thrive, prosper', *radh-* 'be successful, prosper, be happy'. Walde-P. 1.74. Barth. 195.

## 16.66 TRUE

(Or in part sb. Truth)

|                           |                             |  |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|--|
| Grk. <i>ἀλήθεια</i> (sb.) | Goth. <i>sunja</i> (sb.)    | Lith. <i>teisingas</i>                     |
| NG <i>ἀλήθεια</i> (sb.)   | ON <i>sannr</i>             | Lett. <i>paties</i>                        |
| Lat. <i>veritas</i>       | Dan. <i>sand</i>            | ChSl. <i>istina</i> (sb.)                  |
| It. <i>vero</i>           | Sw. <i>sann</i>             | SCr. <i>istina</i> (sb.)                   |
| Fr. <i>vrai</i>           | OE <i>sōð, sōþ-lic, wār</i> | Boh. <i>pravda</i> (sb.)                   |
| Sp. <i>verdad</i> (sb.)   | ME <i>sooth, trewe</i>      | Pol. <i>prawda</i> (sb.)                   |
| Rum. <i>adevăr</i> (sb.)  | NE <i>true</i>              | Russ. <i>pravda</i> (sb.)                  |
| Ir. <i>fīr</i>            | Du. <i>waar</i>             | Skt. <i>satya-</i>                         |
| Nlr. <i>fīor</i>          | OHG <i>wār(i)</i>           | Av. <i>hašiya-</i> , OPers. <i>hašiya-</i> |
| W. <i>gwir</i>            | MHG <i>wār, were</i>        |  |
| Br. <i>gwir</i>           | NHG <i>wahr</i>             |  |

'True' is intended here, not as 'faithful, trustworthy' or 'real, genuine', but as 'consistent with fact', that is, in that sense of NE *true* which prevails in the sb. *truth* as the opposite of *lie*. The sbs. for 'truth' are most commonly derived from the adjs. for 'true', hence the latter are generally preferred in the list. But in some cases the opposite relation holds. Furthermore, in several languages the substantival is preferred to the adj. expression, that is, 'it is true' is expressed as 'it is the truth', while the adj. derivs. are used more in the sense of 'truthful', or 'real, genuine'.

No NG *ἀλήθεια*, Sp. *verdad*, Russ. *pravda*, and frequently elsewhere. Hence the sb. forms instead of adjs. are in part entered in the list.

It is worthy of note that there are no primary vbs. for 'speak the truth' (usually a phrase, sometimes a denom.) in contrast to those for 'lie'.

Apart from an inherited group, the words are based on such notions as 'not escaping notice', 'existing, actual', 'straight, upright, just', and 'faithful'.

For this and the following group, cf.

H. Frisk, "Wahrheit" und "Lüge" in den indogermanischen Sprachen (Götterborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 1935.3).

1. IE \**wēro-*, ultimate root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.285 f. Ernout-M. 1095.

Lat. *vērus*, with sb. *vēritas*; Ir. *fīr*, Nlr. *fīor*, W., Br. *gwir*; OE *wār* (but rare and dub. in this sense), OS *wār*, OHG *wār, wāri*, MHG *wār, were*, NHG *wahr*, Du. *waar*; cf. Goth. *tuz-wērjan* 'doubt', ChSl. *věra* 'belief, faith', *věrnū* 'faithful', *věrovati* 'believe'; further connections, as with the group Lat. *verēri* 'revere', OE *waru* 'care, heed', *war* 'aware', OHG *bi-warōn* 'care for, guard', etc., or with the group preferred by Walde-P. 1. c., wholly doubtful.

2. Grk. *ἀλήθης*, Dor. *ἀλᾱθής*, with sb. *ἀλήθεια* (in pop. NG the usual expression, as *ἀλήθεια εἶνα* 'it is true'), neg. cpd. of \**λῆθος*, Dor. *lāthos* = *lāth* 'forgetting' : *λανθάνω* (also *lāthō*) 'escape notice', mid. 'forget', Lat. *laetere* 'be concealed, be unknown', etc. Walde-P. 2.377 f. Boisacq 554 f. Ernout-M. 526. Walde

Rum. *îngădeciune, îngădătorie*, fr. *îngela* 'deceive' = *îngela* 'saddle'. This use influenced by SCR. *nasamariti* 'play a joke on', deriv. of *samar* 'pack-saddle'. Skok, Arch. sl. Ph. 37.84.

Rum. *amăgire*, fr. *amăgi* 'deceive, delude', prob. (with prefix *a-* fr. *ad-*) fr. Grk. *μαγεῖω* 'bewitch'. Tiktin 55.

3. Ir. *togáis*, vbl. n. of *do-gáithim* 'deceive': *gáith* 'wise', *gáes* 'wisdom'. Cf. development in Lat. *mentire* 'lie' (16.67). Pedersen 2.19, 412. Thurneysen, Gram. 446.

Ir. *celg*, Nlr. *cealg* : Arm. *ketek* 'hypocrisy', OE *hyle* 'bend, turn', Pol. *cozgać* 'creep, crawl'. Walde-P. 1.447. Pedersen 1.106.

Ir. *fell*, Nlr. *feall*, prob. : Lith. *ap-, pri-vilti* 'deceive', Lett. *vilt* id., etc. (cf. Lett. *vilšana*, below, 5). Walde-P. 1.298.

Ir. *meng* 'guile, deceit' (RIA Contrib. s.v.), prob. : Grk. *μαγαγεία* 'trickery', etc., Oset. *mäng* 'deceit', Toch. A *mark* 'fault'. Walde-P. 2.223. K. A. Schneider, KZ 66.253.

W. *tuyll*, Br. *touellerez, loellerez*, beside vbs. W. *tuylllo*, Br. *tuouella*, Corn. *tulle* 'deceive', etym.? Henry 267. Loth, RC 36.393 (vs. Morris Jones 182).

4. Goth. *afmarzeins* (ἀμάρτη), fr. *af-marzjan, marzjan* 'εκαθαλίζω, offend': OE *mierran* 'hinder', OHG *merren* 'hinder, vex', MHG *marren* 'delay', outside connections dub. Feist 347. Walde-P. 2.279.

Goth. *liutei* (δόλος, also ὑπόκρισις 'hypocrisy'), OE *lot* : Goth. *liuts* 'hypocritical', OE *lytig* 'deceitful', ON *lyotr* 'ugly', perh. fr. the root in OE *lalan*, ON *luta* 'bow, stoop, fall', etc.; cf. also ChSl. *ludǫ* 'foolish', Russ. *ludii* 'deceive', Lith. *liusti* 'be sad', *liudnas* 'sad'. Feist 335. Walde-P. 2.416.

Goth. *lists* (μεθοδεία 'wile') = ON, OE OS, OHG *list* 'wisdom, art, artifice, cunning', whence with development of a bad connotation Du., NHG *list* 'cunning, craft, guile' and for 'deceit', esp. NHG *hinterlist* (cf. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v.), fr. the root of Goth. *lais* (pret. pres.) 'know', *laisjan*, OHG *lêran*, OE *læran* 'teach', etc. Feist 331 f. Walde-P. 2.404 f.

ON *svik*, Dan. *svig*, Sw. *svek*, OE *swic* in *swicdōm*, ME *swike, swikedom*, OHG *biswih*, also (with *ī* as in vb.) MHG *swich(e), beswich*, MLG *swik* : ON *svikja* 'betray', OE *swican* 'depart, cease, desert, betray', OHG *swichan* 'leave behind, desert', etc., prob. as 'bend, turn aside' fr. \**sweig-* beside \**sweik-* in ON *sveigr* 'pliant', *sveigja* 'bend', etc. Walde-P. 2.519. Falk-Torp 1215.

ON *tal* = OE *tāl* 'slander, blame' (16.78), OHG *zāla* 'ambush, peril', prob. fr. strong grade of the root in (Grk. *δόλος*, Lat. *dolus*?) ON *tal, tala, OE talu* 'talk, tale, reckoning, number', ON *telja*, OE *tellan* 'count, tell', etc. For semantic development cf. the use of ON *telja* at 'blame', OE *tellan* at 'charge, impute to', NE *tell* on. Walde-P. 1.808 f. Walde-H. 1.166 f. Falk-Torp 1243.

OE *fācen*, OS *fēcn*, OHG *feichan*, MHG *veichen* (ON *feikn* 'hurt, ruin') : Lat. *piget* 'vexes, disgusts', *piger* 'unwilling, lazy', fr. \**peig-* beside \**peik-* in Lith. *peikti* 'blame', etc. Walde-P. 2.11.

ME *deseyte* (deceipte, deceit, etc.), NE *deceit*, fr. OFr. *deceite, deceyte*, fr. past pp. of *deceveir*, Fr. *décevoir* (above, 2). NED s.v.

MHG *betroc*, NHG *betrug* (OHG *bitroc* 'phantom'), Du. *bedrog*, with vbs. OHG *bitriogan*, MHG, older NHG *betriegen* (NHG *betriegen*, after *betrug*), MLG *bedriegen* (pple. *bedragen*, whence Dan. *bedrage*, Sw. *bedraga*, with derivs. *bedrageri, bedrägeri* 'deceit'), simple forms OHG *triogan*, MHG *triegen* (NHG

*triügen*), etc. : ON *draugr* 'ghost', Skt. *droha-* 'injury, harm', *druh-* 'harm, be hostile to', Av. *druj-*, OPers. *draoga-* 'lie, deceit'. Walde-P. 1.874. Falk-Torp 56, 153. Weigand-H. 1.233, 2.1080.

5. Lith. *apgaulė, apgavas*, etc. : *apgauti* 'deceive', perfect. cpd. of *gauti* 'get' (11.16). Lett. *krāpšana*, fr. *krāpt* 'deceive' (Lith. *kropti* 'deceive, get the best of, defraud'), perh. : Lett. *kr'aut* 'heap', Lith. *krauti* 'lay up, heap, load', etc. 'Deceive' fr. 'lay on, cover'? Walde-P. 1.477. Berneker 605.

Lett. *vilšana, viltība*, fr. *vilt* 'deceive' (Lith. *ap-, pri-vilti* id.) : Ir. *fell*, Nlr. *feall* 'deceit' (above, 3). Mühl-Endz. 4.596. Walde-P. 1.298.

6. ChSl. *lišti* (in Gospels for ἀπάτη, δόλος, also πλάη 'error', πανουργία 'guile'), fr. Goth. *lists* (above, 4). Berneker 755. Stender-Petersen 336.

ChSl. *laka* (for δόλος, Supr., etc., later 'gulf, meadow'; cf. *lakarū* 'evil'), Russ. *luka* 'bend' (of a river, etc.) also 'deceit' (obs.), orig. 'bend' : ChSl. *sū-leka, -lēsti* 'bend', Lith. *lenkti* 'bend', etc. Walde-P. 2.435. Berneker 707 f., 739.

SCR. *prijēvara*, fr. vb. *prevariti* 'deceive, cheat' (also *varanje* fr. vb. *varati* id.), prob. : ChSl. *variti* 'go before, anticipate, forestall' (e.g. Mk. 6.33 *varisej je* = προῖλον αὐτοῖς 'outwent them' in K. James version, 'beat them to it' in U.S. slang; cf. NE *overreach* in sense of 'get the better of, outwit', NED s.v. 6), this : Lett. *vert* 'run' (Trautmann 353).

Boh. *klama*, vb. *klamati* 'cheat, deceive' = Pol. *klam, kłamstwo* 'lie', vb. *klamać* 'lie', SCR. dial. *klamati* 'reel, totter, nod', Slov. *klam* 'sleep', *klamati* 'walk as if dizzy, reel, stagger'. Semantic development prob. from 'ramble' (in

speech) to 'lie, deceive'. Berneker 508 f. Brückner 236.

Boh. *šal, šaleni, šalba*, Pol. *szalbiertwo* : Boh. *šáliti* 'deceive, cheat', Pol. *szaleć, szalić* 'go mad, drive mad', *szalony* 'mad' (17.23), Russ. *šalit'*, SCR. *šáliti se* 'play jokes', etc. Semantic development as in NE vb. *fool* (someone). Brückner 539 f. Miklosich 336 f.

Pol. *oszustwo, oszukiwanie*, etc. : *oszuścić, oszukać* 'deceive', *oszust* 'deceiver', cf. Boh. *ošusta* 'knave', *ošustiti* 'cheat' : Pol. *szust* 'sudden start, whim', Boh. *šust* 'rustle, noise', dial. 'folly, fool', etc. (prob. of imitative orig.), with development of various opprobrious terms fr. 'noisy'. Brückner 385.

Russ. *obman* : *manit'* 'entice, lure', Russ.-ChSl. *maniti* 'deceive', etc., from the root in ChSl. *na-majati* 'beckon to', Russ. *na-majať* 'let know by sign, deceive', Skt. *māyā-* 'artifice, trick, deceit, fraud'. Lith. *moti*, Lett. *mat* 'make a sign, beckon', etc. Walde-P. 2.218 f. Berneker 2.17 f.

7. Skt. *kapāṭa-*, perh. (\**kmp-*) : *kamp-* 'tremble' (if orig. 'bend, stoop'), Grk. *κάπτω* 'bend', Lith. *kumpti* 'bow'. Uhlenbeck 42. Walde-P. 1.350.

Skt. *chala-*, hence *chalaṃya-* 'deceive', etym. dub., perh. : *chada-* 'cover, covering', *chādāya-* 'cover, hide', *chadman-* 'disguise, pretext, fraud'. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. 1.222. Otherwise (: *skhal-* 'stumble') Uhlenbeck 94 (cf. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. 1.154).

Skt. *māyā-* : Russ. *obman*, etc. (above, 6).

Av. *druj-* 'lie, deceit', see 16.67.

Av. *divā-* : *divādyāi* (infm.) 'deceive', fr. *divā-* orig. desid. to *dab-* 'deceive', Skt. *dabh-* 'injure, hurt, deceive'. Walde-P. 1.850 f. Barth. 747.

## 16.69 FORGIVE

|      |  |       |                                |       |                                     |
|------|--|-------|--------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| Grk. | συγγιγνώσκω (ἀφίημι, etc.)             | Goth. | <i>afltan, fragiban</i>        | Lith. | <i>alleisti, dovanoti</i>           |
| NG   | συγχωρᾶ, συμπαθῶ                       | ON    | <i>fyrirgefa, miskunna</i>     | Lett. | <i>pieḑuot, oṭīpusiti, prostiti</i> |
| It.  | ignoscere (remittere, perdonare, etc.) | Dan.  | <i>tilgive</i>                 | ChSl. | <i>oprostiti</i>                    |
| Lat. | perdonare                              | Sw.   | <i>tilgiva</i>                 | Boh.  | <i>odpustiti</i>                    |
| Fr.  | pardonner                              | OE    | <i>forġie</i>                  | Pol.  | <i>przebaczyć</i>                   |
| Sp.  | perdonar                               | NE    | <i>forġie</i>                  | Russ. | <i>prostii</i>                      |
| Rum. | iertă                                  | Du.   | <i>vergeven</i>                | Skt.  | <i>kṣam-, mṛd-</i>                  |
| Ir.  | maithim                                | OHG   | <i>bilāzen, furlāzen, far-</i> | Av.   | <i>marāšdā-, apaharəz-</i>          |
| Nlr. | maithim                                |       | <i>geben</i>                   |       |                                     |
| W.   | maddeu                                 | MHG   | <i>vergeben</i>                |       |                                     |
| Br.  | pardon, trugarezi                      | NHG   | <i>verzeihen, vergeben</i>     |       |                                     |

'Forgive' has an emotional value and in a few cases an emotional background of sympathy or the like. But the majority of the words are based on prosaic notions, many being derivatives of words for 'give' (hence 'remit' a debt, etc.) or words for 'let go, release'.

Words for 'free from blame, excuse', like It. *scusare*, Fr. *excuser*, NE *excuse*, NHG *entschuldigen*, are often virtually 'forgive'.

1. Grk. *συγγιγνώσκω*, cpd. of *syn-* 'with' and *γιγνώσκω* 'know', so orig. 'agree with', hence 'have sympathy with, excuse, forgive' (the usual class. word; not in NT; NG sb. *συγγνώμη* as polite term for 'pardon!').

Grk. *ἀφίημι* 'let go, release' (11.34), sometimes 'remit' a charge or debt, in NT also the usual word for 'forgive'.

Grk. *χαρίζομαι* 'do a favor, grant' (fr. *χάρις* 16.64), in NT also sometimes 'forgive'.

Grk. *συγχωρῶ* ( : *χῶρος* 'place' 12.11), sometimes 'come together, meet' but mostly 'give way, yield, assent to, agree', hence NG 'forgive'.

NG *συμπαθῶ* 'sympathize with', in polite phrases 'excuse, forgive'.

2. Lat. *ignoscere*, cpd. of *in-* prob. = prep. *in* and (*g*)*noscere* 'know', with development through 'recognize one's attitude', hence 'have sympathy with, excuse, forgive', the last stage as in Grk.

*συγγιγνώσκω*. Ernout-M. 474. Walde-H. 1.677. The old view neg. *in-*, with development through 'ignore, overlook', is still not impossible. Specht, KZ 69.124 ff.

Lat. *dimittere* 'let go, release, renounce' and *remittere* 'return, release', both in late Lat. also 'forgive' (e.g. *dī-* in Itala, re-in Vulgate).

Late Lat. *perdonāre* (> It. *perdonare*, Fr. *pardonner*, Sp. *perdonar*), cpd. of *dōnāre* 'give'. REW 6405. Gamillscheg 670.

Rum. *iertă*, fr. late Lat. *libertāre* (cf. Arch. lat. Lex. 8.450) 'set free'. REW 5014.

3. Ir. *maithim*, fr. W. *maddeu* 'let go' and 'forgive', this prob. (through 'make or consider worthless, abolish') : Ir. *in-made* 'in vain', *maidim* 'break in pieces', etc. Walde-P. 2.231 f. Pedersen 1.110.

Br. *pardon*, fr. Fr. *pardonner*.

Br. *trugarezi*, deriv. of *trugarez* 'pity' (16.35).

4. Goth. *afltan* (reg. for ἀφίημι in all senses, including 'forgive'; also *fralētan*), OHG *furlāzen* (Tat., etc.), *bilāzen* (Otf., etc.), cpds. of Goth. *lētan*, etc. 'leave, let' (12.18).

Goth. *fragiban* (mostly 'give, grant', but also for χαρίζομαι as 'forgive'), ON *fyrirgefa*, OE *forġiefan*, ME, NE *forgive*, Du. *vergeven*, OHG *fargeben*, MHG, NHG *vergeben*, but Dan. *tilgive*, Sw. *til-*

*giva* (after MLG *togeven* = NHG *zugeben*; Falk-Torp 1260), cpds. of Goth. *giban*, etc. 'give'.

ON *miskunna*, cpd. of *mis-* and *kunna* 'know', with development through 'ignore, overlook'. Specht, KZ 69.124 f.

NHG *verzeihen*, formerly 'renounce' (whence *verzicht*), fr. OHG *farzihan*, MHG *verziehen* 'deny, renounce', cpd. of OHG *zihan* 'accuse' : Grk. *δείκνυμι* 'point out', etc. Weigand-H. 2.1171, 1310. Kluge-G. 655.

ME, NE *pardon* (more formal than *forgive*), fr. Fr. *pardonner* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *alleisti*, cpd. of *leisti* 'let go, let' (11.34, 19.47).

Lith. *dovanoti*, 'grant' and 'forgive', fr. *dovana* 'gift'.

Lett. *pieḑuot*, cpd. of *duot* 'give'.

6. ChSl. *otīpusiti* (reg. for ἀφίημι and ἀπολλῶ as 'let go' and 'forgive', Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 375 f.), Boh. *odpus-*

*titi* (Pol. *odpuścić* bibl. in this sense), cpds. of *pustiti* 'let go' (11.34).

ChSl. *prostiti* (Supr. 'set free, release' and 'forgive'), SCR. *oprostiti*, Russ. *prostii* (Boh. *prostiti* 'set free'), deriv. of ChSl. *prostū* 'simple, upright', etc., for which see 12.73.

Pol. *przebaczyć*, cpd. of *baczyć* 'be attentive, take heed' with *prze-* 'over across', semantic development through 'overlook' (cf. *przemilczec* 'pass over in silence'). But also *wybaczyć*, with perfect. *wy-*. Brückner 10.

7. Skt. *kṣam-* 'have patience, endure', hence 'forgive', etym.?

Skt. *mṛd-*, Av. *marāšdā-* 'be gracious, forgive' (cf. NPers. *amurzidan* 'forgive'), fr. an extension of Skt. *mṛj-*, Av. *marəz-* 'rub, stroke'. Walde 2.298. Barth. 1175.

Av. *apaharəz-* ('remit' a penalty, Vd. 5.26), cpd. of *harez-* 'let go, release' (11.34). Barth. 586 s.v. *šāda-*, 1793.

## 16.71 GOOD (adj.)

|      |                     |       |                             |                |                                    |
|------|---------------------|-------|-----------------------------|----------------|------------------------------------|
| Grk. | ἀγαθός, καλός (εὖ-) | Goth. | <i>gōða, þiuþeigs, sēls</i> | Lith.          | <i>geras, labas</i>                |
| NG   | καλός, ἀγαθός       | ON    | <i>gōðr</i>                 | Lett.          | <i>labs</i>                        |
| Lat. | bonus               | Dan.  | <i>god</i>                  | ChSl.          | <i>dobrŭ, blagŭ</i>                |
| It.  | buono               | Sw.   | <i>god</i>                  | SCR.           | <i>dobar</i>                       |
| Fr.  | bon                 | OE    | <i>gōd</i>                  | Boh.           | <i>dobry</i>                       |
| Sp.  | bueno               | ME    | <i>gode</i>                 | Pol.           | <i>dobry</i>                       |
| Rum. | bun                 | NE    | <i>good</i>                 | Russ.          | <i>chorošij</i>                    |
| Ir.  | maith (dag-, so-)   | Du.   | <i>goed</i>                 | Skt.           | <i>sādhu-, bhadra-, rasu-</i>      |
| Nlr. | maith (deagh-, so-) | OHG   | <i>guot</i>                 | ( <i>eu-</i> ) |                                    |
| W.   | da, mad (hy-)       | MHG   | <i>guot</i>                 | Av.            | <i>vañhu- (hu-), OPers. naiba-</i> |
| Br.  | ma                  | NHG   | <i>gut</i>                  |                |                                    |

'Good' is understood as the most generic adjective of approval, by no means restricted to moral qualities. All the words were doubtless more specific originally, and among those the etymology of which is clear we note as sources such as 'fitting', 'straight, right', 'beautiful', 'orderly', etc.

Certain important prefixes for 'good, well-' are listed. A more comprehensive treatment would include also the advs., which may belong with the common

good health'; Gall. *Su-* in proper names, Ir. *so-*, W. *hy-*. For traces in Balto-Slavic, cf. Fraenkel, Mélanges Pedersen 443 ff.

Grk. *εὖ-*, the semantic equivalent (*εὖ-* related to *δω-* precisely as Skt. *su-* to *du-*), beside Hom. *εὖς, ἥς* 'good, brave', prob. : Hitt. *assus* 'good' fr. IE \**es-* 'be'. Friedrich, IF 41.370 f.

2. Grk. *ἀγαθός*, etym. disputed, perh. : *ἀγα-* 'very', *ἀγαμαι* 'admire', etc. Boissac 4 f.

Grk. *καλός*, mostly 'beautiful' (16.81), but often also 'good', and so reg. in NG, where *ἀγαθός* is less common.

3. Lat. *bonus* (> Romance words), OLat. *duenos, duonous*, etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.778. Ernout-M. 114. Walde-H. 1.111.

4. Ir. *maith*, W. *mad*, Br. *mat*, Corn. *mas* (cf. Gall. *Teutomatos*), prob. : Lat. *Mātūla* 'Goddess of morning', *mātūrus* 'seasonable, early', *māne* 'morning', OLat. *mānus* 'good'. Walde-P. 2.220 f. Ernout-M. 588. Walde-H. 2.54.

Ir. *dag-, deg-*, Nlr. *deagh-*, W. *da* (Br. *da* in phrases *da eo d'in* 'je vub bien'), Gall. *Dago-vassus*, etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.784. Pedersen 1.39.

5. Goth. *gōða*, ON *gōðr*, OE *gōd*, etc., general Gmc. : OHG *gigat* 'fitting', MLG *gaden* 'fit, please', OE *geador* 'together', etc., ChSl. *godŭ* 'proper' time', *u-goditi* 'please', etc. Walde-P. 1.532. Feist 218. Falk-Torp 336.

Goth. *þiuþ* neut. (renders *τὸ ἀγαθόν*), whence also *þiuþeigs* (freq. for *ἀγαθός*) : ON *þjóðr* 'kind', OE *geþiede* 'good, virtuous', perh. fr. the root in Lat. *tuēri* 'regard, protect', *tūtus* 'safe', etc. Walde-P. 1.705 f. Feist 498. Falk-Torp 1306.

Goth. *sēls* 'good, kind' (*ἀγαθός, χρηστός*), with sb. *sēlet* : OE *gesēlig* 'blessed, happy', etc., outside connections disputed (16.24).

6. Lith. *geras* : *girti* 'praise', Skt. *gr-*

'sing, praise', etc. (16.79). Walde-P. 1.686. Buga, Kalba ir Senovė 168.

Lith. *labas* (usual only in greetings, as *labas rytas, laba diena* 'good morning, good day'), Lett. *labs*, OPruss. *labs* : Lith. *lobis* 'possessions, riches', *lobti* 'get rich', Skt. *labh-* 'seize, grasp'. Walde-P. 2.385.

7. ChSl. *dobrŭ*, etc., general Slavic (Russ. *dobryj* now in phrases like 'good day', but mostly 'kind') : *po-doba jestŭ* 'it is becoming', *po-dobiti* 'make fitting', Goth. *ga-daban* 'happen', OE *ge-dafen* 'becoming', etc. Berneker 203-5. Walde-P. 1.824 f.

ChSl. *blagŭ* (reg. for *ἀγαθός* and *χρηστός* 'good' in moral sense, cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 326), in modern Slavic mostly 'gentle, blessed, noble', etc., never general for 'good', etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.182. Berneker 69.

Russ. *chorošij* (has displaced *dobryj* as the common word for 'good'), orig. 'orderly, neat', hypocoristic formation fr. ORuss. *choronenŭ*, pple. of *choroniti* 'put in order' : ChSl. *chraniti* 'guard, keep'. Berneker 397. Jagić, Arch. sl. Ph. 6.282 ff.

8. Skt. *sādhu-*, orig. 'straight, right, ready', fr. *sād-* 'reach one's goal, accomplish, guide aright, etc.'. Walde-P. 2.450.

Skt. *bhadra-*, also 'blessed, auspicious, fair', prob. : Goth. *batiza* 'better', *batists* 'best'. Walde-P. 2.151 f. Falk-Torp 67.

Skt. *vasu-* (Vedic in this sense; later mostly as neut. sb. 'goods, wealth'), Av. *vañ*

| 16.73 RIGHT (adj., in moral sense, vs. Wrong) |                         |   |  |
|---|-------------------------|---|--|
| Grk. <i>δίκαιος</i>                           | Goth. <i>garaihts</i>   | Lith. <i>teisus</i>                     |  |
| NG <i>δίκαιος</i>                             | ON <i>reit</i>          | Let. <i>taisna</i>                      |  |
| Lat. <i>iustus</i> ( <i>rectus</i> )          | Dan. <i>ret</i>         | ChSl. <i>pravdiŋŋ</i>                   |  |
| It. <i>giusto</i> ( <i>retto</i> )            | Sw. <i>rätt</i>         | SCr. <i>prav</i>                        |  |
| Fr. <i>juste</i>                              | OE <i>riht</i>          | Boh. <i>pravý</i>                       |  |
| Sp. <i>justo</i>                              | ME <i>riht, right</i>   | Pol. <i>prawy</i>                       |  |
| Rum. <i>drept, just</i>                       | NE <i>right</i>         | Russ. <i>pravýj</i>                     |  |
| Ir. <i>cert, cōir</i>                         | Du. <i>recht</i>        | Skt. <i>ṛta-, ṛju-</i>                  |  |
| NlR. <i>ceart, cōir</i>                       | OHG <i>reht</i>         | Av. <i>ərəša-,</i> OPers. <i>rāsta-</i> |  |
| W. <i>iawm, cyfawm, cywir</i>                 | MHG <i>reht, gereht</i> | (sb.)                                   |  |
| Br. <i>gwirion, eueu</i>                      | NHG <i>reht, gereht</i> |   |  |

'Right' is understood here in its moral sense and in the adj. form.

Many of the words are used alike of things and persons, but in the latter context different forms (mostly not included in the list) may be preferred, e.g. NE *upright* or *just* (NE *right* formerly of persons in moral sense, but now obs.), NHG *gerecht* vs. *recht*, and so generally in Slavic. Many mean also, some primarily, 'right' in the legal sense. Several are also the usual terms for 'right' = 'correct'; but this notion is often expressed by differentiated forms (e.g. NHG *richtig*) or quite unrelated words (e.g. Grk. *ἀληθής* 'true' or *ὁρθός* 'straight', NG *ὀρθός* 'certain, correct', orig. 'safe'). Again, several have come to be used for the directional 'right' ('right hand', etc.), but the older terms for this were quite different (12.41).

The most common semantic source is 'straight'. Some meant originally 'in accordance with custom or law', or 'certain, true'.

1. Grk. *δίκαιος* (Hom. 'observant of custom', later 'right, just' in both moral and legal sense), fr. *δίκη* 'custom, right', later esp. 'lawsuit' (21.13).

2. Lat. *iustus* (> It. *giusto*, Fr. *juste*, Sp. *justo*; Rum. *just* recent borrowing) 'right, just' in moral as well as legal sense: *iūs* 'right', esp. 'legal right, law' (21.11).

Lat. *rectus* (> It. *retto*) 'straight' (12.73) also 'right', esp. sb. *rectum*.

Rum. *drept* ('right' in all senses including moral, cf. *drept om* 'just man', etc.) fr. Lat. *dērectus* for *dirēctus* 'straight' (12.73). Other Romance derivs. of this form (or the neut. sb.), as *It. dritto*, Fr. *droit*, Sp. *derecho*, are mostly 'straight', or 'right' in other senses, or sbs. for 'right' esp. legal.

3. Ir. *cert*, NlR. *ceart*, fr. Lat. *certus* 'fixed, true, faithful' (cf. *amicus certus* 'true friend', etc.). Pedersen 1.227. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 125 (with?).

Ir. *cōir*, W. *cywir* (these also 'correct, true'), cpd. of Ir. *co-*, W. *cy-* 'com-' and Ir. *fir*, W. *Br. gwir* 'true' (16.66); whence also Ir. *fīrdán*, Br. *gwirion* 'just' (both mostly of persons; W. *gwirion* 'innocent, foolish'), second part to following(?). Pedersen 1.64, 92. Thurneysen, Gram. 123, 569.

W. *iawm* and *cyf-iawm*, Br. *eueu*, etym. dub. (: Goth. *ibus* 'level?'). Pedersen 1.92. Henry 110. Thurneysen, Idg. Anz. 26.26.

4. Goth. *garaihts* (reg. for *δίκαιος*; *raihts* only for *εὐδής* 'straight'), ON *reit*, OE *riht*, OHG *reht*, etc. general Gmc. (with numerous derivs. partly differentiated in use, but not added in list): Lat. *rectus* 'straight', etc. (12.73).

ME *iust*, NE *just*, fr. Fr. *juste* (above, 2), but mostly of narrower scope.

5. Lith. *teisus*, teisingas (also 'true'), Lett. *taisns* (also 'straight'): Lith. *tiesus* 'straight', etc. (12.73).

6. ChSl. *pravŋ* 'straight' (12.73), but

general Slavic 'right'. Hence sb. ChSl. *pravida* 'right' (SCr. id.; Boh., Pol., Russ. 'truth'), and fr. this ChSl. *pravdiŋŋ* (reg. for *δίκαιος*), SCr. *pravdan*, Boh. *spravedlivý*, Pol. *sprawiedliwy*, Russ. *spravedlivyj* (forms used esp. of 'just' persons).

7. Skt. *ṛta-* 'suitable, right', beside sb. *ṛta-m* = OPers. *arta-*, Av. *ərə-* 'truth, right' in religious sense, whence Skt. *ṛtāvan-*, Av. *ašāvan-* 'just, righteous, holy', all fr. root in Grk. *ἀραρίσκω* 'fit', etc. Walde-P. 1.70.

Skt. *ṛju-* 'straight' (: Lat. *rectus*, etc., 12.73), also 'right, just' = Av. *ərəzu-* 'straight, right', whence adv. *ərəš* 'rightly' (cf. also *arš-uzda* 'rightly spoken'), and fr. this (at least in sense) *ərəša-* 'just' and 'true' (perh. in form = Skt. *ṛṣva-* 'high'). Barth. 352, 355, 356.

Av. *rašnu-* 'just, righteous' but mostly sb. 'lord of justice', fr. *raz-* 'direct': Lat. *regere* 'direct, rule' (same root as in preceding group). Barth. 1516 f.

OPers. *rāsta-* neut. sb. (NR a 59, b 7, 11), fr. the same root as the preceding and in form = Lat. *rectum*.

16.74. Words for 'wrong' in moral sense as opposite of 'right' are not given in a formal list, since they are in large measure simply neg. cpds. of those for 'right' (or allied forms), e.g. Grk. *ἀ-δ-*

## 16.75 SIN

|   |                                      |                                     |
|---|--------------------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Grk. ( <i>μαίωμαι</i> , etc.) <i>ἀμαρία</i> | Goth. <i>fravaurhts</i>              | Lith. <i>nuodėmė (griekas)</i>      |
| NG <i>ἀμαρία</i>                            | ON <i>synd</i>                       | Let. <i>grēchā</i>                  |
| Lat. <i>peccatum</i>                        | Dan. <i>synd</i>                     | ChSl. <i>grjchŋ</i>                 |
| It. <i>peccato</i>                          | Sw. <i>synd</i>                      | SCr. <i>grjch</i>                   |
| Fr. <i>péch</i>                             | OE <i>syn(n)</i> ( <i>forwyrht</i> ) | Boh. <i>hřich</i>                   |
| Sp. <i>pecado</i>                           | ME <i>sinne</i>                      | Pol. <i>grzech</i>                  |
| Rum. <i>păcat</i>                           | NE <i>sin</i>                        | Russ. <i>grech</i>                  |
| Ir. <i>peccad, immarmus</i>                 | Du. <i>zonde</i>                     | Skt. <i>pāpa-, pātaka-, enas-</i>   |
| NlR. <i>peccadh</i>                         | OHG <i>sunta</i>                     | Av. <i>stara-, a-stara-, aēnah-</i> |
| W. <i>pechod</i>                            | MHG <i>sunde</i>                     |                                     |
| Br. <i>pe'ched</i>                          | NHG <i>sunde</i>                     |                                     |

etym. disputed, but prob. : Goth. *sunjis*, ON *sanmr* 'true', Skt. *satya-* 'real, true', with semantic development fr. 'true, real' to 'the really' guilty'. Cf. ON *verða sannr* at 'be found guilty of' or *bera sannan* at 'find guilty of' and Lat. *sons, sōntis* 'guilty'. So (since Grimm) Falk-Torp 1226, Weigand-H. 2.110, Ernout-M. 957. Otherwise and variously Walde-P. 2.514, Kluge-G. 606 (after E. Schroeder, KZ 56.106 ff.).

5. Lith. *griekas* (formerly the reg. word and so in biblical texts), Lett. *grēks*, OPers. *griaka*, fr. the Slavic, cf. below.

Lith. *nuodėmė* (now favored as a native word vs. the loanword *griekas*), fr. *nuosidėti* 'commit a sin', lit. 'lower oneself', refl. of *nudėti* 'put down', cpd. of *dėti* 'put'.

6. ChSl. *grēchŋ*, etc., general Slavic, with vb. ChSl. *grēsiti* 'sin', etc., etym. dub. Berneker 350 f. Brückner 161.

7. Skt. *pāpa-*, also general 'evil, harm', fr. adj. *pāpa-* 'bad, evil' (16.72).

Skt. *pātaka-* (with cpds. *atī-*, *mahā-*, etc. for different gradations of sin), fr. caus. of *pat-* 'fly, descend, fall', hence 'what causes one to fall' (either from right conduct, or perh. orig. from one's caste).

Skt. *enas-*, Av. *aēnah-* 'evil deed, sin', orig. 'deed of violence', fr. Skt., Av. *in-*, in Skt. 'send forth, force, overcome', in Av. 'overcome, give pain to'. Barth. 21.

For numerous other Skt. words, cf. Jolly, Recht und Sitte 115.

Av. *šyaoθna-* 'deed', also esp. 'evil deed, sin'. Barth. 1712.

Av. *stara-, astara-*, fr. *star-*, esp. *ā-star-* 'commit a sin', etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.636, 641. Barth. 1597 f. (but OPers. *mā starava* is a false reading).

## 16.76 FAULT, GUILT

|                                 |                        |                                     |
|---------------------------------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>σφάλμα, αῖρία</i>       | Goth. <i>fairina</i>   | Lith. <i>kaltė</i>                  |
| NG <i>σφάλμα, φταίσμα, ὁνοχ</i> | ON <i>feil</i>         | Let. <i>vaina</i>                   |
| Lat. <i>culpa, noxa</i>         | Dan. <i>synd</i>       | ChSl. <i>vina</i>                   |
| It. <i>colpa</i>                | Sw. <i>skuld</i>       | SCr. <i>krivica, krivnja</i>        |
| Fr. <i>faute</i>                | OE <i>scylð, gylt</i>  | Boh. <i>vina</i>                    |
| Sp. <i>falta, culpa</i>         | ME <i>faute, gilt</i>  | Pol. <i>vina</i>                    |
| Rum. <i>vină</i>                | NE <i>faute, guilt</i> | Russ. <i>vina</i>                   |
| Ir. <i>cin, locht, col</i>      | Du. <i>schuld</i>      | Skt. <i>aparādha-, ṛṣa-, doṣa-</i>  |
| NlR. <i>locht, cion</i>         | OHG <i>sculd</i>       | Av. <i>stara-, a-stara-, aēnah-</i> |
| W. <i>bai</i>                   | MHG <i>schult</i>      |                                     |
| Br. <i>fazi</i>                 | NHG <i>schult</i>      |                                     |

Several of the words listed, as Lat. *culpa*, Fr. *faute*, NE *fault*, cover 'fault' in two senses, namely: (a) a moral defect milder than 'sin' or 'vice' but more serious than a casual 'error', e.g. NE *he has many faults*; (b) moral responsibility for wrong doing, 'culpability, guilt', e.g. Lat. *mea culpa*, NE *my fault*.

Others are used only or mainly in the one sense or the other, e.g. Grk. *σφάλμα* (a), *αῖρία* (b). The Gmc., Balto-Slavic, and Indo-Iranian words are properly 'fault' in sense b, though some of them are or were once used for the wrongdoing itself (e.g. OE *scylð* for Lat. *scelus, delictum* as well as *culpa*; NHG *eine schuld tun*, now obs.). In these languages 'fault' in sense a is covered by words listed under 'error' (e.g. NHG *fehler*) or others; and a few of those listed here belong equally under 'error'. In sense b there is generally no distinction between 'fault' and 'guilt', but NE *guilt* has a much stronger implication of wrongdoing than *fault*.

Furthermore, 'fault' (a) may be expressed by various other words meaning properly 'lack, defect', e.g. Grk. *ἄλγεα* (fr. *ἀλ-λεπω* 'leave undone'), Lat. *delictum* (fr. *dē-liquere* 'fail, transgress'), or 'spot, blemish', e.g. Lat. *macula* often 'fault', esp. in church Latin.

1. Grk. *σφάλμα*, lit. 'a fall, misstep': *σφάλλα* 'cause to fall, overthrow', etym.

dub. Walde-P. 2.599, 678. Boisacq 927. Grk. *αῖρία* 'responsibility, guilt, cause', covering 'fault' in sense b, beside adj. *αῖριος* 'responsible, culpable', etym. dub., perh. *αἰσα* (\**aīra*) 'lot, destiny', Osc. *aetis* 'partis'. Walde-P. 1.2. Boisacq 30 f.

NG *φταίσμα*, fr. the vb. *φταίω* 'be at fault' (e.g. *φταίω ἐγώ* 'it's my fault, I am to blame'), fr. class. Grk. *πταίω* 'stumble, make a mistake', etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.21. Boisacq 820.

NG *ὁνοχ*, in late Grk. (pop.) 'liability', cf. *ὁνοχος* 'guilty' (21.35).

2. Lat. *culpa* (> It. *colpa*, OFr. *coupe*, Sp. *culpa*), OLat. *colpa*, Osc. *kulupu* 'culpa', etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.440. Ernout-M. 240. Walde-H. 1.304.

Lat. *noxa, noxia* 'harm, injury', hence also 'fault, offense, guilt' (*noxa* also 'punishment'): *nocēre* 'harm, injure' (11.28). Ernout-M. 669.

For Lat. *delictum*, It. *delitto*, etc., see under 'crime' (21.41).

Fr. *faute*, Sp. *falta*, also and orig. 'lack', fr. VLat. *\*fallita*, fr. *fallere* 'deceive, fail'. REW 3169.

Rum. *vină*, fr. the Slavic (below, 6).

3. Ir. *cin*, NlR. *cion* (also *cinnta*): Grk. *τίω* 'pay, atone', mid. 'punish', Skt. *ci-* 'revenge, punish', Av. *ci-* 'pay a penalty, atone', etc. Walde-P. 1.509. Pedersen 1.365.

Ir. *locht*, also (and in OIr. chiefly) 'a defect', perh. : ON *lōstr* 'defect, fault,

vice', OHG, OS *lastar* 'blame, reproach, insult', vbs. OHG *lahan*, OE *lēan* 'blame, reproach, scorn, etc.'. Walde-P. 2.436 f.

Ir. *col*, W. (kubs., Spurrell) *cwl* 'fault, sin', fr. *\*kulo-*: OHG *sculd*, etc. (below, 4). Loth, Z. celt. Ph. 17.147 f. Walde-H. 1.304.

W. *bai* (cf. vb. *beio* 'blame, censure'): Ir. *bāg* 'battle', *bāgaim* 'fight', OHG *bāgan, bāgēn* 'quarrel, fight', etc. Walde-P. 2.130. Pedersen 1.101.

Br. *fazi*, fr. MBr. *faziāff* 'be mistaken', fr. Fr. *faillir* 'fail, err' (Lat. *fallere*, cf. above Fr. *faute*). Henry 120.

4. Goth. *fairina* (reg. for *αῖρία*, once for *μομφή* 'blame'): ON *firn* 'an abomination', OE *firen*, OHG *firina* 'wicked deed, crime', etc., prob., as orig. 'transgression', deriv. of IE *\*per-* in Skt. *paras*, Grk. *πέπαι* 'beyond', and the Gmc. prefix Goth. *fair-*, OE *fer-*, OHG *fir-*, etc. 'away, past, out', Walde-P. 2.31. Feist 139 f.

ON *spk*, properly 'charge, accusation': OE *sacu* 'strife, contention, crime, guilt', OHG *sakan* 'strife, affair, cause', etc., vbs. Goth. *sakan* 'quarrel, contend', OE *sacan* 'fight, contend, charge, blame', etc. Falk-Torp 942 f. Walde-P. 2.449.

OE *scylð*, OHG *sculd*, MHG *schult*, also 'guilt, debt, crime, sin', Du., NHG *schuld* also 'guilt, debt', Dan. *skyld*, Sw. *skuld* id., prob. influenced in meaning by German, cf. ON *skyld* 'tax, due, sake', *skuld* 'debt, bondage': OE *sculan*, etc. 'owe, be obliged' (11.63). Walde-P. 2.596. Falk-Torp 1045.

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OE *scylð*, OHG *sculd*, MHG *schult*, also 'guilt, debt, crime, sin', Du., NHG *schuld* also



Goth. *faian*, vb. 'blame': Goth. *fījan*, etc. 'hate' (16.41), Skt. *pīy-* 'abuse, revile'. Walde-P. 2.9. Feist 135.

ON *last*, also epds. *lastorð*, *lastmæli* (orð 'word', *mæli* 'speech'), OHG, OS *lastar*, MHG *lastar* also 'reproach, insult, fault', etc., beside ON *lōstr* 'defect, fault, vice', OE *leahter* 'moral defect, crime, fault', etc.: vbs. OHG *lahan*, OE *lean* 'blame, reproach, scorn', etc., and perh. Ir. *loch* 'fault, defect' (16.76). Walde-P. 2.436 f. Falk-Torp 626. Torp, Nynorsk 365.

OE *tāl*, *tāl* (mostly 'slander' but also best word for 'blame', cf. e.g. Aelfric, Gram. p. 12, *tāl* as opp. of *herunge* 'praise'), ME (rare) *tele*, *tole* = ON *tāl* 'deceit', etc. (16.68).

ME, NE *blame*, Du. *blaam*, fr. Fr. *blâme* (above, 2).

NHG *tadel* (> Dan. *dadel*, Sw. *tadel*), fr. MHG *tadel* 'defect' (moral, or physical as 'spot on the skin'; cf. NHG *tadellos* 'faultless'; shift to 'blame' first in vb. *tadeln* 'find a defect in, find fault with', hence 'blame'), prob. orig. a LG form corresponding to MHG *zadel*, OHG *zadal* 'lack, suffering from hunger', etym. dub. Falk-Torp 133. Weigand-H. 2.1018.

NHG *vorwurf*, fr. *vorwerfen* 'throw before', hence, like NE *throw in one's teeth*, 'reproach, blame'.

5. Lith. (*pa*)*peikimas*, fr. (*pa*)*peikti* 'blame': *piktas* 'angry' (16.42).

Lett. *pal'a* (also 'defect, fault'): *pelt* 'abuse, calumniate', this perh.: Grk. *ἀπειλή* 'threat' and (with *s-*) Goth. *spill*

'story, tale', etc. Walde-P. 2.677. Mühl-Endz. 3.64, 198.

6. ChSl. vb. *zastřěti* (renders *μέμφεσθαι*, Mk. 7.2), cpd. of *za-* 'after' and *zřěti* 'look' (15.52).

SCR. *prijekor* (*ukor*, *pokor*): ChSl. *u-korū* 'ŷgus, insult', *u-koriti* 'insult, scold', SCR. *koriti* 'reproach', etc., Ir. *caire* 'blame', etc. (above, 3). Berneker 578. Walde-P. 1.353.

Boh. *hana*, Pol. *nagana*, with vbs. Boh. *haniti*, Pol. *ganić*, etym. dub. Brückner 134 (: ChSl. *goněti* 'suffice', Lith. *gana* 'enough', as orig. 'have enough of' in deprecatory sense?). Miklosich 60.

Russ. *chula* = ChSl. *chula* 'blasphemy', with vbs. Russ. *chulit'* 'blame', ChSl. *chuliti* 'blaspheme', etc., perh. as 'lower, debase' (cf. Slov. *huliti* 'bend', Boh. *chouleti se* 'bend, stoop'): ChSl. *po-chylū* 'bent, crooked', Boh. *chyliti* 'incline, bend', Russ. dial. *chilul'sja* 'bow', etc. Berneker 406, 413.

Russ. *poricanie*, fr. *porical* 'blame, reprove', cf. *otrekal*, *otrical* 'deny': ChSl. *reka*, *rešti*, ORuss. *rka*, *reči* 'say' (18.22), ChSl. *reči* 'accusation', etc. Miklosich 274 f.

7. Skt. *ninda-* (*nid-*, *nida-*) also 'defamation, abuse, etc.', with vb. *ninda-* 'deride, abuse, blame', see above, 1, under Grk. *δνειδος*.

Skt. *garhā-*, with vb. *garh-* 'blame, reproach': Av. *garaz-* 'moan, bemoan', etc. (16.37).

Skt. *parivāda-*, fr. *parivad-* 'talk about' and 'blame', cpd. of *vad-* 'speak' (18.21).

| 16.79 PRAISE (sb.) |                      |       |  |
|--------------------|----------------------|-------|--|
| Grk.               | <i>ἔρανος, αἶνος</i> | Goth. | <i>hazeins</i>   |
| NG                 | <i>ἔρανος</i>        | Lett. | <i>lof</i>   |
| Lat.               | <i>laus</i>          | Dan.  | <i>ros</i> ( <i>pris</i> , <i>lov</i> )                |
| It.                | <i>lode</i>          | Sw.   | <i>beröm</i> ( <i>pris</i> , <i>lov</i> , <i>ros</i> ) |
| Fr.                | <i>louange</i>       | OE    | <i>lof</i> , <i>herung</i>                             |
| Sp.                | <i>alabanza</i>      | ME    | <i>praysse, lofe, heriynge</i>                         |
| Rum.               | <i>laudă</i>         |       | <i>laude</i>   |
| Ir.                | <i>molad</i>         | NE    | <i>praise</i>  |
| Nl.                | <i>molad</i>         | Du.   | <i>lof</i>   |
| W.                 | <i>maul</i>          | OHG   | <i>lob</i>   |
| Br.                | <i>meuleudi</i>      | MHG   | <i>lopp, pris</i>                                      |
|                    |                      | NHG   | <i>lob, preis</i>                                      |

Some of the important words for 'praise' are of doubtful etymology. But the commonest source, mostly through the verbs, is the notion of 'recite formally, sing, shout' (in honor of the gods), the terms belonging primarily to religious terminology. Some of the verbs mean also, or are cognate with others meaning, 'boast', owing to similar origin from 'cry, shout', etc. Some are derivs. of words for 'fame' or 'glory' (16.47), meaning first 'attribute fame, give glory to', then simply 'praise', this sense reacting sometimes on the sbs. Besides those included in the list there are many other such derivs. meaning 'glorify, praise highly, laud', e.g. Grk. *δοξάζω* in NT rendered by Goth. *hauhjan* (fr. *hauhs* 'high'), ChSl. *slaviti* (fr. *slava* 'glory'). Development from 'put a value on, appraise' is seen in NE *praise*, etc.

The sb. forms are given in the list, but the verbs are parallel and often the source, especially in the semantic development (e.g. in NE *praise*). There is sometimes, however, a difference in relative frequency, e.g. OE *lof* the usual sb., but *herian* the usual vb. (more common than *lofian*), or NHG vb. *preisen* more common than sb. *preis* in sense of 'praise'.

1. Grk. *αἶνος* (also 'tale, story' and dial. 'decree'), more commonly *ἔρανος*, with vb. *ἐραίνω*, cf. also *αἰνεῖμα* 'riddle',

all based on the notion of 'a saying', but root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.2. Boisacq 26.

2. Lat. *laus, laudis* (> It. *lode*), with vb. *laudāre* (> It. *lodare*, Fr. *louer*, etc., whence also sbs. Fr. *louange*, Rum. *laudă*; Sp. *loar*, sb. *loa* now arch.), earliest sense perh. 'mention', the use of *laudāre* as 'name, cite' being quoted as early; etym. dub., but perh. as \**lau-d* beside \**leu-t* (based on an imitative syllable): Goth. *liupōn* 'sing praises', OE *leopian* 'sing', etc. Walde-P. 2.406. Walde-H. 1.776.

Sp. *alabanza*, fr. vb. *alabar* 'praise', fr. Vlat. *alapārī* 'boast' (cf. Lindsay, Cl. Q. 23.112), this in form as if fr. Lat. *alapa* 'blow, slap', but semantic relation difficult, and so perh. fr. or influenced by Grk. *λατίζω* 'swagger' (used by Cicero). REW 311. Rönsch, Z. rom. Ph. 3.103 f. Walde-H. 1.26.

3. Ir. *molad*, Nl. *moladh*, W. *maul*, Br. *meuleudi*, with vbs. Ir. *molur*, etc., general Celtic group, etym. dub., but perh.: Grk. *μέλω* 'sing', *μολή* 'song'. Walde-P. 2.292 (adversely). Stokes, IF 12.191.

4. Goth. *hazeins*, OHG *herung*, *hering*, ME *heriynge*, fr. vbs. Goth. *hazjan*, OE *herian*, ME *herie* 'praise': OHG *harēn*, OS *harōn* 'cry, shout', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.338. Feist 252 f. NED s.v. *hery*.

| 16.81 BEAUTIFUL (also Pretty) |   |       |                                |
|-------------------------------|---|-------|--------------------------------|
| Grk.                          | <i>καλός (εὐετής, εὐμορφος, ὁρατός)</i> | Goth. | <i>skauns</i>                  |
| NG                            | <i>ἁγῶν, ὁρατός</i>                     | Dan.  | <i>fagr</i>                    |
| Lat.                          | <i>pulcher, formosus, bellus</i>        | Sw.   | <i>skön, kón, smuk</i>         |
| It.                           | <i>bello</i>                            | OHG   | <i>skön, fager, vacker</i>     |
| Fr.                           | <i>beau, joli</i>                       | ME    | <i>schön, fager, scēne</i>     |
| Sp.                           | <i>hermoso, bello, bonito</i>           | NE    | <i>fair, shene</i>             |
| Rum.                          | <i>frumos</i>                           | Du.   | <i>beautiful, pretty</i>       |
| Ir.                           | <i>sochrud, alind</i>                   | OHG   | <i>schon, mooi, fraai</i>      |
| Nl.                           | <i>aluin, deas</i>                      | MHG   | <i>yāna, scōni</i>             |
| W.                            | <i>glan, leg, thus</i>                  | NHG   | <i>schön(e), fager, hübsch</i> |
| Br.                           | <i>kaer, brao</i>                       |       | <i>schön, hübsch</i>           |

Besides the main words for 'beautiful', several are listed which answer more nearly to the inferior NE *pretty*. But it would be futile to include the vast number of expressions of admiration which may be used with specific reference to beauty (e.g. NE *lovely* in *lovely face*, etc.). Nor is it feasible here to state for the words of each language the differences both in feeling and in application (e.g. NE *beautiful*, *handsome*, *pretty*).

Some are used of both persons and things, some mostly of persons, some only of women and children (or of men in derogatory sense); some with reference to both form, figure, and face, some (e.g. NE *lit. fair*) mainly with reference to the face.

Some of the words have such a logical semantic source as 'of good form, shape, appearance'. But in the majority of cases 'beautiful' is specialized from expressions of approval or admiration of the most diverse character, e.g. 'good, reasonable, pleasant, gay, courteous, fit, suitable, skilful, bright, neat'. Many of the words are again extended to apply to anything that gives pleasure (not merely to the visual sense), as NE *beautiful* in colloquial use (cf. NED s.v.) or NHG *schön* (cf. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v.). Weinacht, Zur Geschichte des Begriffs 'schön' im Altdeutschen, emphasizes the ethical rather than aesthetic

value of Goth. *skauns*, OHG *scōni* in Otrf., etc. But this results from the character of the writings and has no necessary bearing on the primary sense and etymology.

1. Grk. *καλός* (also 'good', which became the prevailing sense), Hom. *καλός*, fr. *καλός*, beside *κάλλος* (\**καλῶς*) 'beauty', etc.: Skt. *kalya-* 'healthy, vigorous', *kalayāna-* 'beautiful'. Walde-P. 1.356. Boisacq 399.

Grk. *εὐετής*, lit. 'well-formed', and used esp. with reference to female beauty, cpd. of *εὐ-* 'well-' and *εἶδος* 'form, shape, figure' (12.51). Boisacq 220.

Grk. *ὁρατός*, fr. *ὁρα* 'proper time, season' and orig. 'seasonable' (esp. of crops, etc.), then of persons 'youthful, blooming' (not necessarily implying beauty according to Plato and Aristotle, but evidently tending to), 'beautiful' (LXX, NT+).

Grk. *εὐμορφος* 'fair of form, beautiful', cpd. of *εὐ-* 'well-' and *μορφή* 'form, shape' (12.51). Hence NG pop. *ὁμορφος*, the most usual word with reference to personal beauty (*μορφή γυναικα*, etc.; *ὁρατός* mostly used of more general approval, 'fine').

2. Lat. *pulcher*, properly *pulcer* (*h* favored by fanciful connection with Grk. *πολύχρους*), old *polcer*, etym. dub., perh. fr. \**peleros* by dissim. fr. \**perk-ros*, orig. 'gay colored, variegated' (cf. interchange

of 'beautiful' and 'red' in group of ChSl. *krasnū*, etc., below, 6): Skt. *prçni-* 'speckled, Grk. *περὸς* 'dark, bluish-black', Mir. *erc* 'gay colored, red', OHG *forhana* 'trout', etc. Walde-P. 2.46. Ernout-M. 822.

Lat. *formosus* (> Rum. *frumos*, Sp. *hermoso*, orig. 'finely formed', whence 'shapely, beautiful', fr. *forma* 'form, shape' (12.51). Ernout-M. 379. REW 3450.

4. Goth. *skauns* (or *skauneis*; only nom. pl. *skaunjai*), OE *sciene*, ME *shene* (*beau*), used esp. of women and children, or ironically of men in class. period, fr. \**duenelos* = *bonus* (*duenos*) 'good' (16.71). Ernout-M. 114. Walde-H. 1.100. REW 1027.

Fr. *joli*, OFr. *jolif*, orig. 'gay, agreeable, pleasant', prob. deriv. of a loan-word = ON *jöl* 'Yule-festival'. REW 4590. Bloch 1.389. Gamillscheg 540.

Sp. *bonito* 'very good, fine' and esp. fem. *bonita* 'pretty', deriv. of *bueno* 'good'.

3. Ir. *sochrud*, lit. 'well formed', cpd. of *so-* 'well-' and *crud* 'shape, form' (12.51).

Ir. *alind*, Nl. *aluin*, prob. fr. *ail* 'pleasant' (: ON *fagr* 'beautiful', etc., below, 4; Walde-P. 2.3, Strachan, BB 20.24, both without *alind*). Stokes as Macbain 13 (Macbain \**ad-lainn* : *lainn* 'bright').

Nl. *deas* ('right', etc., also 'pretty'), fr. Ir. *deas* 'right, dexter' (12.41) and 'well arranged, suitable, neat, fair, becoming'.

W. *glan* 'clean' (15.87), also 'beautiful'.

W. *teg* (cf. Ir. *tig* 'ugly'): ON *þagr* 'acceptable, agreeable, pleasant', fr. the root in ON *þiggja* 'receive, accept', Ir. *techaim* 'possess'. Walde-P. 1.715. Stokes 126.

W. *thus* (fem. *ilos*), prob. fr. *thus* 'jewel' (: Ir. *thus* 'cattle', with common no-

tion of 'valuable possession, treasure'; cf. Loth, RC 34.150), felt as 'pretty thing'. Br. *kaer*, OBr. *cad* = W. *cad* 'arch' 'handsome, mighty': W. *cadarn* 'strong' (4.81), Ir. *calh*, W. *cad*, etc. 'battle'. Walde-P. 1.339, 340. Pedersen 1.323, 2.50, 53.

Br. *brao*, fr. Fr. *brave* 'brave' (16.52, formerly and dial. also 'beau' (cf. Wartburg 1.249). Henry 42.

4. Goth. *skauns* (or *skauneis*; only nom. pl. *skaunjai*), OE *sciene*, ME *shene* (*beau*), used esp. of women and children, or ironically of men in class. period, fr. \**duenelos* = *bonus* (*duenos*) 'good' (16.71). Ernout-M. 114. Walde-H. 1.100. REW 1027.

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W. *thus* (fem. *ilos*), prob. fr. *thus* 'jewel' (: Ir. *thus* 'cattle', with common no-

ChSl. *zūlo-likū* 'evil-looking' (ChSl. *lice* 'face', etc.). Berneker 719 ff.

Pol. *ładny* ('pretty, nice'), Boh. *ladný* (not common; cf. *ladnost* 'neatness') = ChSl. *ladnū* 'equal', Russ. *ladnyj* 'on good terms, in accord', derivs. of Pol. *ład*, Boh. *lad* 'order', Russ. *lad* 'accord, tune', root connection dub. Berneker 682.

7. Skt. *çrīra-* only in neg. cpd. *a-çrīra-* 'ugly' (RV); *çrīra-* rare or in different sense), Av. *sri-ra*, comp. Skt. *greyas*, Av. *srayas*, superl. Skt. *çrēṣṭha-*, Av. *sraēṣṭa-*, with sb. Skt. *çrī-*, Av. *sri-* 'beauty' for Vedic *çrī-* cf. esp. Oldenberg, Gött. Nachr. 1918. 35 ff.), prob.: Grk. *κρείων* 'lord, ruler', but ultimate root connection? Walde-P. 1.478. This is clearly the one important Indo-Iranian word-group, though not furnishing the common positive adj. for 'beautiful' in Skt. Skt. *sundara-*, perh. dial. for *sūnara-*.

| 16.82 UGLY (in Appearance) |                              |      |                                     |
|----------------------------|------------------------------|------|-------------------------------------|
| Grk.                       | <i>ἀσχητός, αἰσχρός</i>      | ON   | <i>ljōtr, uřagr</i>                 |
| NG                         | <i>ἀσχητός</i>               | Dan. | <i>stygt, grim, hasligt</i>         |
| Lat.                       | <i>dēformis, turpis</i>      | Sw.  | <i>ful, stygg</i>                   |
| It.                        | <i>brutto, deforme</i>       | OE   | <i>unwiltig, unfager, fūl</i>       |
| Fr.                        | <i>laid</i>                  | ME   | <i>ugly, unfaire, foud</i>          |
| Sp.                        | <i>feo</i>                   | NE   | <i>ugly, plain, homely</i>          |
| Rum.                       | <i>urît</i>                  | Du.  | <i>leelijc</i>                      |
| Ir.                        | <i>dochrud, étig, gránna</i> | OHG  | <i>unschōni, unsāni, missescōni</i> |
| Nl.                        | <i>gránna</i>                | MHG  | <i>ungestalt, ungeschaf-</i>        |
| W.                         | <i>hagr, hyll</i>            |      | <i>fen, unschone</i>                |
| Br.                        | <i>divalo</i>                | NHG  | <i>hässlich, unschön</i>            |

Some of the words for 'ugly' are formally as well as semantically the opposites of those for 'beautiful'. That is, they are formed with prefixes for 'ill-' vs. 'well-' from words for 'form, shape', etc., or with neg. prefixes, e.g. Grk. *δυσ-εἶδής* vs. *εὐ-εἶδής* or Lith. *ne-gražus* vs. *gražus*. Words of the latter kind, lit. 'not beautiful', may in part be felt as merely mild, euphemistic terms (as perh. NHG *unschön* where it is in use), but need not

'glad, joyous, delightful', cpd. of *sū-* = *su-* (cf. *vī-* = *vi-*, *anū-* = *anu-*, etc. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. 2.130) 'well, good' and *nar-*, *nara-* 'man'. Walde-P. 2.332. Uhlenbeck 337, 339.

Skt. *kalayāna-* = Grk. *καλός* 'beautiful' (above, 1).

Skt. *çubha-* = *çubh-* 'adorn, deck, beautify', perh. fr. a root \**keu-bh-* beside \**keu-dh* in Skt. *çuddha-* 'clean', etc. (15.87). Walde-P. 1.368.

Skt. *rūpavant-*, fr. *rūpa* 'form, shape' (12.57) also 'beauty'.

Av. *huraōša-*, cpd. of *hu-* (= Skt. *su-*) and *raōša-* 'growth', pl. 'outward appearance' (: *rud-*, Skt. *rudh-* 'grow' 12.53).

Av. *z'aini-* (only in cpds., as *z'aini-starāta-* 'having a beautiful coverlet', etc.), prob.: *z'avanant-* 'bright, splendid', *z'an-* beside *z'ar-* 'sun', etc. Otherwise (: Skt. *sundara-*) Barth. 1864, IF 11.136.

Lat. *turpis* 'ugly, base, shameful', used in both a moral and a physical sense, perh. as orig. describing what one turns away from: Grk. *τρεπω* 'turn'; cf. Skt. *trap-* 'be embarrassed, ashamed', *trapā-* 'embarrassment, shame', also, with different historical development) NG *ivropā* 'shame' (16.45). Walde-P. 1.757.

It. *brutto*, fr. Lat. *brūtus* 'dumb, stupid, irrational', orig. 'heavy' (*brutum antiqui gravem dicebant*, Festus), Osc. Umbr. loanword: Lat. *gravis* 'heavy', etc. (15.81). Ernout-M. 119. Walde-H. 1.117. REW 1348.

Fr. *laid*, fr. a Frank. form = OHG *leid* 'hateful, sorrowful', OE *lād* 'hateful, repulsive', etc. (cf. Du. *leelijc*, below, 4). REW 4858a.

Sp. *feo*, fr. Lat. *foedus* 'foul, filthy, loathsome' (in part, of appearance), etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.837 f., 186.

fr. OE *while* 'beauty, appearance, shape, form', OS *wliti* 'splendor, appearance, form', etc.: OE *wlitan* 'look' (15.52). Walde-P. 1.293.

NE *beautiful*, fr. sb. *beauty*, ME *bealte, beaute*, etc. fr. OFr. *belte, bellet*, Lat. *bellitās* fr. *bellus* (above, 2).

NE *pretty* (since 1440 of personal appearance, but inferior to *beautiful*, cf. NED), OE *prettig* 'cunning, wily, etc.', ME 'clever, skilful', late ME and NE general epithet of admiration 'fine, etc.', fr. OE *prett* 'trick, wile, craft': Icel. *prett* 'trick', Du. *pret* 'fun', etc. Falk-Torp 848 f. NED s.v.

NE *handsome* (implying dignified, stately beauty), deriv. of *hand* and orig. 'easy to handle, handy' with development through 'suitable, generous, admirable', etc. NED s.v.

Du. *mooi*, MDu. *mōy*, MLG *mōi(e)*, prob. through 'neat' fr. 'washed' (Gmc. \**mauja-*): ChSl. *myti* 'wash', MLG *muten* 'wash the face', Lith. *maudyti*, Lett. *maudāt* 'bathe'. Franck-v. W., KZ 48.156.

word for 'ugly', frequent in this sense in ME (cf. NED s.v. 11, where first quotation is from Chaucer), and incipiently even in OE (cf. the contrast with *fager* 'beautiful' in *byrgen útan fager and innan fál* quoted in Bosworth-Toller s.v.; and also gl. *fedus, deformis, turpis uel ful, uel pudor*, Wright-Wülcker 1.238.13).

OE *umwiltig*, neg. of *wiltig* 'beautiful' (16.81).

ME *ugli*, NE *ugly*, early ME *uglike*, *iglic* 'horrible', fr. ON *uggligr* 'fearful', deriv. of *uggr* 'apprehension, dread', vb. *ugga* 'fear, suspect, apprehend': Sw. *agg* 'grudge, spite', etc. Walde-P. 1.32. Falk-Torp 16. NED s.v.

NE *plain*, orig. 'flat, level' (12.71), then 'simple, ordinary', now a freq. euphemistic term for 'ugly'. NED s.v.

NE *homely*, orig. 'belonging to the home', then 'simple' (in good or bad sense), 'commonplace' and esp. as mild term for 'ugly'. NED s.v. In U.S. (at least in New England) *homely* is or was the usual word, *ugly* being mostly 'ill-tempered' (*an ugly horse* had no reference to appearance).

Du. *leelijc*, MDu. *lelijc*, *leedlijc*, fr. *leed* = OHG *leid* 'hateful, sorrowful' (NHG *leid*), OE *lād* 'hateful, repulsive' (also *lādlik* id., like the Du.), ON *leðr* 'disliked, loathed' (: Grk. ἀλεῖρης 'sinner?'). Walde-P. 2.401. Franck-v. W. 374.

OHG *unsčōni*, MHG *unschōne*, NHG *unschōn*, also OHG *missesčōni* (cf. *informis* *missesconer* Ahd. Gloss. 3.425), all neg. of OHG *sčōni*, etc. 'beautiful' (16.81).

OHG *unsāni* (*deformis* *unscōner* *un-sani*, Ahd. Gloss. 3.425), neg. cpd. of the last member in OHG *sel-sāni* 'wonderful, strange, valuable' (NHG *sellsam*) :

OHG *sehan*, Goth. *saihwān*, etc. 'see'. Walde-P. 2.479. Weigand-H. 2.846.

MHG *ungestalt* (OHG *ungistalt* 'lace-rus', Graff 6.667), neg. of *gestalt* (pple. of *stellen* 'place, put'), as sb. 'form, appearance'. Weigand-H. 2.1116.

MHG *ungeschaffen*, neg. of *schaffen*, pple. of *schaffen* 'make, create, shape'.

NHG *hässlich* (> Dan. *hæslig*), first late MHG in this sense, MHG *hazzelich*, *hezlich*, OHG *hazlih* 'full of hate, hostile', MHG also 'hated', fr. OHG *haz*, etc. 'hate' (16.41). Weigand-H. 2.818.

5. Lith. *negražus*, Lett. *nejauks*, *neskaists*, all neg. cpds. of words for 'beautiful' (16.81).

6. ChSl. *ražnŭ*, orig. 'ridiculous' (*καταγέλαστος* Supr.; ἀσχημὸν SCR.-ChSl.), SCR. *ružan*, deriv. of ChSl. *ragŭ* 'mockery', SCR. *rug* 'scorn, ridicule': *regnati* 'gape', Lat. *ringi* 'show the teeth, snarl'. Walde-P. 1.272. Meillet, Études 221.

Boh. *ošklivŭ*, orig.? cf. *šklivŭ* 'dwarf'. Boh. *nehezky*, neg. of *hezky* 'pretty' (16.81).

Pol. *szepny*, old *szpatny* = Boh. *špatný* 'bad' (16.72). Brückner 553.

Pol. *bryzdki* = Ukr. *brydkyj* id., Russ. dial. *brīdkoj* 'sharp, cold', ChSl. *brīdākŭ* 'piercing, sharp, pungent': Russ.-ChSl. *briti* 'sheer', ChSl. *britva* 'razor', etc. 'Ugly' through 'unpleasant' fr. 'sharp'. Berneker 86.

Russ. *nekrasivŭj*, neg. of *krasivŭj* 'beautiful' (16.81).

Russ. *durnoj* 'bad' (16.72), also used for 'ugly'.

7. Skt. *ku-rāpa-*, *vi-rāpa-*, *apa-rāpa-*, all cpds. of pejorative or neg. prefixes with *rāpa-* 'form, shape, figure' (12.51). Skt. *a-grīra-* (RV), cf. 16.81.

CHAPTER 17  
MIND, THOUGHT

|        |                              |
|--------|------------------------------|
| 17.11  | MIND                         |
| 17.12  | INTELLIGENCE, REASON         |
| 17.13  | THINK¹ (= Reflect, etc.)     |
| 17.14  | THINK² (= Be of the Opinion) |
| 17.15  | BELIEVE                      |
| 17.16  | UNDERSTAND                   |
| 17.17  | KNOW                         |
| 17.18  | SEEM                         |
| 17.19  | IDEA, NOTION                 |
| 17.21  | WISE                         |
| 17.22  | FOOLISH, STUPID              |
| 17.23  | INSANE, MAD, CRAZY           |
| 17.24  | LEARN                        |
| 17.242 | STUDY                        |
| 17.25  | TEACH                        |
| 17.26  | PUPIL                        |

|       |                            |
|-------|----------------------------|
| 17.27 | TEACHER                    |
| 17.28 | SCHOOL                     |
| 17.31 | REMEMBER                   |
| 17.32 | FORGET                     |
| 17.33 | MEANING                    |
| 17.34 | CLEAR, PLAIN (to the Mind) |
| 17.35 | OBSCURE                    |
| 17.36 | SECRET (adj.)              |
| 17.37 | SURE, CERTAIN              |
| 17.38 | EXPLAIN                    |
| 17.39 | SOLVE                      |
| 17.41 | INTENTION, PURPOSE         |
| 17.42 | CAUSE                      |
| 17.43 | DOUBT (sb.)                |
| 17.44 | SUSPICION                  |

|      |               |
|------|---------------|
| Grk. | voûs          |
| NG   | voûs          |
| Lat. | mēns, animus  |
| It.  | mente         |
| Fr.  | esprit        |
| Sp.  | mente         |
| Rum. | mintē         |
| Ir.  | menne, intinn |
| Nlr. | aigne, intinn |
| W.   | meddul        |
| Br.  | spered        |

'Mind' is intended here as the seat of intelligence, parallel to 'soul, spirit' (16.11) as the seat of emotions. But, as already remarked in 16.11, the two groups overlap. Several of the words there listed may cover also the 'mind', and conversely many of those in this list cover mental states in the widest sense, that is, may be used with reference to feelings as well as thoughts, as Lat. *mēns*, Skt. *manas-*, Grk. *voûs* (rarely), OE *mōd*, *hyge*, NE *mind*, etc.

Apart from those discussed under 'soul, spirit', most of the words for 'mind' are connected with verbs for 'think, understand, know', or the like, and many of them are used also for the mind's activity, 'intelligence, reason, thought', etc.

The actual physical seat of the mind in the brain, though recognized by some of the Greek philosophers (Plato, but not Aristotle, who favored the heart), was not generally enough known to have any effect on linguistic usage, except in modern phrases like NE *has brains*, *has a good head* = *has a good mind*, NG *ἔχει μυαλό* 'has good sense', *ἔχασε τὰ μυαλά του* 'lost his head'. It was rather the vague *φρόνεις* (cf. below) that affected the terminology.

1. Derivs. of IE \**men-* in Skt. *man-* 'think', Lat. *meminī* 'remember', etc. Walde-P. 2.264 ff. Ernout-M. 606. Walde-H. 2.69 f.

|       |                     |
|-------|---------------------|
| Goth. | aha, fraþi, hugs    |
| ON    | hugr, munr          |
| Dan.  | aand, eind          |
| Sw.   | sinnē               |
| OE    | mōd, hyge, geuwi(t) |
| ME    | mode, mynde, (i)wūt |
| NE    | mind                |
| Du.   | geest, zin          |
| OHG   | muot, sin, hugu     |
| NHG   | muot, sin, huge     |
| Br.   | sinn, geist         |

Lat. *mēns, mentis* (> It., Sp. *mente*, Rum. *mintē*); Ir. *menne* (Nlr. *meanma*, but not the usual word for 'mind'); ON *munr* (also 'longing, love', OE *myne* 'desire, love', rarely 'mind', Goth. *muns* 'thought, intention', etc.), ME *mynde*, NE *mind* (OE *gemynd* 'memory'); Skt. *manas-*, Av. *manah-*.

2. Grk. *voûs*, Att. *voûs*, whence *voûs* 'perceive, notice, think', etc., *νόημα* 'thought, purpose, understanding', etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.324. Boisacq 672. Schwyzler, Festschrift Kretschmer 247 ff. For the technical uses, Schottlaender, Hermes 64.228 ff.

Grk. *φρόν*, esp. pl. *φρόνεις*, in Homer when used in lit. sense (with reference to wounds) hardly 'diaphragm' in the strict sense, but rather as if membranes inclosing the vital organs (heart, liver, etc.); hence a vague general term for the vital organs and most frequently in fig. sense 'heart, mind' as the seat of both emotion and thought—in this sense mostly poetic, but important for the large group of derivs., in some of which the thought element is dominant, as *φρονέω* 'think', *φρονέις* 'thought, care', *σώφρων* 'of sound mind, wise, prudent' (but also 'of restrained senses'), in others the emotional, as *εὐφρων* 'cheerful, merry', *εὐφραίνω* 'cheer, gladden'. Etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.699. Boisacq 1037 f.

3. Lat. *animus* 'spirit' (16.11) also

'mind'. Fr. *esprit* 'spirit' (16.11) also 'mind'.

4. Ir. *menne*, above, 1.

Nlr. *aigne* (also 'spirit, desire, intention', etc.) fr. *aigneadh*, Ir. *aigned* 'nature', fr. a cpd. of *ad-* and the root in *gnŭu* 'do, make', Lat. *gignere* 'beget', Grk. γίγνομαι 'be born, become'. Walde-P. 1.576. Pedersen 2.34, 534.

Ir. *intinn* 'intention, purpose', but also in certain phrases 'mind', fr. Lat. *intentiō*. Pedersen 1.234. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 147.

W. *meddul*, orig. 'thought', vbl. n. *to meddul* 'think' (17.13).

Br. *spered* 'spirit' (16.11), also 'mind'. 5. Goth. *aha* (reg. for *voûs*), beside *ahjan* 'think': *ahma* 'spirit', OHG *ahla* 'intention, consideration, notice', OE *eahl* 'deliberation, council', OHG, OS *ahlōn* 'consider, take notice of, estimate', ON *ælla* 'think, intend', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.169. Feist 15.

Goth. *fraþi* (sometimes for *voûs*, but mostly 'thought, understanding'): *fraþjan* 'understand, think' (17.16).

Goth. *hugs* (voûs Eph. 4.17), ON *hugr* (Dan. *hu*, Sw. *håg* more nearly 'mood', except in certain phrases), OE *hyge*, OHG *hugu*, beside Goth. *hugjan*, etc. 'think' (17.13), deriv. Goth. *gahugds* (reg. for *diánoia*, also *voûs* Rom. 7.25, and *συνειδήσις* 1 Cor. 8.12, etc.: OE *gehygd* 'thought', OHG *gihugi* 'memory, joy', etc.), etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.378. Falk-Torp 424 f. Feist 272 f.

OE *mōd*, ME *mode*, OHG, MHG *muot*, partly 'mind' in intellectual sense, but more often with emotional value (cf.

NE *mood* 'state of feeling', NHG *mut* 'courage': Goth. *mōþs*, ON *mōðr* 'anger' (16.42).

OE *gewit(t)*, ME (i)wit, also 'intelligence' (NE wit), and in the latter sense ON wit, OHG wizzi, MHG witze (NHG witz): OE witan, OHG wizzan, Goth. witan 'know' (17.17).

OHG, MHG sin, NHG sinn, Du. zin, MLG sin (> Dan. sind, Sw. sinne), also and more orig. 'sense' (15.11).

Dan. *aand* 'spirit' (16.11), also 'mind'. Du. *geest*, NHG *geist*, orig. 'spirit' (16.11).

6. Lith. *protas*, usual word for 'mind' and 'reason', Lett. *prāts* mostly 'intelligence, understanding, reason' (OPruss. *prātin* acc. sg. 'counsel'): Lith. *suprasti*, Lett. *sa-prast*, Goth. *fraþjan* 'understand', etc. (17.16).

Lett. *gars*, orig. 'spirit' (16.11).

7. ChSl. *umŭ* (renders voûs Lk. 24.45; also *bez uma* = *εἰκῆ* 'without reason'), SCR., Russ. *um* 'mind, intelligence', cpd. ChSl., SCR., Russ. *razum*, Boh., Pol. *rozum* 'intelligence, reason': ChSl. (j)a-vē 'manifestly', (j)aviti 'show', Skt. *avis* 'manifestly', *pra-av-* 'notice, heed', Grk. αἰσθάνομαι 'perceive (by the senses)', etc. (15.11). Walde-P. 1.17. Berneker 34. Brückner 201.594.

Boh. *mysl*, Pol. *u-mysł*: ChSl. *myslŭ* 'thought', *mysliti* 'think', etc., general Slavic (17.13).

8. Skt. *manas-*, Av. *manah-*, above, 1. Skt. *citta-*, properly 'thought, observation', pple. of *cit-* 'perceive, observe, understand', mid. 'reflect, meditate', etc. (17.13).

|      |                                   |
|------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk. | voûs, diánoia, sŭveus             |
| NG   | voûs, diánoia                     |
| Lat. | ratiō, intelligentia, intellectus |
| It.  | intelligenza, intelletto, ragione |
| Fr.  | intelligence, raison              |
| Sp.  | inteligencia, razón               |
| Rum. | deșteptăciune, inteligența        |
| Ir.  | ciall, indliucht, cond            |
| Nlr. | tuigŭsint, ciall                  |
| W.   | deall, rhesum                     |
| Br.  | skiant                            |

Many of the words listed under 'mind' (17.11) are used also of the mind's activity, 'intelligence, reason', and some of them are repeated here as the best words for the latter notion. But this is also expressed by a variety of words, which are mostly derived from verbs for 'understand, think, perceive, distinguish, know', etc., but in actual usage are broader than 'understanding, thought, knowledge', etc. in the literal sense. Thus NHG *verstand* is more comprehensive than *verständnis* or *das verstehen*. Their varying sources may have some effect on their usage and feeling, but in general not permanently. Artificial technical distinctions like Kant's *verstand* vs. *vernunft* are ignored here.

For an exhaustive treatment of the usages, as regards words of this kind, of the OHG and MHG writers, cf. Jost Trier, Der deutsche Wortschatz im Sinnbezirk des Verstandes.

1. Grk. voûs 'mind' (17.11) also the main word for 'intelligence' and so in NG. But πνεῦμα 'spirit' (16.11) is used in NG for 'keen intelligence', much like Fr. *esprit* and NHG *geist*.

Grk. diánoia, also 'thought, intention, purpose', fr. diánoō 'have in mind, intend, propose', cpd. of nóō 'think': voûs 'mind' (17.11).

|       |                                 |
|-------|---------------------------------|
| Goth. | gahugds, frōdei                 |
| ON    | vit, skilning                   |
| Dan.  | forstand, fornuft               |
| Sw.   | förstånd, förnuft               |
| OE    | andgit, gescead                 |
| ME    | (i)wit, intellect, resun        |
| NE    | intelligence, reason            |
| Du.   | verstand, rede                  |
| OHG   | furstantnessi, fernumest, wizzt |
| MHG   | verständnisse, vernunft, witze  |
| NHG   | verstand, vernunft              |

Grk. sŭveus : σὺνῆμι 'understand' (17.16).

2. Lat. *ratiō* (> It. *ragione*, Fr. *raison*, Sp. *razón*), orig. 'account', whence 'faculty or method of computation' > 'judgment, reason', etc.: *rēri* (*ratus sum*) 'count, calculate', then 'think, estimate, judge', Goth. \**garapjan* (in pple. *garapana*) 'count', *raþjō* 'number, account', OHG *reda* 'account, speech, answer', OS *redia* 'account', etc. Walde-P. 1.73 f. Ernout-M. 860 f. (but taking the Gmc. group as borrowed fr. Lat.). Feist 394.

Lat. *intelligentia* (> It. *intelligenza*, Fr. *intelligence*, Sp. *intelligencia*, Rum. *inteligenta*, all lit. words), Lat. *intellectus* (> It. *intelletto*), both orig. 'perception, discernment', fr. *intelligere* 'perceive, comprehend, understand' (17.16). Ernout-M. 537.

Rum. *deșteptăciune*, lit. 'wakefulness', fr. *deștepta* 'waken' (4.63).

3. Ir. *ciall*, Nlr. *ciall* : W. *puwyl* 'wisdom, prudence, sense', Br. *poell* 'discretion, prudence, wisdom', prob. fr. the root in Ir. *ad-ciu* 'see'. Walde-P. 1.509. Pedersen 2.490. Thurneysen, Gram. 132.

Ir. *indliucht*, fr. Lat. *intellectus* (above). Vendryes, De hib. voc. 147.

Ir. *cond* : Goth. *handugs* 'wise'

intelligence' but in RV also 'power, might' (of body or mind) : Grk. κρᾶτος 'strength, might, power', Goth. *hardus* 'hard', with shift from physical to mental

power in Indo-Iranian. Cf. Lett. *jēga*, above, 5. Walde-P. 1.354 f. (rejecting the connection on semantic grounds!). Barth. 533 f.

|      |                    |
|------|--------------------|
| Grk. | ἐννοέω, φρονέω     |
| NG   | ἐκπνέω, στοχάζομαι |
| Lat. | cōgilāre           |
| It.  | pensare            |
| Fr.  | penser, songer     |
| Sp.  | pensar             |
| Rum. | cugela, gindŭ      |
| Ir.  | imrdāim, smuainim  |
| Nlr. | smoosnim           |
| W.   | meddul             |
| Br.  | soñjal             |

'Think' is intended here to cover the most generic verbs expressing mental activity, whence are derived the common nouns for 'thought'. But most of them are used also in one or another narrower sense, as 'understand', 'intend', or esp. (cf. 17.14) 'be of the opinion'.

1. Grk. ἐννοέω (also 'understand' and so NG), cpd. of nóō (less common for 'think', mostly 'perceive, intend') : voûs 'mind' (17.11).

Grk. φρονέω (but esp. 'be so and so minded' or 'be prudent') : φρόν used as seat of thought or emotion (17.11).

Grk. σκέπτομαι, orig. 'look' (15.52), then of the mind 'examine, consider' (Soph.+), in NG (also σκέπτομαι) the usual verb for 'think'.

Grk. στοχάζομαι 'shoot at, aim at' (in lit. sense), 'seek for' and esp. 'try to understand, guess at', NG pop. 'think about' with στοχασμός 'thought, reflection'.

2. Lat. *cōgilāre* (> Rum. *cugela*, OIt. *coitare*, OFr. *coidier*, etc.) fr. \**co-agilāre*, cpd. of *agilāre* 'put in motion, drive, impel, shake', etc., also of mental activity 'turn, revolve in the mind, ponder', fre-

quent. of *agere* 'drive'. Ernout-M. 25 f. Walde-H. 1.242. REW 2027.

It. *pensare*, Fr. *penser*, Sp. *pensar*, fr. Lat. *pēnsāre* 'weigh, pay, requite', and of mental activity 'ponder, examine, consider', frequent. of *pendere* (pple. *pēnsus*) 'weigh, pay, ponder, consider': *pēndere* 'hang', etc. Ernout-M. 750 ff. REW 6391.

Fr. *songer*, orig. 'dream', fr. Lat. *somniāre* 'dream' also 'think or talk idly', deriv. of *somnium* 'dream': *somnus* 'sleep', etc. (4.61). REW 8086.

Rum. *gindŭ*, deriv. of *gind* 'thought, intention, wish', fr. Hung. *gond* 'care, worry'. Tiktin 680. Densusianu 1.378.

3. Ir. *imrdāim*, also 'consider, deliberate', cpd. of *im(m)-* 'about' and *rdāim* 'speak': Goth. *rādjan* 'speak', Lat. *ratiō* 'reason', etc. (17.12). Walde-P. 1.74. Pedersen 2.591 f.

Ir. *smuainim*, Nlr. *smoainim*, etym.? Connection with ChSl. *myslŭ* 'thought', etc. (Pedersen 1.113) dub. Walde-P. 2.256.

W. *meddul* : Ir. *midŭir* 'judge', Lat. *meditāre* 'study, reflect, meditate', Grk. μέσσω 'be mindful of', Goth. *mitan*, etc. 'measure'. Walde-P. 2.259 f.

(17.21), Lat. *condere* 'put together, establish'. Walde-P. 1.458. Pedersen 2.502.

Nlr. *tuigŭsint*, fr. *tuigim* 'understand' (17.16).

W. *deall* : vb. *deallt* 'understand' (17.16). Also W. *deallgarwoch*, deriv. of *deallgar* 'intelligent', cpd. of *deall* and -car 'loving, disposed to' (suffix form of car 'friend').

W. *rhesum*, fr. ME *resun* (below, 4). Parry-Williams 124.

Br. *skiant*, fr. Lat. *scientia* 'knowledge' (17.17). Henry 241.

4. Goth. *gahugds* (reg. for diánoia) : *hugs* 'mind', *hugjan* 'think', etc. (17.11, 17.13).

Goth. *frōdei* (reg. for sŭveus; also *soþia* Lk. 2.52, and *φρόνους*, Lk. 1.17, etc.), fr. *frōþs* 'wise' (17.21).

ON *vit*, ME (i)wit, OHG *wizzi* (Otfrid's favorite word, 'knowledge, recognition', hence the intelligence gained thereby; Trier, op. cit. 38 f.), MHG *witze* (but OE *gewit* chiefly 'mind', cf. 17.11) : ON *vita*, OHG *wizzan*, OE, Goth. *witan* 'know' (17.17).

ON *skilning* : *skilja* 'understand' (17.16).

OE *andgit*, also 'sense' : *ongietan* 'perceive, understand' (see 17.16, and 15.11).

OE *gescead* (cf. *ratio* *gescead*, Aelfric Gram., Zupitza p. 35), lit. 'distinction, difference': *gesceadan* 'separate, distinguish, decide', Goth. *ga-skaidan* 'separate', etc. (12.17).

ME, NE *intellect*, fr. Lat. *intellectus* (above, 2).

NE *intelligence*, fr. Fr. *intelligence* (above, 2).

ME *reisun*, *resun*, NE *reason*, fr. OFr. *raison*, Fr. *raison* (above, 2).

OHG *furstantnessi* ('intellectus', Tat., Trier, op. cit. 32, 66), MHG *verstantnisse* (NHG *verständnisse* now only 'un-

derstanding'), NHG, Du. *verstand* (MLG *vorstant* > Dan. *forstand*, Sw. *förstånd*) : OHG *farsstantan* (*fir-, fur-*), Du. *verstaan*, etc. 'understand' (17.16). Falk-Torp 263. Weigand-H. 2.1165. Kluge-G. 654.

OHG *fernunest* (esp. Notker for *intellectus*, partly as 'perception, sense'; Trier, op. cit. 51), MHG *vernu(n)st*, *vernu(n*

## 17.14 THINK\* (= BE OF THE OPINION)

|      |                    |       |                            |       |                  |
|------|--------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | νομίζω, ὀφείλω     | Goth. | hugjan, munan, ahjan       | Lith. | manyti           |
| NG   | νομίζω, ὀφείλω     | Dan.  | hyggja, haida              | Let.  | duomāi, šk'ist   |
| Lat. | arbitrāri, opinārī | Sw.   | menne, tenke, tro          | ChSl. | miniti           |
| It.  | censere, credere   | OE    | tycka, mena, tinka, tro    | Boh.  | mysliti, miniti  |
| Fr.  | pensare, croire    | ME    | uēnan, dēman, munan        | Pol.  | mysleć, mniemać  |
| Sp.  | pensar, creer      | NE    | wene, thanke, deme, beleve | Russ. | mysliti, mniemat |
| Rum. | socoti, crede      | Du.   | think, beleve              | Skt.  | man-             |
| Ir.  | do-moiniur         | OHG   | meenen, denken, ge-looven  | Av.   | man-             |
| Nlr. | slim, ceapaim      | MHG   | wānen, meinen              |       |                  |
| W.   | tybio              | NHG   | wānen, meinen, denken      |       |                  |
| Br.  | kredi              |       |                            |       |                  |

'Think' in the sense of 'be of the opinion' is most widely expressed by verbs for 'think' = 'reflect' discussed in 17.13 or by cognates of these, or by verbs for 'believe' (17.15). But this is not true of all the IE languages, in some of which the usual terms are of quite different and diverse sources. Besides the words listed there are, of course, many other expressions, e.g. verbs for 'judge' used also for simple 'think' as here understood, as NE *judge*, Nlr. *measaim*, etc.; or for 'suppose, guess', as NHG *vermuten*; ChSl. *gadati*, Russ. *gadati*, Boh. *hádati* (: Lat. *prehendere* 'seize', etc.; Berneker 289 f.), NE *guess*, etc.

1. Words for 'think' = 'reflect' discussed in 17.13. It. *pensare*, Fr. *penser*, Sp. *pensar*; Goth. *hugjan*, ON *hyggja*; OE *pencan*, OHG *denken*, etc. (in earlier periods this sense rare, but quotable in OE; cf. NED s.v. *think* 9); Lett. *duomāt*; SCR. *mysliti*, etc., Russ. *dumat'*; Skt., Av. *man-*.

2. Derivs. of IE \**men-* in Skt. *man-* 'think', etc. (17.13), but in sense belonging here. Ir. *do-moiniur*; Goth., OE *munan* (Goth. *ga-munan*, OE *ge-munan* 'remember'); Lith. *manyti* (also 'have in mind, intend'; cf. NSB s.v.); ChSl. *miniti*, SCR. *mniti*, Boh. *mniti*.

3. Words for 'believe' (17.15), in this sense most commonly in Romance and Gmc. So Lat. *credere* with its Romance derivs.; Br. *kredi* (this sense prob. fr. Fr. *croire*, since not common to the other Celtic forms); Dan., *tro* (cf. NE *trou* arch.), NE *believe*, NHG *glauben*.

4. Grk. *νομίζω*, orig. 'use, practice', whence 'take for, consider, think', deriv. of νόμος 'usage, custom, law' (21.11).

Grk. ὀφείλω, orig. and in Hom. only 'lead, conduct' (10.64), hence also 'hold, consider, think' (cf. Lat. *ducere* 'lead' and 'reckon, consider').

Grk. θάρσσω 'be of courage, have confidence' (16.51), NG θάρσσω freq. pop. term for 'think'. Cf. NE *dare say* expressing a mild opinion.

5. Lat. *arbitrāri* (partly legal term, but also common, esp. in Cic., for 'think, be of the opinion'), deriv. of *arbitrari* 'witness, judge', etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.678. Ernout-M. 66. Walde-H. 1.62.

Lat. *opinārī*, etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.177 (fr. *op-* in *optāre* 'choose, wish', Umbr. *upetu* 'eligito, optato'). Ernout-M. 704.

Lat. *putāre*, history difficult. Disputed whether of a single source or several. As 'cut' whence esp. 'trim, prune'

(trees) : Lith. *piauti* 'cut, mow'. As 'purify, cleanse' (wool) perh. : Skt. *pu-* 'purify', Lat. *pūrus* 'clean'. As 'reckon, count', whence 'suppose, think', it could come from either source (cf. *rationem putāre* 'clear the account'); or, with ChSl. *pylati* 'examine, study', belong to what might possibly be still a third group. But on the whole the development 'cut, prune' > 'count, reckon' > 'suppose, think' is the most probable. Walde-P. 2.12, 13. Ernout-M. 828 f. Kretschmer, Glotta 10.164 f.

Lat. *censere*, orig. used with reference to a formally expressed opinion, resolve : Skt. *caris-* 'recite, announce, praise', Av. *sah-* 'recite, announce', OPers. *šah-* 'announce, say', etc. Walde-P. 1.403. Ernout-M. 173 f. Walde-H. 1.199 (with other views).

Rum. *socoti*, orig. only 'regard, esteem', prob. fr. Slavic, cf. Bulg. dial. *sokoti*, Ukr. *sokotyty* 'watch, take care of'. Tiktin 1452 f.

6. Nlr. *slim* (*saoilim*), also 'expect', Ir. *sailim* 'expect, wait for', perh. : ON *seilask* (refl.) 'stretch out the hand, seek for', OPruss. *seilins* (pl.) 'mind', ChSl. *sila* 'strength', etc. (Walde-P. 2.460 f.) G. S. Lane, Language 7.282 f.

Nlr. *ceapaim* 'think', fr. 'stop, catch, seize', prob. denom. of *ceap* 'block' (Ir. *cepp* fr. Lat. *cippus*). Pedersen 1.200.

W. *tybio*, fr. *tyb* 'opinion', etym.?

7. Goth. (beside *hugjan*, *munan*) once *ahjan* (for *voijw*) : aha 'mind' (17.11). ON *halda*, lit. 'hold', but frequent in this sense (cf. Fritznier s.v. 25), as similarly NE *hold*, NHG *halten*.

Sw. *tycka*, also refl. *tyckas* 'seem' : ON *þykkja*, OE *þyncan*, etc. 'seem' (17.18), beside OE *pencan*, etc. 'think' (17.13). Falk-Torp 1308. Hellquist 1255.

OE *wēnan*, ME *wene* (NE *ween*), OHG *wānen*, MHG *wānen* (NHG *wānen*), also 'hope' = ON *vænā*, Goth. *wēnan* 'hope' : Goth. *wēns*, ON *væn*, OE *wēn*, OHG *wān* 'hope' (16.63), NED s.v.

OE *dēman*, ME *deme* (NE *deem*), orig. 'judge' = Goth. *dōmjan*, OHG *tuomen* 'judge', fr. OE *dōm*, Goth. *dōms* 'judgment', etc. NED s.v. *deem*.

NE *guess* 'estimate', also familiar U.S. colloq. for 'think' (*I guess so*), ME *gesen*, of Norse orig. and deriv. of the root in NE *get*. NED s.v. Falk-Torp 311.

OHG-NHG *meinen*, Du. *meenen* (MLG *meinen*, *mēnen* > Dan. *menne*, Sw. *mena*) = OE *mānan* 'have in mind, purpose, intend, mean', NE *mean* : ChSl. *mēniti* 'call to mind, mention, mean, think', perh. Ir. *mian* 'wish, desire', W. *mwyn* 'enjoyment'. Walde-P. 2.302 f. Berneker 2.49.

8. Lett. *sk'ist* : *skaiti* 'count, reckon', Lith. *skaityti* 'count, read', prob. from \**sk'eit-*, beside \**k'eit-* in Skt. *cit-*, *cint-* 'think' (17.13). Walde-P. 1.509. Mühl.-Endz. 4.47.

9. ChSl. *mēniti* : OHG *meinen*, etc. (above, 7). Berneker 2.49.

Pol. *mniemać*, old *mniemat*, prob. fr. old *unimac* in same sense = Russ. *vnimat'* 'hear, heed' (cpd. of ChSl. *imati* 'take'), crossed with *-mnieć* (in *po-mnieć* 'keep in the mind', etc.) : ChSl. *mniti*, etc. (cf. above, 2). Brückner 342. Berneker 264.

## 17.15 BELIEVE

|      |                  |       |                         |       |                     |
|------|------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | πισθαμι, πιστεύω | Goth. | galauþjan               | Lith. | tikėti              |
| NG   | πισθαμι, πιστεύω | ON    | trúa                    | Let.  | ticēt               |
| Lat. | credere          | Dan.  | tro                     | ChSl. | věra jeti, věrovati |
| It.  | credere          | Sw.   | tro                     | Boh.  | věriti              |
| Fr.  | croire           | OE    | gelfetan                | Pol.  | wierzyć             |
| Sp.  | creer            | ME    | beleve, (i)leve, trouen | Russ. | verit'              |
| Rum. | crede            | NE    | beleve                  | Skt.  | graddhā-            |
| Ir.  | creitim          | Du.   | ge-looven               | Av.   | zrazdā-, var-       |
| Nlr. | creidim          | OHG   | gelooben                |       |                     |
| W.   | credu            | MHG   | gelouben                |       |                     |
| Br.  | kredi            | NHG   | glauben                 |       |                     |

Words for 'believe' (a person as speaking the truth or a statement as true) had first the sense now surviving in NE *believe* in, NHG *glauben* an, etc., based on 'have confidence, faith in, trust'.

There is an inherited group common to Latin, Celtic, and Indo-Iranian, probably an old cult word.

1. IE \**kred-dhē-*, cpd. of *\*dhē-* 'put, place' and *kred-* 'seen in Skt. *grad-* (isolated in Ved. *grad asmāi dhātā* 'believe in him'), this prob. not, as formerly assumed, the same words as IE \**kred-*, \**krd-* in words for 'heart' (Lat. *cor*, *cordis*, Grk. *καρδία*, Ir. *cride*, etc., 4.44), but perh. : Ir. *cretaur*, W. *crair* 'relic, reliquary'. Ernout-M. 229. Walde-H. 1.287. Vendryes, RC. 44.90 ff.

Lat. *credere* (> Romance words); Ir. *cretim*, etc., general Celtic; Skt. *graddhā-*, Av. *zrazdā-* (init. *z* by assimilation).

2. Grk. *πισθαμι*, mid. of *πισθω* 'persuade', hence 'be persuaded, obey, trust' and finally (already in Hom.) simply 'believe' : Lat. *fidere* 'trust' (this not used for 'believe', but *fides* 'faith, belief' serves as sb. also for *credere*). Walde-P. 1.139. Ernout-M. 358. Walde-H. 1.493 ff.

From the same root *πιστός* 'faithful' and *πίστις* 'faith, belief', whence *πιστέω* 'trust' and 'believe', eventually displacing *πισθαμι*.

3. Goth. *galauþjan*, OE *gelfetan* (Anglian *gelfetan*, ME *ileve*, shortened

*leve*, whence *beleve*, NE *believe*), Du. *ge-looven*, OHG *gelooben*, MHG *gelouben*, NHG *glauben*, early also *gleuben* : Goth. *lufjs*, OE *loaf*, etc. 'dear' (16.27), OE *lufu*, etc. 'love' (16.26), and OE *lof*, etc. 'praise' (16.79), with development of 'trust, believe' through 'be pleased, satisfied with' : Walde-P. 2.419. Feist 188. NED s.v. *believe*.

ON *trúa*, Dan., Sw. *tro*, ME *trouen*, NE *trou* (arch.), all orig. 'trust' (as Goth. *trawan*, OE *trawian*, OHG *trānan*, etc.) : ON *trūr*, OE *trōwe*, etc., 'faithful' (16.65).

4. Lith. *tikėti*, Lett. *ticēt* : Lith. *tikti* 'fit, suit', *tiekti* 'prepare', *teiktis* 'be pleased', *tikras* 'real, correct, certain', outside connections dub. Leskien, Ablaut 287. Buga, Kalba ir Senovė 100 f. Mühl.-Endz. 3.179, 157. Otherwise Walde-P. 1.286 (: OHG *dingan* 'hope', for which see 16.63).

5. ChSl. *věra jeti* (lit. 'take faith', reg. for *πιστέω*), *věrovati*, SCR. *vjerovati*, Boh. *věriti*, Pol. *wierzyć*, Russ. *verit'*, fr. *věra* 'faith' : Lat. *vērus* 'true', etc. (16.66).

6. Skt. *graddhā-*, Av. *zrazdā-*, above, 1. Av. *var-*, act. 'choose', whence (esp. mid.) 'choose for oneself, profess, believe (a religion)', also 'persuade, convert', cf. OPers. *θwām vānānātām* 'let it convince you, be believed by you' : Skt. *vr-* 'choose', Lat. *velle* 'will, wish', etc. (16.61). Barth. 1360 ff. Walde-P. 1.294.

## 17.16 UNDERSTAND

|      |                                     |       |                        |       |                      |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | συνίημι, συν-, ἐν-νοέω, καταλαμβάνω | Goth. | frapjan                | Lith. | suprasti             |
| NG   | συνίημι, συν-, ἐν-νοέω, καταλαμβάνω | ON    | skilja                 | Let.  | saprast, jēgt        |
| Lat. | intelligere, comprehendere          | Dan.  | forstaa                | ChSl. | razuměti             |
| It.  | capire, comprendere, intendere      | Sw.   | förstå                 | SCR.  | razumijeti           |
| Fr.  | comprendre, comprendre              | OE    | understandan, ongiefan | Boh.  | rozumět              |
| Sp.  | entender, entender                  | ME    | understande, angete    | Pol.  | rozumieć             |
| Rum. | înțelege                            | NE    | understand             | Russ. | ponjat'              |
| Ir.  | tucu                                | Du.   | verstān                | Skt.  | jñā-, api-val-, ava- |
| Nlr. | tuigim                              | OHG   | farstāntan             | Av.   | ai-pi-aot-           |
| W.   | deall                               | MHG   | verstān                |       |                      |
| Br.  | klevout, meiza                      | NHG   | verstehen, begreifen   |       |                      |

Some of the words for 'understand' are connected with others of intellectual content discussed under 'mind', 'intelligence', or 'think'. Others represent fig. uses of 'put together', 'pick out', 'separate', 'stand' (WGmc.), and esp. 'take, seize, grasp'. This last named fig. use repeats itself in many other words besides those listed, e.g. NHG *fassen*, NE *grasp*, and the recent U.S. slang *I get you*.

1. Grk. *συνίημι*, lit. 'bring together' (as sometimes in Hom.) but mostly fig. 'perceive' and esp. 'understand', cpd. of *ἵημι* 'let go, throw, send' (10.25).

Grk. *συννοέω*, *ἐννοέω*, NG *ἐννοέω*, cpds. of *νοέω* 'perceive, think' : νοῖς 'mind' (17.11).

Grk. *καταλαμβάνω* (as 'understand' Plato+), cpd. of *λαμβάνω* 'seize, take'. Hence NG pop. *καταλαμβάνω* (new present, as simple *λαμβάνω* formed to aor. *ἔλαβα*), often aor. *κατάλαβα* 'I understood' = 'I understand'.

NG *νοιάω* (also 'perceive, feel'), new present for \**ἐννοιάω*, fr. *ἐννοία* in its older sense 'thought, notion' : *ἐννοέω*, above).

Hatzidakis, Byz. Z.30.219 f.

2. Lat. *intelligere* (> Rum. *înțelege*), cpd. of *inter* 'between', and *legere* 'collect, choose'. Ernout-M. 537. Walde-H. 1.352. REW 4482.

Lat. *comprehendere* (> It. *comprendere*, Fr. *comprendre*, Sp. *comprender*), cpd. of *prehendere* 'take, seize' (11.14), also mentally 'grasp'. Ernout-M. 803. Meyer-Lübke 2106.

It. *intendere*, Sp. *entender* (Fr. *entendre* now esp. 'hear'), fr. Lat. *intendere* 'stretch (toward)', whence 'direct' and mentally 'direct the mind toward, intend', etc. Ernout-M. 1027. REW 2106.

It. *capire* (the usual spoken word), fr. Lat. *capere* 'seize, grasp, take'. REW 1625.

3. Ir. *tucu*, Nlr. *tuigim* fr. \**to-ucc-*, orig. same as in perfect. forms of *do-ūir* 'bring' (see 10.62). Pedersen 2.471.

W. *deall*, etym.? Morris Jones 101 (: Skt. *dhī-* 'think').

Br. *klevout*, also and orig. 'hear' (15.41).

Br. *meiza*, fr. *meiz* 'comprehension, intelligence', MBr. *meiz* : W. *meddwl* 'think', etc. Ernault, Glossaire 400.

4. Goth. *frapjan* : Lith. *su-prasti* 'understand', etc. (below, 5).

ON *skilja*, properly 'separate, divide' (12.23), but reg. (as also Nicel.) for 'understand'. Hence ME *skille*, NE dial. *skill* 'understand' (NED s.v.).

OE *understandan*, ME *understande*, NE *understand*; OE *forstandan* (mostly

'oppose, withstand', but also 'understand', cf. NED s.v. *forstand*), Du. *verstaan* (MLG *vorstān* > Dan. *forstaa*, Sw. *förstå*), OHG *farstāntan* (fr-, fur-), MHG *verstān*, NHG *verstehen*, cpds. of the verbs for 'stand', with development of 'stand under' and 'stand before' through the notion of 'be close to' (?). Cf. Grk. *ἐπιστάμαι* 'know how, know' (17.17).

OE *ongietan*, ME *angete*, also general 'perceive' ('see, hear, feel', etc.), cpd. of *gietan*, in *begietan*, etc. 'get, obtain' (11.16).

NHG *begreifen*, also in other senses but now most commonly 'understand', cpd. of *greifen* 'seize, take hold of' (11.14) with same development as in Lat. *comprehendere*. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 66.

5. Lith. *suprasti*, Lett. *saprast*, cpds. of Lith. *-prasti* (only in cpds. *at-prasti* 'break a habit', *įprasti* 'get used to', etc.), Lett. *prāst* 'understand, notice', with sb. Lith. *protas* 'mind, reason', Lett. *prāts* 'reason' : Goth. *frapjan* 'understand, think', *frōps* 'wise', etc.

Walde-P. 2.86. Mühl.-Endz. 3.378. Feist 165.

Lett. *jēgt* and cpds. (*nuo-*, *sa-*) fr. *jēga* 'understanding, good sense', orig. 'power, might', like Lith. *jēga* (4.81). Mühl.-Endz. 2.112.

6. ChSl. *razuměti*, also 'know' (cf. 17.17) but usual word for 'understand' (*rozumět*, etc.) and so in modern Slavic, SCR. *razumijeti*, Boh. *rozuměti*, Pol. *rozumieć*, deriv. of ChSl. *razumū*, etc. 'intelligence, reason' (17.12).

Russ. *ponjat'*, cpd. of *-jat'* (only in cpds. *uzjat'* 'take', etc.), ChSl. *jeti* 'take', etc. Berneker 427.

7. Skt. several cpds. of *jñā-* 'know' (17.17), as *ā-*, *pra-*, *vi-*, are used, among other senses, for 'understand'.

Skt. *api-val-*, Av. *ai-pi-aot-*, prob. : Lith. *justi*, *jausti* 'feel, perceive' (also Lat. *vāles*, Ir. *fāith* 'seer, poet'?). Walde-P. 1.216. Meillet, BSL 23.77. Barth. 41, 1343.

Skt. *ava-gam-*, lit. 'come down to' (cpd. of *gam-* 'go, come', 10.47) is used also for 'understand' (cf. BR. s.v.).

## 17.17 KNOW

|      |                             |       |                                      |       |                         |
|------|-----------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | οἶδα, ἐπιστάμαι, γινώσκω    | Goth. | uītan, kunnan                        | Lith. | žinoti, pažinti         |
| NG   | οἶδα, ἐπιστάμαι, γινώσκω    | ON    | uīta, kunnā, kenna                   | Let.  | zināt, pazīt            |
| Lat. | scire, nōscere, cognōscere  | Dan.  | vide, kende                          | ChSl. | věděti, razuměti, znati |
| It.  | sapere, conoscere           | Sw.   | vetā, kanna                          | SCR.  | znati, poznavati        |
| Fr.  | savoir, connaître           | OE    | uītan, gecnāwan, kenne               | Boh.  | věděti, znati           |
| Sp.  | saber, conocer              | ME    | uīte, (i)knowe, kunnē                | Pol.  | wiedzieć, znać          |
| Rum. | ști, cunoaște               | NE    | know                                 | Russ. | znať                    |
| Ir.  | rofaier, adgān, asa-ginainm | Du.   | welen, kennen                        | Skt.  | vid-, jñā-              |
| Nlr. | tā a shios agam, aith-nigim | OHG   | uīzzan, kunnan, bi-ir-cndan, chennan | Av.   | vid-, zan-              |
| W.   | guybod, adnabod             | MHG   | wissen, kinnen, be-ir-kennen         |       |                         |
| Br.  | gouzout, anaout             | NHG   | wissen, kennen                       |       |                         |

The two main notions which are covered by NE *know*, namely a) 'know as a fact' (*I know it is so* vs. *believe*) and b) 'be acquainted with' (a person or thing),

were originally expressed by different words and still are in many of the IE languages. But even where there are two words, the distinction is not always

*pa-zit*; ChSl. *znati*, etc. general Slavic (Russ. in both senses, SCR. in sense a, with *poznavati* in sense b); Skt. *jñā-*, Av. *zan-*, OPers. *dan-* (3sg. imperf. *adānā* = Skt. *ajānāt*) and *zñā-* (Barth. 1659, 559); Toch. *knān-* (both senses).

3. Grk. *ἐπιστάμαι*, in Hom. 'know how, be able, be versed in', later simply 'know' (mostly in sense a), cpd. of *istamai* 'stand', but detached in form (prob. starting fr. aor. forms like *ἐπιστάμενος*, etc.) and use fr. *ἐπιστάμαι* 'stand upon, be set over, be master of' (cf. *ἐπιστάτης* 'chief, overseer', etc.). Walde-P. 2.603.

NG *ἔξέλω*, pop. *ἔξω*, new present formed fr. *ἔξέλω*, class. *ἔξω* aor. of *ἐξ-επι-σκάω* 'find out'. Koraes, *Ἀρακτα*

4.164. Hatzidakis, *πρακτικά* 1926.64 ff. *Τραχίλης*, *Ἀθήνα* 45.2



with development through 'put oneself, represent'. Mühl.-Endz. 2.469.

Lett. *šķ'ist*, *šķ'ietu* 'think' (17.14) is also used impers. for 'seem', as *šķ'iet*, or refl. *šķ'ietas* 'seems'. Mühl.-Endz. 4.47.

6. ChSl. (*j'aviti se* (reg. in Gospels for *φαίνομαι*), refl. of (*j'aviti* 'show' (15.55).

SCR. *činiti se*, refl. of *činiti* 'do, make' (9.11), with development through 'make oneself, give oneself the appearance, represent'.

Boh. *zdati se*, Pol. *zdać się*, cpd. refl. of *dać*, 'give' (11.21), with development prob. through 'give oneself out as, represent' (this sense formerly in Pol. cf. Linde s.v.).

Russ. *kazat'sja*, refl. of *kazat'* 'show' (15.55).

7. Skt. *dr̥ṣya-* or cpds., pass. of *dr̥ṣ-* 'see' (15.51).

17.19. 'Idea, notion', understood here as the 'mental image', is a kind of thought, only less complex than 'thought' or 'a thought' in general may be, and evoked by an actual object or act or commonly by a word. As is natural, it is generally expressed by words derived from verbs for 'think', 'know' or 'understand'—occasionally as 'representation'. A full list is not attempted, owing to the numerous gaps in our knowledge of the technical word, if any. Only the accepted classical and modern European words are noted.

1. Grk. *ἐννοια*, orig. 'act of thinking' (: *ἐννοέω* 'have in mind, think, under-

stand', *νοῦς* 'mind'; 17.11, etc.), is the reg. term (Plato, Aristot., etc.) for 'idea, notion'.

Grk. *ἰδέα*, mostly 'appearance, form, kind' (: *ιδέω* 'see'), then in Plato a sort of 'ideal type, pattern', but almost never 'idea' in the sense here intended. Hence the widespread Eur. words, It. *idea*, Fr. *idée*, NE *idea*, etc., at first in some of the Grk. senses, later also in the one here intended. NED s.v. *idea*.

2. Lat. *nōtiō* (> Romance words and NE *notion*), reg. term in Cic. = Grk. *ἐννοια*, fr. the root of *nōscere* 'know'.

Lat. *conceptum*, fr. pple. of *concipere* 'take hold of, conceive, perceive', not used for 'idea, notion', but source of modern learned words so used, as It. *concetto*, Fr. NE *concept*, etc.

3. NHG *begriff* (Du. *begrip*, MLG *begrep* > Dan. *begreb*, Sw. *begrepp*; Hellquist 60), fr. *begreifen* 'understand' (17.16). Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 66.

Cf. also as 'mental image' NHG *denkbild*, Du. *denkbeeld*, and NHG *vorstellung*, Dan. *forestilling*, Sw. *foreställning*, fr. vbs. NHG *vorstellen*, etc. 'represent'.

4. Lith. *supratimas*, fr. *suprasti* 'understand' (17.16).

Lett. *saņaga*, *saņegums*, fr. *saņegt* 'understand' (17.16).

5. SCR. *pojām*, Boh. *pojem*, Pol. *pojęcie*, Russ. *ponjatje*, fr. cpds. of vb. for 'take' (ChSl. *jeti*, etc. 11.13), through sense of 'understand' as in Russ. *ponjat'* (17.16).

6. SCR. *pojam*, Boh. *pojem*, Pol. *pojęcie*, Russ. *ponjatje*, fr. cpds. of vb. for 'take' (ChSl. *jeti*, etc. 11.13), through sense of 'understand' as in Russ. *ponjat'* (17.16).

7. Grk. *ἐννοια*, orig. 'act of thinking' (: *ἐννοέω* 'have in mind, think, under-

## 17.21 WISE

|      |                         |       |                                 |       |                                     |
|------|-------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------------|
| Grk. | σοφός, φρόνιμος, σόφρων | Goth. | smutrs, frōþs, han-<br>dugs     | Lith. | išmintingas                         |
| NG   | φρόνιμος, σοφός         | ON    | hvorōs, snotr, vir,             | Lett. | gudrs                               |
| Lat. | sapiens, prudēns        | Dan.  | vīs, klog, frōðr                | ChSl. | mađr-ā, prēmādr-ā                   |
| It.  | savio, saggio           | Sw.   | vīs, klog                       | Boh.  | moudry                              |
| Fr.  | sage                    | OE    | vīs, glāw, frōd, sno-<br>tor    | Russ. | mađry                               |
| Sp.  | sabio                   | ME    | wise                            | Skt.  | vidādhā-, jñānin-,<br>prājña-, etc. |
| Rum. | înțelept                | NE    | wise                            | Av.   | mađra-, dāba-                       |
| Ir.  | gáith, ecne, glice      | Du.   | wijs                            |       |                                     |
| Nir. | eagmuidhe               | OHG   | spāhi, wīs(i), frōl,<br>snottar |       |                                     |
| W.   | doeth                   | MHG   | wīs(e), spahe, vruot,<br>kluoec |       |                                     |
| Br.  | fur                     | NHG   | weise, klog                     |       |                                     |

The adjs. for 'wise', whence are derived the sbs. for 'wisdom', are in the majority of cases connected with words of intellectual force, as 'know, think, understand, mind', yet have come to mean something more than mere 'knowing', etc., that is, they usually imply also good sense, sound judgment, etc. Some are based on physical notions like 'quick, sharp, clear-sighted', etc., with special application to the mind. Several are used also for 'skilful' (in handicraft, etc.), and in some this sense is probably the earlier. Some include the notion of 'cunning, crafty' even in the derogatory sense, and in one case (Br. *fur* fr. Lat. *fūr* 'thief') this is clearly the earlier stage.

As already implied by the preceding remarks, the words listed differ widely in their range of uses and many of them correspond only in part to NE *wise*. The sense of 'knowing, learned' beside 'having good judgment', etc. is stronger in some than in others.

1. Grk. *σοφός* (also 'skilful' in art or craft), etym. dub. Boisacq 888. Brugmann, IF 16.499 ff.

Grk. *φρόνιμος* : *φρόν* as 'seat of intelligence' (17.11), *φρονέω* 'think, be wise' (17.13). In NT and later this is

more common than *σοφός*, which tends to be mainly 'wise' = 'learned'.

Grk. *σάφρων*, cpd. of *σάος*, *σῶς* 'safe, sound' (11.26) and *φρόν* (17.11).

2. Lat. *sapiēns*, pres. pple. of *sapere* 'taste' (15.32) and 'have sense, be wise' (whence in Romance 'know', 17.17). Hence also late Lat. *sapidus* 'savory' and 'wise', and \**sapius* (*ne-sapius* 'foolish' Petr., modeled on *ne-scius*), the latter prob. the source of the Romance forms, It. *sapio* (old), *savio*, Fr. *sage* (> It. *saggio*), Sp. *sabio*. Ernout-M. 894. REW 7587.2 (preferring *sapidus*). Gamillscheg 780.

Lat. *prudēns*, lit. 'foreseeing' (fr. *prō-vidēns*), hence 'knowing, wise, prudent', etc.

Rum. *înțelept*, fr. Lat. *intellectus*, pple. of *intellegere* 'understand' (17.16). Pușcariu 880.

3. Ir. *gáith*, beside *gāes* 'wisdom', etym. dub., perh. as orig. a poet-sage (like Lat. *vātēs*, Skt. *ṛṣi-*, etc.) : Skt. *gāi-* 'sing, chant, celebrate', *gita-* 'sung', etc. (Walde-P. 1.526 f.). Pedersen 2.19.

Ir. *ecne* (also sb. 'wisdom', Nir. *eagna*), also *ecnaid*, Nir. *eagnuidhe*,

## 17.22 FOOLISH, STUPID

|      |                                      |       |                                  |       |   |
|------|--------------------------------------|-------|----------------------------------|-------|---|
| Grk. | ἄφρων, μωρός, βλάξ, ἀνόητος, ἡλίθιος | Goth. | unfrōþs, duals                   | Lith. | kvailas, paikas, dur-<br>nas              |
| NG   | τρελλός, κούρος, βλάκας              | ON    | heimskr                          | Lett. | g'ek'igs, mul'k'isks,dumjāš               |
| Lat. | stultus, fatuus, stolidus, etc.      | Dan.  | taabelig, dum                    | ChSl. | bezumtñū, bujt                            |
| It.  | sciocco, stupido, stollo             | Sw.   | tokig, dum                       | SCR.  | budalast, glup                            |
| Fr.  | sot, bête, stupide, naïfs            | OE    | dysig, dum, dol, dūðs, sot       | Boh.  | blāznivj, pošetijl, hloupj                |
| Sp.  | tonfo, necio, estúpido               | ME    | fol, folish, dull, dysi, sot     | Pol.  | nierozsądnj, glupi                        |
| Rum. | prost, neghiob, do-<br>bitoc, stupid | NE    | foolish, silly, stupid, dull     | Russ. | durackij, glupij                          |
| Ir.  | báith                                | Du.   | duvas, sot, dom                  | Skt.  | mārka-, mādha-,<br>jada-, mura-<br>adāha- |
| Nir. | baoth, dallageanta                   | OHG   | tumb, tol, tulisc, tūsc, gimeit  | Av.   |   |
| W.   | fol, ynfyd, hurt                     | MHG   | tump, töreht, tarisch, tol, sot  |       |   |
| Br.  | diod, sot                            | NHG   | töricht, nārrisch, dumme, albern |       |   |

The difference that is felt between NE *foolish* (milder than the sb. *fool*) and the more opprobrious *stupid* is approximately matched in some of the other words listed, e.g. NHG *töricht* vs. *dumm*. But in general such a distinction will not hold.

Some of the words are merely etymological opposites (neg. cpds., etc.) of words for 'wise', without necessarily being so mild as NE *unwise*. The majority are based upon diverse notions, e.g. 'soft, weak, stricken, stunned, dumb, wandering, confused', with specialized application to the mind. A few are from (having the mind of a) 'beast, animal' (Fr. *bête*, etc.) or 'chicken'(?). Several come from or through the notion of 'simple', which tends to develop a pejorative sense in many words besides those included in the list, e.g. NE *simple* now dial. in this sense, but preserved in *simpleton*; Fr. *simple*, NHG *einfältig*, etc.; NE *daft* beside *deft* (NED s.v. *daft*), etc.

Some words for 'foolish' have come to be used also or mainly for 'mad, crazy', as Grk. *τρελλός*, Fr. *fou*, NHG *toll* (17.23).

1. Grk. *ἄφρων*, neg. cpd. with *φρων* and so opposite of *σῶ-φρων* 'wise' (17.21).

Grk. *μωρός* (> Lat. *mōrus* Plaut.), prob. : Skt. (Ved.) *mūra-* 'dull, stupid, foolish', IE \**mō(u)ro-*, root connection? Walde-P. 2.303. Boisacq 655. NG lit. in this sense, but pop. *μωρό* 'baby', and voc. *μωρέ* > *βρέ* in familiar address.

Grk. *βλάξ*, NG pop. *βλάκας*, prob. as orig. 'weak, soft' fr. \**μλāk-* : *μαλακός* 'soft', etc. (15.75). Walde-P. 2.290. Boisacq 121.

Grk. *ἀνόητος* (also 'not thought of, unthinkable'), neg. cpd. of *νοητός* 'mental', fr. *νοέω* 'perceive, think' : *νοῦς* 'mind' (17.11).

Grk. *ἡλίθιος* : *ἥλεός* 'distracted, crazed', ἄλη 'wandering', ἀλόμαι 'wander, roam', etc. Walde-P. 1.87 f. Boisacq 319.

NG *τρελλός* (esp. 'mad, insane', but

also 'foolish') prob., despite some difficulties, fr. *τραυλός* 'lispings' with shift from oral to mental defect. Cf. Byz. *τραλίζομαι* 'be stunned, dizzy', perh. influenced in form and sense by the synonymous *ζαλίζομαι*. For the NG *ε* cf. dial. *βελάνι*, for *βαλάνι*, *τρευλός* for *τραυλός*, etc. (Hatzidakis, Pernot. 1.238). Koraes, *Ἀτακτα* 1.186. Maserot, Recueil 96, note 59.

NG *κούρος*, orig. dub., perh. as orig. 'having the brain of a chicken' : *κόρρος* 'cock' (Hesych.), NG *κόρρα* 'hen' (3.54). Kukules quoted in Glotta 5.285.

2. Lat. *stultus* (> It. *stolto*, *stolidus*, prob. as orig. 'stiff, standing stock-still' : *stolo* 'shoot, branch, twig', Grk. *στελέα* 'shaft', OE *steall* 'standing place, stall', etc. Walde-P. 2.644. Ernout-M. 985.

Lat. *fatuus*, etym. dub., perh. as orig. 'stricken' (in the head) fr. \**bhād-* in Gallo-Lat. *battuere* 'beat, strike'. Walde-P. 2.126. Walde-H. 1.464.

Lat. *stupidus* 'confounded, amazed', also 'senseless, stupid' (> It. *stupido*, Fr. *stupide*, etc.), fr. *stupēre* 'be struck senseless, be stunned, amazed, etc.' : Grk. *ρίκνω* 'strike', Skt. *tup-* 'harm, hurt'. Walde-P. 2.619. Ernout-M. 990.

It. *sciocco*, etym. dub. Since the word has also the sense of 'tasteless, insipid', the deriv. fr. Lat. *ex-sūcus* (Diez 388) is the most attractive semantically, but the vowel development is unexplained. Spitzer, Arch. rom. 7.393, suggests connection with the cry to chickens (characteristically stupid animals), as *scio* used like NE *shoo*. REW 3075.

Lat. *foliis* 'bag, bellows', in VLat. through 'windbag' > 'fool', glossing Lat. *fatuus*, *stultus*, and *morio* (CGL 5.688.58; 621.24). Hence (It. *folle* not in common use, Sp. *fol* fr. Prov.) OFr. *fol* 'fool, foolish' (or more general abusive term; Fr.

*fou* 'mad') > ME *fol* 'fool, foolish'. REW 3422.

Fr. *sot*, orig. obscure. REW 2454. Bloch 2.286. Gamillscheg 809.

Fr. *bête*, adj. use of *bête* 'beast, animal' (3.11) and, of persons, 'stupid person, idiot'.

Fr. *niais*, orig. 'nestling', fr. VLat. \**nīdaz*, deriv. of Lat. *nīdus* 'nest', hence through 'helpless, simple' to 'foolish, silly' (cf. NE *silly*, below, 4).

Sp. *tonfo* (also It. *tonfo*, Rum. *ținț*, *ținț*), orig. nursery word, imitative of sound. Cf. also NHG *tunte* 'an affected or prudish person'. REW 8988.

Sp. *necio*, fr. Lat. *nescius* 'ignorant, not knowing how, unable' (: *scire* 'know', 17.17). REW 5900.

Rum. *prost*, orig. 'plain, simple', fr. Slav. *prostǔ* 'simple'. Tiktin 1270 f.

Rum. *neghiob*, apparently cpd. of neg. *ne-* (cf. *neburn* 'crazy', 17.23), but last member? Densușianu 1.38. Tiktin 1047.

Rum. *dobitoc*, adj. use of *dobitoc* 'animal, beast' (Slavic *dobyťka*) and of persons 'stupid person, idiot' (imitation of Fr. *bête*). Tiktin 556.

3. Ir. *báith*, *baeth* (beside *bāes* 'folly'), Nir. *baoth*, etym. dub., perh. orig. 'timid' : Skt. *bhī-* 'fear', Lith. *baimė* 'fear', etc. (16.53). Pedersen 1.56.

Ir. *drúh* sb. 'fool', also 'unchaste' : (or fr.) W. *drud* 'senseless, brave, expensive', etym.? Loth, RC 38.174 ff. Thurneysen, Keltorum. 56 ff.

Nir. *dallaigeanta*, deriv. of *dall-aigne* 'dull-mind', cpd. of *dall* 'blind, dull', and *aigne* 'mind' (17.11).

W. *fol*, fr. ME *fol* (below). Parry-Williams 185 (Loth, Mots lat. 169 takes it fr. Fr.).

W. *ynfyd*, also 'furious, mad' (cf. *ynfydu* 'rave'), like Mir. *ōmmit* 'fool', fr. OE *unwita* 'fool, stupid person' (: *witan* 'know'). Pedersen 1.21.

ugly' (16.72), *dur* 'folly', *durak* 'fool', etc. (below, 6).

Lett. *g'ek'igs*, deriv. of *g'ek'* 'is a fool', fr. MLG *geck*, cf. Du. *gek* 'crazy' (17.23). Mühl.-Endz. 1.695.

Lett. *mul'k'isks*, *mul'k'igs*, derivs. of *mul'k'is* = Lith. *mulkis* 'fool, idiot', prob. : Grk. *βλάξ*, etc. (above, 1), rather than : Skt. *mārka-* (below, 7). Walde-P. 2.290. Mühl.-Endz. 2.666.

Lett. *dumjāš*, fr. MLG *dum* (above, 4). Mühl.-Endz. 1.514.

6. ChSl. *bezumtñū* (ἀφρων, Lk. 14.40, 12.20), Russ. *bezumnyj* (also 'mad, crazy'), deriv. of *bezū* 'without' and *umū* 'mind, reason' (17.11).

ChSl. *bujt* (μωρός, Mt. 23.17, 19, etc.), also 'wild, fierce' (Russ. *bujnij* 'turbulent, wild, violent', etc.), prob. : Skt. *bhūyas-* 'more, more numerous, greater, stronger', *bhūri-* 'abundant, much, vast, great', etc., fr. an imitative \**bhu-* in words for 'blown up'(?). Walde-P. 2.115. Berneker 98. Trautmann 40.

SCR. *budalast*, fr. *budala* 'fool', fr. Turk. *budala* 'silly, foolish'. Berneker 96.

SCR. *glup*, Boh. *hloupj*, Pol. *glupi*, Russ. *glupij*, perh. old Gmc. loanword, cf. ON *glōpr* 'idiot, baboon' : *glepr* 'crime, wickedness', *glapask* 'transgress,

do foolishly' (modern 'be fooled'), etc. (cf. Walde-P. 1.626, Falk-Torp 325). So Berneker 308 f., but not mentioned by Stender-Petersen. Brückner 145 takes as fr. same root as ChSl. *gluchū*, etc. 'dumb'.

Boh. *blāznivj*, *blāznavský*, fr. *blāzen* 'fool' (Pol. *blazen*, etc. id.). : ChSl. *blazna* 'error, offense', *blāzniti* 'cause to stumble', etc., root connection dub. Berneker 58 f.

Boh. *pošetilj*, deriv. of (po)šetiti se 'become foolish', cf. šetek 'goblin, sprite', etym.? Miklosich 338.

Pol. *nierozsądnj*, neg. of *rozsądnj* 'intelligent' : *rozsądek* 'judgment, understanding'; cf. Russ. *razsudok* 'reason, intelligence' (17.12).

Russ. *durackij*, fr. *durak* 'fool' : *dur* 'folly', *durnoj* 'bad, ugly', etc. Berneker 239.

7. Skt. *mārka-* : *mārč-* 'congeal, become solid, faint'. Walde-P. 2.280.

Skt. *mūdha-*, lit. 'bewildered, gone astray', fr. *muh-* 'go astray, err, be bewildered', etc. Uhlenbeck 228.

Skt. *jada-*, lit. 'cold, rigid, numb', etym. dub. Uhlenbeck 96.

Skt. *mūra-*, cf. Grk. *μωρός* (above, 1). Av. *adāha-*, neg. cpd. of *daša-* 'wise' (17.21).

W. *hurt*, orig. 'hurt', whence 'stunned' > 'stupid', fr. the English. Parry-Williams 172.

Br. *diod*, fr. pop. Fr. *diot* for *idiot* 'idiot, fool'. Henry 99.

Br. *sot*, fr. Fr. *sot*.

4. Goth. *unfrōþs* (reg. for *āφρων*, also *āνόητος*), neg. cpd. of *frōþs* 'wise' (17.21). Cf. other similar Gmc. cpds. for 'unwise', or in part 'foolish', not included in the list: Goth. *unweis*, ON *unvitr*, OE *unwis*, OHG *unwis*; ON *ufroðr*, OHG *unfruo*t (OE *unfrōdness* 'ignorance', but *unfrōd* 'not old'); ON *āsmotr*, OE *unsmotor*; OE *unglāw*; MHG *unspāhe*, etc.

Goth. *duals* (for *μαρός*), OE *dol*, ME *dull*, NE *dull*, OHG *maß* *tol* (NHG *toll* 'know', 17.17). REW 5900.

Rum. *prost*, orig. 'plain, simple', fr. Slav. *prostǔ* 'simple'. Tiktin 1270 f.

Rum. *neghiob*, apparently cpd. of neg. *ne-* (cf. *neburn* 'crazy', 17.23), but last member? Densușianu 1.38. Tiktin 1047.

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ness'; cf. Ir. *meraipe* 'idiot', OBr. *mergi-dhaam* 'je suis fou, stupide', etym.? Loth, Voc. vieux-bret. 184 f. (: Grk. poet. *μάργος* 'mad').

Nlr. (beside *ar mire*) also *ar buile* with *buile* 'frenzy, madness' (also gen. as adj. *fear buile* 'madman', cf. Dinneen, s.v.), etym.?

W. *gorffwyl*, adj. and sb. 'madness', cpd. of *gor-* 'super' and *pwyl* 'wisdom, discretion, prudence, sense' (: Ir. *ciall* 'reason, sense', 17.12).

W. *gwallgof*, old also sb. 'madness', cpd. of *gwall* 'defect, want' and *cof* 'memory, right mind, senses' (17.31).

Br. *fol*, fr. Fr. *fol*. Loth, Mots lat. 169.

Br. *diskiant*, neg. cpd. of *skiant* 'sense' (fr. Lat. *scientia* 'knowledge').

4. Goth. *dwalimōn* 'be mad' (renders *μαίνομαι*): *duals* 'foolish, stupid' (17.22).

Goth. *wōps* (renders *δαιμονιόμενος, δαιμονιστής*), ON *ōðr*, OE *wōð*, ME *wode* (NE *wood*, obs. or dial.), OHG *uwotag*, *uwotig*, MHG *wüetec* (OHG *wuot*, adj. only in cpds.), orig. prob. 'inspired' (cf. ON *ōðr* 'poetry', OE *wōþ* 'song, sound'): Lat. *wādes*, Ir. *faith* 'poet, seer'. Walde-P. 1.216. Falk-Torp 793. Feist 572 f.

ON *villauss*, OE *gewillās*, lit. 'witless', cf. ON *vit* 'intelligence, reason', OE *gewit* 'mind' (17.11).

Dan. *forrykt*, Sw. *förtryckt*, see NHG *verrückt* (below).

Dan. *gal*, older *galen*, Sw. *galen* = ON *gallinn*, lit. 'enchanted' also 'frantic, mad, sensual', pple. of *gala* 'crow, chant, sing' = OHG *galan* 'sing, bewitch', etc. Falk-Torp 294 f.

Dan. *vanvittig*, Sw. *vansinnig*, see under NHG *wahnsinnig*, below.

OE *gemād(e)*, ME *madde*, NE *mad*, orig. pple. of an OE *\*gemādan* deriv. of *gemād* (becors *gemāad*, gl.) = OS *gimēd* 'foolish', OHG *gimeit* 'foolish, boastful,

vain', Goth. *gamaips* 'crippled, hurt', fr. the root of ON *meiða* 'injure, cripple', etc. Walde-P. 2.222. Feist 191. NED s.v. *mad*.

NE *crazy* (this sense since 17th cent.), older 'unsound, impaired', also 'ailing, diseased' (of body), orig. 'full of cracks or flaws' (so still a *crazy house, ship*), fr. *craze* 'a crack, breach, flaw', vb. *crase*, ME *crase* 'break violently, shatter', this, either through OFr. *acraser* 'crush', or directly, fr. an ON form like Sw. *krasa* 'crackle', NE *crash*, etc. of imitative origin. NED s.v. REW, 4762. Gamillscheg 341.

NE *insane*, fr. Lat. *insānus*.

ME *lunatic*, NE *lunatic* (now mostly as sb.), fr. late Lat. *lunaticus* 'moon-struck, epileptic', deriv. of *lūna* 'moon'. Cf. Grk. *σεληνιαζόμεναι* 'be epileptic' in NT, fr. *σελήνη* 'moon'. NED s.v.

Du. *gek*, MLG *geck*: NHG *geck* 'idiot', prob. = MLG *geck* 'something which may be turned' (a cover of a vessel, etc.), hence orig. a 'vacillating, changeable person'. Falk-Torp 318. Weigand-H. 1.641. Franck-v. W. 181.

Du. *dol*, NHG *toll* = OHG, MHG *tol* 'foolish' (17.22).

Du. *krankzinnig*, fr. *krank* 'sick' and *zin* 'sense'.

OHG *ursinnig*, *unsinnig*, MHG *unsinnec* (NHG *unsinnig* 'nonsensical, irrational', etc.), fr. OHG *ur-* 'out' or neg. prefix *un-*, and *sinn*, NHG *sinn* 'sense'.

NHG *wahnsinnig* (> Sw. *vansinnig*), replaces older *wahnwitzig* by association with *wahn* (sb.) for MHG *wanwitzec* (MLG *wanwittich* > Dan. *vanvittig*, Sw. *vanvettig*), later form for MHG *wanwitzec*, OHG *wanwizzi* 'lacking in intelligence', cpd. of *wan* 'lacking, empty', and OHG *wizzi* 'intelligence, wit' (17.12). Falk-Torp 1348. Weigand-H. 2.1200.

NHG *verrückt*, pple. of *verrücken* 'displace', applied to the brain as to a clock

that is 'out of order'. Similarly (prob. semantic borrowing) Dan. *forrykt*, Sw. *förtryckt*, fr. the corresponding vbs. Falk-Torp 261.

NHG *irre*, as 'insane' esp. in *irren-haus* 'hospital for the insane', orig. 'astray', fr. *irren* 'go astray'.

5. Lith. *pasūtęs*, pret. act. pple. of perfect. of *siuntu*, *siusti* 'go mad': *siaučiu*, *siausti* 'winnow (grain), play, rage', Russ. *šutit'* 'joke', *šut* 'buffoon', Slov. *šulec* 'fool', root connection dub. Walde-P. 2.472. Trautmann 260.

Lith. *beprotiškas*, cpd. of *be* 'without, un-' and *protiškas* 'intellectual, mental' fr. *protas* 'mind, intelligence' (17.11). Cf. *beprotis* 'madman'.

Lett. *traks* (also Lith. *trakas*, KZ 52.285), perh. as orig. 'twisted': Lat. *torquere* 'turn, wind', etc. (10.13). Mühl-Endz. 4.219.

Lett. *ārprātīgs*, cpd. of *ār* 'outside of' and *prātīgs* 'intelligent' fr. *prāts* 'mind, intelligence' (17.11).

6. ChSl. *neistovŭ* (*neistovŭ jestŭ* Mk. 3.21, Jn. 10.20), cpd. of neg. *ne-* and *istovŭ* 'true, genuine' (16.66). Cf. Russ. *neistovŭy* 'furious, raging'.

SCR. *lud* = late ChSl. *ludŭ* 'foolish', Boh., Russ. *lud* 'fool' (both obs.), with obs. Russ. *ludit'* 'deceive', etc.: Goth. *liutei* 'deceit', etc. (16.68). Walde-P. 2.416. Berneker 743 f.

SCR. *mahnit*: *mahati* 'swing, brandish', ChSl. *mahati* 'swing', etc., with development through 'making wild gestures'. Berneker 2.4.

Boh. *šilený*, fr. *šileti* 'be mad', this fr. MHG *schilhen*, NHG *schielen* 'squint', perh. also influenced by the group MHG *schel* 'loud sounding' (fr. *schal* 'sound'), also 'excited, wild', *schellec*, NHG *schellig* also 'mad' (Weigand-H. 2.694).

Pol. *szalony*, beside vbs. *szaleć*, *szalić* 'be mad, drive mad': late ChSl. *bogomŭ šalenŭ* = *θεόπληκτος*, Boh. *šal* 'deceit' (16.68), *šaliti* 'deceive, cheat', SCR. *šaliti se*, Russ. *šaliti* 'play jokes', Russ. *šaleť* 'go mad', etc., without outside connections. Brückner 539 f. Miklosich 336 f.

Russ. *bezumnij*, also 'foolish', as ChSl. *bezumnŭ*. See 17.22.

Russ. *sumasšedšij*, lit. 'gone out of reason', fr. *soiti* (pple. *sošedšij*) *s uma* 'go mad', lit. 'go off one's mind'.

7. Skt. *vātula-*, *vātūla-*, lit. 'windy, inflated with wind' (: *vāta-* 'wind', *vā-blow*, etc. 1.72). Cf. the derivation of Fr. *fou*. (17.22).

Skt. *unmatta-*, pple. of *unmad-* (*ud-mad-*) 'become disordered (in intellect), be distracted, frantic, mad', cpd. of *mad-* 'rejoice, be glad, be drunk', etc.

## 17.24 LEARN

|      |                      |       |             |       |                   |
|------|----------------------|-------|-------------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk. | μαθήσασθαι           | Goth. | laisjan sik | Lith. | mokintis, mokytis |
| NG   | μαθήσασθαι           | ON    | nema        | Lett. | mācītis           |
| Lat. | discere              | Dan.  | lære        | ChSl. | učiti se          |
| It.  | imparare, apprendere | Sw.   | lära (sig)  | SCR.  | učiti se          |
| Fr.  | apprendre            | OE    | leornian    | Boh.  | učiti se          |
| Sp.  | aprender             | ME    | lerne       | Pol.  | uczyć się         |
| Rum. | învăța               | NE    | learn       | Russ. | učiti'sja         |
| Ir.  | foghlaim             | Du.   | leeren      | Skt.  | çikṣ-, adhi-i-    |
| Nir. | foghlumaim           | OHG   | lernēn      | Av.   | sikṣ-             |
| W.   | dygu                 | MHG   | lernen      |       |                   |
| Br.  | deski                | NHG   | lernen      |       |                   |

(ME and NE locally also 'teach'), OHG *lernēn*, *lirnēn*, MHG, NHG *lernen* (dial. and formerly even lit. also 'teach', cf. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v., Kretschmer, Wortgeogr. 36), Gmc. *\*liznan* 'become knowing', fr. the pple. of the same root as the preceding group.

ON *nema*, also and orig. 'take, seize' (: Goth., OE *niman*, etc., 11.13) but the usual word for 'learn' (largely replaced by *lära* in Nlcel.).

5. Lith. *mokyti*, *mokinti*, Lett. *mācīt*, OPruss. *mukint* 'teach', refl. Lith. *mokytis*, *mokintis*, Lett. *mācīties* 'learn': Lith. *mokėti*, Lett. *mācēt* 'know how, be able' (Lith. also 'pay, cost'), outside connections? Walde-P. 2.223.

6. ChSl. *učiti* 'teach', refl. *učiti se* 'learn' (both often with *na-*), general Slavic (but SCR. *učiti* in both senses; Russ. *učit'* urok 'learn a lesson', but otherwise refl. for 'learn'): ChSl. *vyknuti* 'get accustomed to', Lith. *junkti* id. (hence of animals 'become tame'), Goth. *bi-ūhts* 'accustomed', Skt. *uc-* 'be accustomed, delight in'. Walde-P. 1.111.

7. Skt. *çikṣ-* 'learn', caus. *çikṣaya-* 'teach', Av. *sikṣ-* 'learn', desid. of Skt. *çak-* 'be strong, be able', Av. *sak-* 'un-

derstand thoroughly, have in mind', caus. *sāçaya-* 'teach'. Walde-P. 1.333. Barth. 1552 f.

Skt. *adhi-i* 'notice, understand' and esp. mid. 'learn', caus. *adhyāpaya-* 'teach', lit. 'come upon', cpd. of *i-* 'go, come'.

17.242. 'Study' (in school, in books, etc.) is sometimes covered by words for 'learn', as generally in Slavic (SCR. *učiti*, Boh. *učiti se*, etc.; otherwise Lat. loanwords). The special terms have arisen by specialization of 'pay attention to, be eager, zealous'. Thus Grk. *μελέτω* (: *μελέτη* 'care, attention' 16.14) 'care for, attend to, practice', whence also 'study', as reg. NG *μελέτω*. Grk. *σπουδάζω* 'be eager' (: *σπεύδω* 'hasten'), late 'study', as reg. in NG. Lat. *studere* (prob. fr. the root in Lat. *tundere*, Goth. *stautan* 'strike'. Walde-P. 2.618. Ernout-M. 990) 'be eager, strive for, apply oneself to', hence (first with *litteris*, etc., later alone) 'study', beside sb. *studium* 'zeal, study', whence, partly through VLat. *\*studiāre*, the widespread Eur. words, Fr. *étudier*, NE *study*, etc. (Romance, Gmc., Lett., Boh., Pol.).

## 17.25 TEACH

|      |                      |       |                      |       |                         |
|------|----------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | διδάσκειν            | Goth. | laisjan              | Lith. | mokyti, mokinti         |
| NG   | διδάσκειν            | ON    | keuwa, læra          | Lett. | mācīt                   |
| Lat. | docere               | Dan.  | lære, undervise      | ChSl. | učiti                   |
| It.  | insegnare            | Sw.   | lära, undervisa      | SCR.  | učiti                   |
| Fr.  | enseigner, apprendre | OE    | læran, (ge)læcan     | Boh.  | učiti                   |
| Sp.  | enseñar              | ME    | teche, lere, lerne   | Pol.  | uczyć                   |
| Rum. | învăța               | NE    | teach                | Russ. | učiti                   |
| Ir.  | for-annám, mán-      | Du.   | leeren, onderwijzen  | Skt.  | çās-, çikṣ-, adhy-      |
| Nir. | mānim                | OHG   | læren                | Av.   | daxṣ-, säh-, çāṣ-, zṣā- |
| W.   | dygu                 | MHG   | læren                |       | sāçaya-                 |
| Br.  | deski, kelenn        | NHG   | lehren, unterrichten |       |                         |

The majority of the words for 'teach' are connected with others meaning 'learn' and have been discussed with the latter (17.24).

The others are mostly from 'point out,

make known', but also from 'command, direct' and in one case from 'sing over'.

1. It. *insegnare*, Fr. *enseigner*, Sp. *enseñar*, fr. VLat. *\*insignāre*, for *insignire* 'distinguish, mark', deriv. of *insignis* 're-

markable, notable, distinguished': *signum* 'mark, sign' (12.94). REW 4462.

2. Ir. *for-canim*, cpd. of *for-* 'on, over' and *canim* 'sing', referring orig. to instruction by song (simply?) or magical incantations(?). Pedersen 2.480.

Ir. *mūn-* (in pret. *ro-m-mūnus* with infixed refl. pron. 'I have learned', vbl. n. *munud*), Nlr. *mūnim*, etym.? Pedersen 2.582.

Br. *kelenn*, orig. only sb. *kelenn* 'leson', cpd. of prefix *ke-* 'com-' and *lenn* 'reading' (fr. Lat. *legendum*). Henry 59, 183.

3. ON *kenna* 'know' and in caus. sense 'teach' = Goth. *kannjan*, OE *cennan* 'make known', etc. (17.17).

OE *læcan*, *gelæcan*, mostly 'show, point out', ME *teche*, NE *teach*: OE *tæcn*, OHG *zeihhan*, Goth. *taikns* 'sign', Goth. *taiknjan* 'show', etc. Walde-P. 1.777. NED s.v. *teach*.

NHG *unterrichten* 'inform' and 'teach' (hence back-formation *unterricht* 'teaching'), in MHG 'arrange, inform, dispute', cpd. of *richten* 'arrange, direct'. Weigand-H. 2.1124.

## 17.26 PUPIL

|      |                     |       |                     |       |                      |
|------|---------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | μαθητής, φοιτητής   | Goth. | šipōneis            | Lith. | mokinsys, mokintinis |
| NG   | μαθητής             | ON    | larisveinn          | Lett. | mācēklis             |
| Lat. | discipulus, alumnus | Dan.  | elev                | ChSl. | učenikŭ              |
| It.  | allievo, alunno     | Sw.   | larjunge            | SCR.  | učenik               |
| Fr.  | élève               | OE    | leornungcniht, þegn | Boh.  | žák (učeník)         |
| Rum. | discipulo, alunno   | ME    | scoler(e)           | Pol.  | uczeń                |
| Ir.  | dalte, felaemac     | NE    | pupul               | Russ. | učenik               |
| Nir. | scollaire           | Du.   | leerling            | Skt.  | çikṣ-, çhātra-       |
| W.   | disgybl             | OHG   | jungiro, degan      | Av.   | aēθrya-              |
| Br.  | skoliad             | MHG   | junger              |       |                      |
|      |                     | NHG   | schüler             |       |                      |

Many of the words for 'pupil' are, as one might expect, derivs. of those for 'learn' (17.24), that is, lit. 'learner'. Some are specialized from 'one who is brought up', a 'young person' or 'attendant', or in one case generalized from

'theological student'. Derivs. of words for 'school' (17.28) more often denote a member of a school or a learned person (like NE *scholar* in its current use), but also in some cases 'pupil' (as reg. NHG *schüler*).

his master, cf. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v.), comp. of *jung* 'young' in sb. use, orig. reflection of Lat. *iunior* 'younger', in MLat. esp. 'subject, apprentice, pupil'. Cf. OE *geongra* 'vassal, attendant, subject' also rendered 'discipulus' (Bosworth-Toller s.v.). Kluge-G. 271. Weigand-H. 1.955.

NHG *schüler* (rarely now for 'student, scholar'), fr. MHG *schulære*, OHG *scuolāri* 'student, scholar', fr. late Lat. *scolāris* (cf. ME *scolere*, above). Weigand-H. 2.799.

5. Lith. *mokinsys* and *mokintinis* (cf. NSB), Lett. *mācēklis* ('Lehrling, Jünger', Mühl-Endz. s.v.), derivs. of Lith. *mokyti*, *mokinti*, Lett. *mācīt* 'teach', refl. 'learn' (17.24).

6. ChSl. *učenikŭ*, SCR., Russ. *učenik*, Pol. *uczeń* (Boh. *učeník* esp. 'apprentice'), deriv. through pass. pple. *učenŭ*

'taught' of *učiti* 'teach'. Cf. ChSl. *učitelŭ*, etc. 'teacher' formed with suffix of agency.

Boh. *žák* (SCR. *dak* 'student', *dace* 'school-boy', Pol. *zak* 'school-boy') = ChSl. *dijakŭ* (Supr.), fr. Byz. *δίακος*, pop. form of Grk. *διάκονος*, orig. 'servant, attendant', but here 'deacon' in its early eccl. sense. Referring to a subordinate rank in the church, it was extended to include those studying for service in the church and then to students in general. Berneker 198 f. Brückner 661.

7. Skt. *çisya-*, lit. 'to be taught': *çās-* 'teach' (17.25).

Skt. *chātra-*, fr. *chattrā-* 'parasol'. Orig. 'one who carries the parasol for the teacher'. Uhlenbeck 94.

Av. *aēθrya-*, fr. *aēθra-*, in *aēθrapati* 'teacher' (17.27). Barth. 20 f.

## 17.27 TEACHER

|      |                  |       |           |
|------|------------------|-------|-----------|
| Grk. | διδασκαλος       | Goth. | laisareis |
| NG   | διδασκαλεῖν      | ON    | kennir    |
| Lat. | doctor, magister |       | kennir    |
| It.  | maestro          | Dan.  | lærer     |
| Fr.  | maître           | Sw.   | lärare    |
| Sp.  | maestro          | OE    | lārōu     |
| Rum. | învățător        | ME    | techer(e) |
| Ir.  | forcillaid       |       | maister   |
| Nir. | māghistēr        | NE    | teacher   |
| W.   | athro            | Du.   | leeraar   |
| Br.  | mestr, skolaer   | OHG   | lārāri    |
|      |                  | MHG   | lārāre    |
|      |                  | NHG   | lehrer    |

The majority of the words for 'teacher' are derivs. of the verbs for 'teach' (17.25), a few from words for 'school' (17.28). The others are words for 'master' used in specialized sense. Only the most generic terms are listed, with omission of others used mainly for 'tutor', 'instructor', 'professor', etc.

1. Grk. *διδασκαλος*, NG pop. *δάσκαλος*, fr. *διδάσκω* 'teach'.

2. Lat. *doctor*, fr. *docere* 'teach'.

Lat. *magister* (> It., Sp. *maestro*, Fr. *maître*) 'master, chief, head, director, leader' (19.41), as 'teacher' abbr. for *magister lūdī* (*lūdus* as 'school', cf. 17.28). Ernout-M. 580.

Rum. *învățător* (but now esp. 'teacher of a rural school', with other terms for teachers in city schools, *înstătuitor*, *profesor*), fr. *învăța* 'teach'. Tiktin 845 f.

Formerly and still dial. *dasca*, fr. NG *δάσκαλος*. Tiktin 506.

From the nature of the records, the Goth., OE, OHG, and ChSl. words are mainly renderings of Grk. *μαθητής*, Lat. *discipulus* in its eccl. sense 'disciple' (of Christ), but cf. e.g. Mt. 10.24 ('the disciple is not above his teacher'), where the same words are used. But the modern words which are mainly 'disciple' and not common words for 'pupil' are omitted. Likewise omitted are those for 'student' in a college or university.

1. Grk. *μαθητής*: *μαθήσαν* 'learn' (17.24).

Grk. *φοιτητής* (NG 'university student'): *φοιτάω* 'go to and fro, wander, frequent, resort to (a teacher or school)', etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.103. Boisacq 1033, 1122.

Skt. *upa-diç-* 'point out' and 'teach' (hence *upadeçā-* 'instruction, teaching'), cpd. of *diç-* 'point out, show': Grk. *δεικνύμι* id., etc. Walde-P. 1.776.

Skt. *çikṣ-*, desid. of *çak-* 'be able' (9.95).

Skt. *adhyā*

used for 'school' (cf. Grk. σχολή). Ernout-M. 565.

4. Lith. *mokykla* : *mokyti* 'teach' (17.25).

5. Russ. *učilišče* : *učit'* 'teach' (17.25).

6. Skt. *vidyālaya*-(rare), lit. 'abode of knowledge' (*vidyā* 'knowledge' : *vid-* 'know', 17.17).  
Skt. *pāṭhaṭā*-(rare), cpd. of *pāṭha* 'recitation, study' (: *pāṭh-* 'recite, study') and *ṭāḥa* 'house, building'.

## 17.31 REMEMBER

|  |  |   |
|--|--|---|
| Grk. <i>μνησμαι, μνησσομαι</i><br>( <i>bi</i> ) <i>mnēsthai, mnēssomai</i><br><i>meminisse, reminisci, recordari</i> | Goth. <i>gamanan, andþagk-jan sik</i>        | Lith. <i>at(s)iminti atminē(ies)</i>      |
| NG Lat. <i>meminisse, reminisci, recordari</i>   | ON <i>muna, minna, min-naak</i>              | ChSl. <i>pomēnāti, pomēnāti, pomēnāti</i> |
| It. <i>ricordarsi</i>  | Dan. <i>huske, minde, erindre</i>            | SCr. <i>sjetiti se, pamiti</i>            |
| Fr. <i>se souvenir, se rappeler</i>  | Sw. <i>iðgkomma, minnas</i>                  | Boh. <i>pamatovali se</i>                 |
| Sp. <i>acordarse, recordarse</i>   | OE <i>gemunan, gemynan, (ge)myndgian</i>     | Pol. <i>pamiętać</i>                      |
| Rum. <i>și aduce amintea</i>   | ME <i>mone, mynde, remembre</i>              | Russ. <i>pomniť</i>                       |
| Ir. <i>cummigur, forath-minedar</i> (3sg.)   | NE <i>remember, recall, recollect</i>        | Skt. <i>smṛ-</i>                          |
| Nlr. <i>cumknighim</i>   | Du. <i>zich herinneren, gedenken, heugen</i> | Av. <i>mar-, mazdā-, mand-</i>            |
| W. <i>cofio</i>  |  |   |
| Br. <i>kouna</i>   |  |   |

Many of the words for 'remember' belong to an inherited group, from an IE root that is also widespread in words for 'mind' and for 'think', and several outside this group are connected with other words for 'mind' or 'think'. In another inherited group 'remember' or 'memory' (Indo-Iranian, Lat.) alternates with 'be anxious, care' (Grk., Gmc.). Some are connected with words for 'heart' (as = 'mind'), and some are from phrases 'come to', 'bring to', 'call to' with 'mind' expressed or understood. In several of the words the notion 'remind, call to mind in words, mention' is prominent.

The nouns for 'memory' are generally parallel to the verbs for 'remember', but note Lat. *memoria* vs. *meminisse*, representing two different inherited groups. Most of them cover both the abstract (faculty of) 'memory' and the concrete 'memory, remembrance', but some are used only in the latter sense, e.g. Fr.

*souvenir* vs. *mémoire*, NHG *erinnerung* vs. *gedächtnis*.

1. IE *\*men-*, the same root as in words for 'mind', as Lat. *mēns*, etc. (17.11) and for 'think' as in Skt. *man-*, etc. (17.13). Walde-P. 2.264 ff. Ernout-M. 604. Boisacq 625 f., 638. Pedersen 1.171, 2.581. Berneker 2.45.

Grk. (*mnā-*, Att.-Ion. *mn-* in all words with this sense) *μνησμαι* perf. used as pres., pres. (Hom. *μνᾶσθαι*) *μνησσομαι*; Lat. *memini* perf. used as pres. (cf. Grk. *μέμνη* 'be eager, purpose, intend'), *reminisci*; Ir. *cummigur*, Nlr. *cumknighim*, W. *cofio*, Br. *kouna* (derivs. of the respective sbs. for 'memory', Ir. *cuman*, *cunne*, W. *cof*, *couff*, Br. *koun*, cpds. of prefix *\*kom-* with *\*men-*), Ir. *for-aihmindedar*, and *do-aihmindedar* (3sg.; lsg. not quotable); Goth. *gamanan* (*munan* 'think'), ON *muna*, OE *gemunan*, ME *mone*, ON *minna* ('remind'), impers. refl. with gen. 'remember', as *minnir mik*

*eins hvers* 'I remember someone'), also refl. *minnask*, Dan. *minde*, Sw. *minnas* (derivs. of ON *minni*, etc. 'memory'), OE *gemynan*, OE (ge)myndgian (gmyndig 'mindful', fr. *gemynd* 'memory', ME *mynd*, NE *mind* 'memory, mind', whence vb.), ME *mynde* (NE *mind* as 'remember' arch. and dial., still common in certain sections of U.S.; cf. *remind* 'make remember'); Lith. *atminti*, Lett. *atminēt*, and refl. *atsiminti*, *atminēties*; ChSl. *pomēnēti* (*mīnēti* 'think'), Russ. *pomniť*; SCr. *pamiti*, Boh. *pamatovali*, Pol. *pamiętać* (derivs. of ChSl. *pamēti*, etc. 'memory'); also by crossing with *po-mēnāti* (cf. below), ChSl. *po-mēnāti* (Berneker 2.49).

2. IE *\*s(mer)-* in words for 'remember, memory' and 'be anxious, care'. Walde-P. 2.689. Ernout-M. 604 f.

Skt. *smṛ-* 'remember' with sb. *smṛ-ti* 'memory', Av. *mar-* (also redupl. *hišmar-*) 'remember, be mindful of'; Lat. *memor* 'mindful', *memoria* 'memory'; Grk. *μέμνηται, μέμνηται* 'care, anxiety'; OE *gemimor* 'in memory, known', Goth. *maurnan* 'take thought for, be anxious', OE *munan* 'be anxious, feel sorrow' (NE *mourn*), etc.

3. NG (*mn-*) *μνησσομαι*, pop. *θυμάμαι*, fr. class. Grk. *ἐνθυμέομαι* 'take to heart, ponder, form a plan, etc.', fr. *θύμῃς* 'soul, spirit', etc. (16.11).

4. Lat. *recordari* (> It. *ricordarsi*, Sp. *recordarse*), deriv. of *cor*, *cordis* 'heart' (used also for 'mind'). Ernout-M. 219. REW 7129.

Fr. *se souvenir*, fr. Lat. *subvenire* 'come up to one, aid, assist', also rarely 'come to the mind'. Ernout-M. 1085. REW 5408.

Fr. *se rappeler*, refl. of *rappeler* 'call back, recall', cpd. of *re-* and *appeler* 'call', fr. Lat. *appellāre* 'call upon, appeal'.

Sp. *acordarse*, refl. of *acordar* 'resolve, agree, remind, tune' (= Fr. *accorder*, It. *accordare* 'harmonize, accord'), fr. Lat. *\*acchordāre*, deriv. of *chorda* 'chord, string of a musical instrument'. REW 71a. Wartburg 1.13.

Rum. *și aduce aminte*, lit. 'bring to the mind', *și* dat. refl. pron., and *aminte* adv. fr. Lat. *ad mentem*. Tiktin 62.

5. Celtic forms, above, 1.

6. Goth. *andþagkjan sik* (in this sense Skeir. 7.1 f., otherwise 'betrunk oneself' Lk. 16.4), Du., NHG *gedenken*, MHG (*sich*) *gedenken* (the non-refl. form chiefly 'think on, consider, decide, etc.', so OHG *gidenken*), cpds. of Goth. *þagkjan* 'ponder, consult, doubt, etc.', OHG *denken*, etc. 'think' (17.13).

Dan. *huske*, ODan. *hugse* = ON *hugsa* 'think' (17.13).

Sw. *iðgkomma*, also *komma ihåg*, Dan. *komme ihu*, lit. 'come into the mind', with *håg*, Dan. *hu* 'mind, heart, mood' = ON *hugr* 'mind' (17.11).

ME *remembre*, NE *remember*, fr. OFr. *remembrer*, late Lat. *rememorārī*, deriv. of *memor* 'mindful, remembering'. NED s.v. REW 7195.

NE *recall, recollect*, deriv. (*re-* *call*, etc.) obvious.

OHG *gihugen*, MHG *gehügen*, Du. *heugen* : OHG *huggen*, Goth. *hugjan*, etc. 'think' (17.13). Franck-v. W. 250.

NHG *sich erinnern* (hence Du. *zich herinneren*, Dan. *erindre*, Sw. *erinna sig*), refl. of *erinnern* 'remind', MHG *sich innern*, refl. of *innern* 'remind, acquaint with, teach, persuade', OHG *innarōn*, deriv. of OHG *innaro* 'the inner part', orig. 'cause to be within'. Kluge-G. 136. Weigand-H. 1.462. Falk-Torp 196.

7. Lith. *at(s)iminti*, ChSl. *pomēnēti*, etc. (most of the Balto-Slavic forms), above, 1.

ChSl. *po-mēnāti*, beside *mēniti* 'remember' and 'think, believe': OHG

'swear falsely', NE *overlook*, etc.) and cognate of *munan* 'think', *ga-munan* 'remember'. Feist 512.

ON *gleyma*, orig. 'be gay, make merry', with dat. 'forget' (still in this construction in Nicel.), Dan. *glemmes*, Sw. *glömma*, deriv. of ON *glauvnr* 'merriment, cheer, noisy joy', with development fr. 'make merry with' > 'be careless with, neglect' > 'forget'. Falk-Torp 326. Hellquist 291.

OE *forġietan*, ME *forgete*, NE *forget*, Du. *vergeten*, OHG *fargezan*, MHG *vergezen*, NHG *vergessen*, OHG *argezan* (more usual than *far-*), MHG *ergezen*, cpds. of prefixes having neg. force and the root seen in OE *begietan*, OHG *biggezan*, 'get' (11.16), hence 'lose' > 'forget'.

6. ChSl. *zabyti*, Russ. *zabyť*, cpd. of *za-* 'behind' and *byti* 'be', semantic development prob. 'be left behind' > 'be forgotten' (cf. ChSl. pples. *zabvenū* 'forgotten') > 'forget' (cf. Grk. *λαθάνομαι*, above, 2). Berneker 114.

SCr. *zaboraviti* (similar form in Bulg. for 'forget'), cpd. of *za-* 'behind' and *boraviti* 'stay, tarry', semantic development as in preceding. Berneker 72.

Boh. *zapomenouti*, Pol. *zapomnieć*, cpds. of *za-* (cf. above, but here mere neg. force) and Boh. *pomenouti*, Pol. *pomnieć* 'remember' (neither now the usual word) : ChSl. *po-mīnēti* 'remember' (17.31).

7. Skt. *vi-smṛ-*, neg. cpd. of *smṛ-* 'remember' (17.31).

## 17.33 MEANING

|  |                               |                              |
|--|-------------------------------|------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>σημασία, νοῦς, δύναμις</i>           | Goth. ....                    | Lith. <i>reikšmė</i>         |
| NG <i>σημασία, έννοια</i>                    | ON <i>þýðing</i>              | Let. <i>nuostime</i>         |
| Lat. <i>significatio, sententia, sensus</i>  | Dan. <i>betydning, mening</i> | ChSl. ....                   |
| It. <i>significato, senso</i>                | Sw. <i>betydelse, mening</i>  | SCr. <i>značenje, smisao</i> |
| Fr. <i>sens, signification</i>               | OE <i>tācung, andgit</i>      | Boh. <i>smysl, význam</i>    |
| Sp. <i>significatio (or -ación), sentido</i> | ME <i>mening, tokening</i>    | Pol. <i>znaczenie</i>        |
| Rum. <i>înțeles, înțelegere</i>              | DE <i>meaning, sense</i>      | Russ. <i>značenie, smysl</i> |
| Ir. <i>inleas, inleas</i>                    | Du. <i>beteeknis, zin</i>     | Skt. <i>artha-</i>           |
| Ir. <i>inleas, inleas</i>                    | OHG <i>bedeuten, ein</i>      | Av. ....                     |
| Nlr. <i>brigh, ciall</i>                     | MHG <i>bedeuten, ein</i>      |                              |
| W. <i>ystyr, meddwl</i>                      | NHG <i>bedeuten, ein</i>      |                              |
| Br. <i>talvoudegez, ster</i>                 |                               |                              |

The 'meaning' (of a word, sentence, etc., in part also of an action) is expressed by derivs. of words for 'sign, point out, explain', and by words meaning primarily 'reason, thought, sense, understanding, intention, power, force, value, inwardness', etc., all of obvious application.

1. Grk. *σημασία*, the word finally adopted in grammar, fr. *σημαίνω* 'point out, signify', also 'mean' (hence mid. pple. *τὸ σημαίνον* 'meaning', Aristot. etc.), deriv. of *σημα* 'sign, mark' (12.94).

Hence also the modern Eur. terms for the science of meaning, like NE *semasiology* and (fr. adj. *σημασιολογία*) adj. *semantic*, sb. *semantics*.

Grk. *νοῦς* 'mind, reason' (17.11), also 'meaning' (Hdt. +).

Grk. *έννοια* 'notion, idea' (cf. *έννοώ* 17.13), also late and frequently in NG 'meaning'.

Grk. *δύναμις* 'power' (4.81), also sometimes 'meaning', like NE *force* (of a word).

For the verbal 'mean' NG has (be-

side *σημαίνω*) a pop. phrase *τι θὰ πῇ*; lit. 'what will it say?', like Fr. *que veut dire?*

2. Lat. *significatio* (> Fr., NE *signification*, Sp. *-ación*), fr. *significāre* 'point out, signify' and 'mean' (whence It. *significato*, Sp. *significado*), cpd. of Lat. *signum* 'sign' (12.94).

Lat. *sententia* 'way of thinking, opinion', also 'meaning' (Lucr., Cic., etc.), also *sensus* (> It. *sensio*, Fr. *sens*) 'sense, feeling', as 'meaning' mostly poet. and post-Aug. (freq. in Quint.) : *sensire* 'feel' (15.11), whence also Sp. *sentido* 'sense, feeling' and 'meaning'. Rum. *sens* 'meaning' (vs. native *simt*), fr. Fr. *sens*.

Lat. *vis* 'strength, force', also sometimes 'meaning', like Grk. *δύναμις*, NE *force*.

Rum. *înțeles* 'understanding', also 'meaning', fr. *înțelege* 'understand' (17.16).

Rum. *însemnare*, old infin. of *însemna* 'note, denote, signify, mean', deriv. of *sema* 'sign' (Lat. *signum*, above).

3. Ir. *ctall* 'intelligence, reason' (17.12), also 'meaning' (cf. Sg. 140b.3.4, also K. Meyer, Contrib. 364).

Ir. *inne* (cf. Sg. 4b.4, gl. *significatio*) = *inne* 'intestine', orig. 'inner part', as *\*end-yo-* : Lat. *endo, indu, ind-* 'in', etc. Vendryes, MSL 15.358 f., but without mention of *inne* as 'meaning'.

Nlr. *brigh* 'power, force', also 'meaning'.

W. *ystyr*, Br. *ster*, fr. Lat. *historia* 'narrative, history', prob. as 'explanation', fr. the sense of 'subject of a discourse' and esp. the eccl. usage for biblical passages read and the responses to the readings (cf. Du Cange s.v. *historia*).

Loth, Mots lat. 218 (without comment on semantic development).

W. *meddwl* 'mind, thought' (17.11), also 'meaning'.

*rēlain* 'reveal', this fr. Lat. *re-velāre* 'uncover, reveal'. Walde-P. 2.366. Pokorny, KZ 46.152 f.

Nlr. *lêir*, more usually, cpd. *soilêir* (with ameliorative prefix *so-*), fr. Ir. *lêir* 'visible', etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.381.

NHG *deutlich* (MHG *diutliche* adv.), Du. *duidelijk*, Dan. *tydelig*, Sw. *tydlig*, derivs. of NHG *deuten* (MHG *diuten*), Du. *duiden*, Dan. *tyde* 'explain, interpret' (cf. NHG *bedeuten*, etc. 'meaning', 17.33).

5. Lith. *aĩskus*, beside OLith. *ĩskus*, prob. : ChSl. *jasno*, etc. (below). Walde-P. 1.2. Berneker 276.

Let. *skaidrs* (Lith. *skaidrus* 'fair, clear' of weather, etc.) : ChSl. *čistŭ* 'clean', ON *heĩðr*, OHG *heitar* 'clear, bright' (sky, weather, etc.), Skt. *ketu* 'splendor, brightness, sign, mark', Av. *čithra* 'apparent, clear' (below). Walde-P. 2.537.

6. ChSl. *avě, javě* (adv.), Russ. *javnyj*, beside ChSl. *aviti, javiti* 'make known, show' : Skt. *diviṣ* 'visible, manifest', Grk. *αἰθάρωμα* ('αἴσθ-θ') 'perceive'. Walde-P. 1.17. Berneker 34.

ChSl. *jasno* (adv.), SCr. *jasan*, etc., general Slavic, orig. 'bright' (15.57).

7. Skt. *spaṣṭa-*, orig. 'visible, seen (clearly)', pple. of *spaṣ-*, doublet of *paṣ-* 'see'.

Skt. *vyakta-*, pple. of *vi-akṣ-* 'make appear, reveal', orig. 'beautify, adorn', cpd. of *akṣ-* 'anoint'. Cf. BR 1.77.

Av. *čithra-* : Lett. *skaidrs*, etc. (above, 5).

Du. *klaar* (MLG *klār* > Dan., Sw.

Br. *talvoudegez* 'value' and 'meaning', fr. *talbout* 'be worth, cost, deserve'.

4. ON *þýðing*, Dan. *betydning*, Sw. *betydelse*, NHG *bedeutung*, all orig. 'explanation, interpretation', fr. the vbs. ON *þýða* 'interpret, mean', Dan. *betyde*, Sw. *betyda* (for *tyde*, *tyda* by influence of MLG form), NHG *bedeuten* 'mean, signify', MHG (*be*)*diuten* id., orig. 'put into the language of the people' (cf. OE *geþeode* 'language'), derivs. of ON *þýð*, OHG *diot(a)*, Goth. *þiuda*, etc., 'people, folk'. Walde-P. 1.712. Weigand-H. 1.349. Falk-Torp 65, 1306 f.

Dan., Sw., ME *mening*, NE *meaning*, orig. 'opinion, intention', etc. (so still in Scand.), fr. Dan. *mene*, Sw. *mēna* 'have an opinion, mean, think', OE *menan* 'intend, have an opinion', etc. : OHG, NHG *meinen*, etc. 'think' (17.14).

OE *tācung*, ME *tokening* (also 'token, emblem, mark, portent, etc.'), Du. *be-teeknis*, OHG *zeichnunga* (also 'description', Graff), MHG (*be*)*zeichnunge*, *be-zeichnungheit*, *bezeichnungisse* (NHG *bezeichnung* 'mark, description', etc.), fr. OE *tācnian* 'be a sign of, signify, mean', OHG *zeihenen*, *zeihnonēn* 'show, signify', etc., these fr. OE *tāc*, etc. 'sign' (12.94). NED s.v. *tokening*. Weigand-H. 2.1309.

OE *andgit* 'understanding, sense' (15.11), also 'meaning'. Cf. Bosworth-Toller Suppl. s.v. *andgit*, IV.

NE *sense* (in this meaning since 1530, NED), fr. Fr. *sens* (above).

Du. *zin*, MHG *sin*, NHG *sinn*, orig. 'sense' (15.11, also 'mind' 17.11), as 'meaning' perh. by semantic borrowing fr. Lat. *sensus*, or Fr. *sens* (cf. above).

5. Lith. *reikšmė*, fr. *reikšiu*, *reikšti* 'reveal, mean' : *raiškūs* 'apparent', Russ.-ChSl. *rěsnij* 'true', ChSl. *rěsnota* 'truth'. Trautmann 242.

Lett. *nozīme*, lit. 'mark', cpd. of *zīme* 'sign' (12.94).

Grk. *φανερὸς* 'visible, manifest', in

6. SCr. *značenje*, Pol. *znaczenie*, Russ. *značenie* (cf. SCr., Pol., Russ. *znak* 'mark, sign'), Boh. *význam* : ChSl. *znati*, etc. 'know' (17.17).

SCr. *smisao*, Boh., Russ. *смисл* (Pol. *zmysł* also in this sense, cf. Linde s.v.,

but apparently not usual) = ChSl. *sū-myslŭ* 'thought' (Supr.) : ChSl. *myslŭ* 'thought', Boh. *význam* : ChSl. *znati*, etc. 'know' (17.17).  
7. Skt. *artha-* 'aim, purpose' (17.41), 'object, thing', etc., also 'meaning'. Walde-P. 1.136. Uhlenbeck 13.

## 17.34 CLEAR, PLAIN

(To the Mind)

|  |   |  |
|--|---|--|
| Grk. <i>δῆλος, σαφής, ἐναργής</i>                    | Goth. <i>skairs, bairhts, svi-kunps</i> | Lith. <i>aĩskus</i>                            |
| NG <i>φανερὸς, σαφής</i>                             | ON <i>skýrr</i>                         | Let. <i>skaidrs</i>                            |
| Lat. <i>clarus, plānus, aper-tus, evidēns</i> , etc. | Dan. <i>klar, tydelig</i>               | ChSl. <i>(javē</i> (adv.), <i>jasno</i> (adv.) |
| It. <i>chiaro</i>                                    | Sw. <i>klar, tydlig</i>                 | SCr. <i>jasan</i>                              |
| Fr. <i>clair</i>                                     | OE <i>swutol</i>                        | Boh. <i>jasny</i>                              |
| Sp. <i>claro</i>                                     | ME <i>cler, pleyn, sutel</i>            | Pol. <i>jasny</i>                              |
| Rum. <i>clar</i>                                     | NE <i>klar, plān</i>                    | Russ. <i>jasnyj, jasnyj</i>                    |
| Ir. <i>folius, rēil</i>                              | Du. <i>soilêir, dūdelijk</i>            | Skt. <i>spaṣṭa-, vyakta-</i>                   |
| Nlr. <i>soilêir, rēil</i>                            | OHG <i>zorahī</i>                       | Av. <i>čithra-</i>                             |
| W. <i>goleu, eglur</i>                               | MHG <i>klar</i>                         |  |
| Br. <i>sklaer</i>                                    | NHG <i>klar, deutlich</i>               |  |

'Clear, plain' (to the mind, opposite of 'obscure'; as in NE a *clear statement*, the *meaning is plain*) is generally expressed by words for visually 'clear, bright' (15.57), most of them still used in the latter sense. Less common relations are with words for 'level, plain', 'open', and 'point out, explain'.

Several of the words listed cover also 'evident, manifest, obvious', but others in which this related but somewhat different sense is dominant, like NE *evident*, NHG *offenbar*, are not included.

1. Grk. *δῆλος*, Hom. *δέλος*, orig. 'visible, conspicuous', as once in Hom. and reg. in *ἀπὸ-δῆλος, ἀπὸ-ῖγλος* : *δέμας* 'seen', Skt. *dī-* 'shine'. Walde-P. 1.772. Boisacq 168.

Grk. *ἐναργής* (in Hom. only adv. *σάφα* 'clearly'), etym. dub. Boisacq 855.



Most of the words for 'secret' mean lit. 'hidden' and so are connected with the verbs for 'hide' discussed in 12.22.

1. Grk. κρυπτός, NG κρυφός : κρύπτω 'hide' (12.22).

Grk. λαθραῖος (in NG 'smuggled') : λαθῶ 'escape notice, lie hidden', mid. 'forget' (17.32). Boisacq 554 f.

2. Lat. occultus, ppl. of occultare 'hide' : cēlare id., etc. (12.22). Here also Lat. clandestinus, deriv. through \*clam-de of clam 'secretly, in private'. Ernout-M. 171 f. Walde-H. 1.196 f., 226 f.

Lat. secretus, ppl. of sēcernere 'put apart, separate, set aside', cpd. of disjunctive particle sē- and cernere 'separate, distinguish, decide'. Ernout-M. 178.

Hence It. segreto, Fr. secret, Sp. secreto; Rum. secret in the senses 'deserted, lonesome, cursed', but as 'secret' prob. fr. French. REW 7765. Tiktin 1405.

Rum. tainic, fr. the Slavic (tajnikū), cf. ChSl. tajnū, etc. (below, 6).

Rum. ascuns, lit. 'hidden' : ascunde 'hide' (12.22).

3. Ir. inchtide, ppl. of ind-cel- (but no finite forms found) : celim 'hide'. Pedersen 2.485.

Ir. diam(a)ir (K. Meyer, Contrib. 630), etym.?

Nir. rānach, rānda, derivs. of Ir. rān 'a secret' : OE, ON rān 'secret, rune', Goth. rāna 'secret, mystery' (Walde-P. 2.350).

W. dirgel, cpd. of dir 'sure, certain' (often mere intensive prefix) and cel 'hidden' : celu 'hide'.

Br. kuzet, lit. 'hidden', ppl. of kuzal 'hide'.

4. Goth. fulgins, beside sb. fulhsni : filhan 'hide'.

ON leyndr, leynligr (Dan. lēnlig, Sw. lēnlig, esp. poet. and arch., in Dan. freq. used by purists for hemmelig), derivs. of leyna 'hide'.

OE ðegel, ME ðigel (\*daugilo-), beside OE ðeagol, OHG tougal (\*daugolo-), and OHG tougan, MHG tougen, prob. : OE ðeag 'dye, color', ðeagian 'to dye, color', but outside connections dub., possibly fr. the root in Lith. ðeakti 'breathe, pant', Lett. ðukt 'roar, rage, storm', cf. ðukans 'dark-colored', with semantic development from 'dusty, hazy, misty' or the like to 'dark', whence 'secret'? Walde-P. 1.838.

OE ðierne, ME ðerne : OS ðerni, OHG tarni 'hidden', OHG tarnen 'cover, hide', OE darian 'lurk, lie hidden', perh. fr. the root in Skt. dhr- 'hold, support', etc. But semantic development ('hold' > 'lie quietly' > 'hide')? Walde-P. 1.858.

ME sece, secret, NE secret, fr. OFr. secré, Fr. secret (above, 2).

Du., NHG geheim, Du. heimelijk (MLG heimelīk > Dan. hemmelig, Sw. hemlig), NHG heimlich, in MLG, MHG chiefly 'intimate, familiar' whence 'private, secret', orig. 'domestic', fr. heim 'home, house'. Fali-Torp 397. Weigand-H. 1.653, 837.

5. Lith. slapas, paslėptas, Lett. sleps, slepens : Lith. slēpti, Lett. slēpt 'hide'.

6. ChSl. tajnū, etc., general Slavic, beside taj adv. : talī 'thief', Skt. (ś)āyū-, Av. āyū- 'thief', Av. taya- 'secret, furtive', sb. 'thief', etc. Walde-P. 2.610.

7. Skt. gupta-, lit. 'guarded, hidden', ppl. of gup- 'guard, hide', cf. Av. gufra- 'deep, mysterious, wonderful', root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.562.

Skt. gūḍha-, Av. gūzra- : Skt. guh-, Av. guz- 'hide'.

## 17.37 SURE, CERTAIN

|      |                         |       |                                 |       |                                   |
|------|-------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk. | βέβαιος, ἀσφαλής        | Goth. | -wiss (astab, þwasti- þa, sbs.) | Lith. | tikras                            |
| NG   | βεβαιος, σίγουρος       | ON    | vis                             | Lett. | drošs                             |
| Lat. | certaino, certo         | Dan.  | sikker, vis                     | ChSl. | .....                             |
| Fr.  | sûr, certain            | Sw.   | säker, viss                     | SCR.  | siguran                           |
| Sp.  | seguro, cierto          | OE    | gewis                           | Boh.  | jistý                             |
| Rum. | sigur, cert             | ME    | siker, certeyn                  | Pol.  | pewny                             |
| Ir.  | derb, demin             | NE    | sure, certain                   | Russ. | vernij                            |
| Nir. | cinnle, deimhin, dearbh | Du.   | zeker, gewis                    | Skt.  | a-sañcaya (adv.), shira-, dhruwa- |
| W.   | siur, sicr              | OHG   | gwis                            | Av.   | .....                             |
| Br.  | sur                     | MHG   | sicher, gewis                   |       |                                   |
|      |                         | NHG   | sicher, gewiss                  |       |                                   |

Words for 'sure, certain' are based upon such notions as 'firm, steady', 'decided', 'actual', 'trustworthy', and especially 'safe' ('free from danger' > 'free from doubt').

1. Grk. βέβαιος, orig. 'firm, steady' (: βαῖνω 'walk, step, go'), hence also 'sure, certain', as reg. in NG.

Grk. ἀσφαλής 'safe' (11.26), sometimes also 'sure, certain', esp. in adv. ἀσφαλώς.

NG σίγουρος, fr. a Ven. form of It. sicuro (below, 2). G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 4.81.

2. Lat. certus (> It. certo, OFr., Rum. cert, Sp. cierto; Fr. certain, fr. deriv. in -anus), orig. 'determined, decided', ppl. of cernere 'separate, distinguish, decide'. Ernout-M. 178. Walde-H. 1.205.

It. sicuro, Fr. sûr, Sp. seguro, Rum. sigur, fr. Lat. sēcūrus, orig. 'free from care' (cūra), hence 'free from harm or danger, safe' (11.26), hence also 'free from doubt, sure'.

3. Ir. derb, Nir. dearbh, as orig. 'firm' : Ir. dair 'oak', dron 'firm', OE trōwe 'faithful' (NE true), etc. Walde-P. 1.805. Pedersen 1.175.

Ir. demin, Nir. deimhin, etym. dub. Pedersen 1.174 (de-min as orig. 'without change' : Lith. mainas 'exchange', etc.). Walde-P. 2.241.

Nir. cinnle, lit. 'fixed', ppl. of cinnim 'fix, determine'.

W. sicr, fr. ME siker (below, 4).

W. siur, fr. ME, NE sure. Br. sur, fr. Fr. sûr. 'Sure' also expressed by gwir 'true' (16.66) or anat 'known, clear, evident', fr. MBr. haznat, fr. \*ati-gnatos (cf. Gall. Ategnatos) : Grk. γνωτός 'known', etc. Henry 11. Ernaut, Dict. étym. 309.

4. Goth. astab 'certainty', perh. as 'firmness', deriv. of IE \*stā- 'stand'. Feist 60.

Goth. þwastiþa 'certainty' : ga-þwastjan 'make firm, establish', ON þvest 'firm parts of the flesh'. Walde-P. 1.708. Feist 507.

Goth. -wiss (un-wiss 'uncertain'), ON viss (in form = OE wis 'wise', but in sense of 'certain' for viss), Dan. vis, Sw. viss, OE gewis (ME gwis adv.), Du. gewis, OHG gwis, MHG gewis, NHG gewiss, fr. \*wid-ōl, ppl. of Goth. witan, etc. 'know' (17.17). Walde-P. 1.238. Fali-Torp 1388.

ME siker (OE sicor 'safe', as 'sure' 1200+, NE dial. sicker, cf. NED s.v.), MHG, NHG sicher (OHG sihhu 'safe'), MLG seker (> Dan. sikker, Sw. säker), Du. zeker, all orig. 'safe' and, like the Romance words, fr. Lat. sēcūrus 'safe'. Fali-Torp 965. Weigand-H. 2.857.

ME certeyn, NE certain, fr. OFr. certain (above, 2).

5. Lith. tikras (also 'real, correct', etc.) : tikėti 'believe' (17.15), etc.

smooth' (fr. Lat. explanāre (above, 2). NED s.v.

Du. verklaren (MLG vorklaren > Dan. forklare, Sw. förklara), NHG erklären (MHG erklären only lit. 'make clear'), derivs. of Du. klaar, NHG klar, etc. 'clear'.

5. Lith. aiškinti, more usually išaiškinti, deriv. of aiškus 'clear, plain'.

Lett. skaidruot, more usually izskaidruot, deriv. of skaidrs 'clear, plain'.

6. ChSl. sūkazati (mostly 'point out, show' but also for ἐρμηνεύω 'interpret'), cpd. of kazati 'point out, show' (15.55).

SCR., Boh. objasniti, Pol. objaśnić, Russ. objasniti, pojasnit', derivs. of SCR. jasan, etc. 'clear'.

Boh. vysvětliti, cpd. of světliti 'lighten', deriv. of světlý 'light, bright' (15.56).

7. Skt. vy-ā-khyā-, cpd. of khyā- 'make known', ā-khyā- 'tell, narrate', etym.? Uhlenbeck 7.

Skt. vy-ā-kr-, lit. 'separate, undo', cpd. of kr- 'do, make'.

Av. ā-zan-? (cf. mač-āzanti- 'along with the interpretation'), cpd. of zan- 'know' (17.17).

## 17.39 SOLVE

|      |                       |       |                     |       |                     |
|------|-----------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | λύω, διαλύω           | Goth. | .....               | Lith. | išrīšti             |
| NG   | λύω                   | ON    | leysa, rāða         | Lett. | atrināt             |
| Lat. | solvere               | Dan.  | løse                | ChSl. | .....               |
| It.  | risolvere             | SCR.  | (upp)lösa           | SCR.  | rīješiti            |
| Fr.  | résoudre              | OE    | rēdan               | Boh.  | rozřešiti, rozlušti |
| Sp.  | resolver              | ME    | rede                | Pol.  | rozwiązać           |
| Rum. | rezolva, deslega      | NE    | solve               | Russ. | rešiť               |
| Ir.  | do-fuasailcim, iccaim | Du.   | oplossen            |       |                     |
| Nir. | rēidhtighim           | OHG   | .....               |       |                     |
| W.   | dadrys, datod         | MHG   | zerlösen            |       |                     |
| Br.  | diskoulma             | NHG   | (auf)lösen, erraten |       |                     |

'Solve' (problems, riddles, etc.) is generally expressed by words which mean literally 'loose' or the like, most of these either negative compounds of those for 'bind' (9.16) or related to words discussed under 'lose' (11.33) or

'release' (11.34). But there are some other sources.

1. Words meaning literally 'loose' or the like.

Grk. λύω, διαλύω; Lat. solvere (> NE solve; resolvere > It. risolvere, Fr. ré-

soudre, Sp. resolver, Rum. rezolva), Rum. deslega (neg. of lega 'bind'); Ir. do-fuasailcim (cf. do-fuasailcit animmchomarc 'they solve the question' Sg. 27a2, lit. sense in do-fuasailcit greic oe in -u- 'the Greeks resolve oe into u' Sg. 19a1), cpd. (\*to-od-ess-) of léicim 'let, let go' (Pedersen 2.564); W. datod, cpd. of neg. dad- and dod- 'put, place, lay'; W. dadrys, lit. 'disentangle', cpd. of neg. dad- and -rys as in dyrys 'intricate' with intensive prefix dy-; Br. diskoulma, neg. of koulma 'tie', fr. koulm 'knot'; ON leysa, Dan. løse, Sw. (upp)lösa, Du. oplossen, MHG zerlösen, NHG (auf)lösen (so also NE lose in Spenser, cf. NED s.v. 9); Lith. išrīšti, Lett. atrisināt

(: Lith. rīšti, Lett. rist 'bind'); SCR. rīješiti, Boh. rozřešiti, Russ. rešiť (: ChSl. rēšiti 'loose, release', 11.34); Pol. rozwiązać (: wiązać 'bind').

2. Ir. iccaim (cf. icad som didiu anisin anasmbair, etc. 'he solves that when he says . . .', MI. 55d11), lit. 'heal' (4.86).

Nir. rēidhtighim, lit. 'adjust, arrange, clear, make smooth' : rēidh 'smooth, level' (15.77).

3. ON rāða, OE rēðan, ME rede (still NE read a riddle), fr. more general sense 'advise, counsel, plan', etc. NED s.v. read. Similarly NHG erraten.

4. Boh. rozluštiť, lit. 'crack open', cpd. of luštiť 'shell' (nuts, etc.).

## 17.41 INTENTION, PURPOSE

|      |                          |       |                                 |       |                          |
|------|--------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| Grk. | πρόνοια, γνώμη, πρόθεσις | Goth. | muns                            | Lith. | ketinimas, tikslas       |
| NG   | προνοια                  | ON    | aellan                          | Lett. | nuodoms                  |
| Lat. | cōnsilium, prōpositum    | Dan.  | hensigt, forsat                 | ChSl. | (pomyšlenije)            |
|      |                          | Sw.   | afstigt, försats, uppsåt, syfte | SCR.  | namjera, svrha           |
| It.  | intenzione, scopo        | OE    | ingehygd                        | Boh.  | úmysl, záměr, účel       |
| Fr.  | intention, dessein       | ME    | entencion, porpos, mening       | Pol.  | zamiar, zamysł           |
| Sp.  | intención, propósito     | NE    | intention, purpose              | Russ. | namerenie                |
| Rum. | intențiune, gând, scop   | Du.   | voornemen, doel, bedoeling      | Skt.  | artha-, abhiprāya-, etc. |
| Ir.  | airbert, airmert         |       |                                 | Av.   | zratu-, zaōša-           |
| Nir. | aigne, intinn            | OHG   | meinunga                        |       |                          |
| W.   | buriaid, amcan           | MHG   | meinunge                        |       |                          |
| Br.  | rat, ratos               | NHG   | absicht, zweck                  |       |                          |

'Intention, purpose' is frequently expressed simply by prepositional phrases, like Grk. ἐνι τοῦτο, Lat. in hoc 'for this purpose', etc. Here the frequent Nir. chuige, lit. 'toward it' = 'for the purpose', fr. chum 'toward' with 3d pers. pron. Dinneen s.v. chum and chuige.

1. Grk. διάνοια, έννοια, ένθνοια 'thought, notion' and πρόνοια 'forethought', cpds. fr. νοῶ 'think' (17.13), are also used for 'intention, purpose'.

Grk. γνώμη 'thought, judgment' and 'intention, purpose', deriv. of γνω- in γνωσκω 'know' (17.17).

Grk. πρόθεσις 'a setting forth, state-

ment', also 'purpose' (the usual Hellenistic word, Polyb., NT, etc.) : προτίθημι 'set forth, display', also 'purpose'.

Grk. βούλευμα 'resolution' and 'purpose' : βούλω 'deliberate, resolve', βούλωμαι 'will, wish' (16.61).

Grk. σκοπός 'watchman' and 'mark', hence 'objective, aim' and in NG reg. word for 'intention, purpose' : σκοπεῖται 'look, look at' (15.52).

2. Lat. cōnsilium 'counsel, plan' and 'intention, purpose' : cōnsulere 'deliberate, take counsel'. Ernout-M. 214 f. Walde-H. 1.264 f.

Lat. prōpositum (> Sp. propósito), lit. 'what is set forth' : prōponere 'put forth, display, propose'. Cf. Grk. πρόθεσις.

Lat. intentiō, lit. 'a stretching out, tension', whence 'exertion, effort, attention', also (Pliny) 'design, intention' (> It. intenzione, Fr. intention, Sp. intención, Rum. intențiune) : intendere 'stretch out', also mental 'exert the attention, intend' (intendere animō), cpd. of tendere 'stretch' (9.32).

Fr. dessein, beside dessin 'design, drawing', fr. It. disegno (both senses), deriv. of designare (> Fr. dessiner), fr. Lat. designāre 'mark, design, designate' (: signum 'sign'). REW 2596. Gamill-scheg 310.

Rum. gând 'thought' and 'plan, purpose' : gândi 'think' (17.13).

It. scopo, Rum. scop, fr. Grk. σκοπός 'aim' (above, 1).

3. Ir. airbert, airmert (K. Meyer, Contrib. 45), vbl. n. of ar-bertaim (-meritaim) 'prepare, determine', cf. W. (d)armerthu 'prepare', MBr. armerhein 'manage', etym.? Pedersen 2.475 f.

Nir. aigne 'mind' (17.11), esp. 'intention'.

Nir. intinn, fr. Lat. intentiō (above, 2). Pedersen 1.234.

4. Goth. fairina, the reg. word for airia in the sense of 'guilt, fault' (16.76), is sometimes used also for airia as simple 'cause', as 2 Tim. 1.12 in bizōzei fairinōs = δὲ τῷ αἰτίῳ 'for which cause', but this is more commonly rendered by a phrase, as Lk. 8.47 in bizēi 'on account of what', 2 Tim. 1.6 in

## 17.42 CAUSE

|      |                      |       |            |       |            |
|------|----------------------|-------|------------|-------|------------|
| Grk. | αἰρία                | Goth. | fairina    | Lith. | priešastis |
| NG   | αἰρία                | ON    | efni, völd | Lett. | vaina      |
| Lat. | causa                | Dan.  | aarsag     | ChSl. | vina       |
| It.  | causa, cagione       | Sw.   | orsak      | SCR.  | uzrok      |
| Fr.  | cause                | OE    | intinga    | Boh.  | přičina    |
| Sp.  | causa                | ME    | cause      | Pol.  | przyczyna  |
| Rum. | cauă                 | NE    | cause      | Russ. | prichina   |
| Ir.  | accuiss, cōis, adbar | Du.   | oorzaak    | Skt.  | kāraṇa-    |
| Nir. | cuis, adhbhar        | OHG   | sacha      | Av.   | .....      |
| W.   | achos                | MHG   | ursache    |       |            |
| Br.  | abeg                 | NHG   | ursache    |       |            |

The Grk. and Lat. words for 'cause', both of doubtful etymology, have affected directly or indirectly much of the Eur. vocabulary for this notion. Grk.

W. buriaid, orig. 'aim' : burw 'throw, cast, hit'.

W. amcan, orig.? Morris-Jones 264 (but??).

Br. rat, ratos, also 'thought', prob. = OBr. rad 'stipulation', fr. Lat. ratum 'what is agreed upon'. Ernaut, Dict. étym. 367. Otherwise Henry 230.

4. Goth. muns (prōthesis 'purpose', also vōma 'thought', bōulh 'decision', etc.) : munan 'think' (17.14).

ON aellan, fr. aella 'intend' = Norw. ætse, Sw. dial. ålla : OHG ahlōn, NHG achten 'heed, observe', etc., Goth. aha 'mind', etc. (17.11). Walde-P. 1.169. Fali-Torp 17, 1415.

Dan. forsat, fr. MLG vorsatz, and Sw. försats, fr. NHG vorsatz, cpds. of vbs. for 'set', and translations of Lat. prōpositum. Fali-Torp 264. Hellquist 1285.

Sw. uppsåt, fr. MLG upsat : upsetten 'set up, have as a purpose'. Hellquist 1285.

Sw. syfte 'aim, purpose', fr. sikte, this fr. MLG sigte 'sight' (cf. NHG absicht, etc.). Fali-Torp 964. Hellquist 1135, 907.

OE ingehygd, also 'thought, understanding', etc., cpd. of gehygd 'thought, meditation' : hycgan 'think' (17.13).

ME entencion, NE intention, fr. OFr. entencion, intencion, Fr. intention, scheg 310.

Rum. porpos, NE purpose, fr. OFr. po(u)rtos, deriv. of porposer 'propose, purpose', cpd. of por-, pour- 'for' and poser 'put, place', so virtually a repetition of Lat. prōpositum (above, 2). NED s.v.

ME mening, OHG meinunga, MHG meinunge : OE mānan 'have in mind, purpose, intend', OHG meinen 'think, mean, intend' (17.14).

Du. voornemen, orig. 'undertaking' (cf. NHG vornehmen 'undertake', vb.), cpd. of nemen 'take'.

Romance words (with ME, NE cause) and most of the Celtic; and some of the older Gmc. words were primarily translations of it in some of its other senses, as 'legal strife, charge', or later 'matter, subject'.

Besides the words listed, cf. the similar (though not quite identical) use of NE reason (cf. 17.12), NE ground, NHG grund (orig. 'foundation') or words meaning properly 'motive'.

1. Grk. airia, see under 'fault' (16.76).

2. Lat. causa (> It., Sp. causa, Fr. cause, Rum. cauză, learned words in contrast to pop. development in It. cosa, Fr. chose, etc. 'thing'), etym. unknown. Ernout-M. 166 f. Walde-H. 1.190.

It. cagione, fr. Lat. occasiō, -ōnis 'occasion, opportunity', sometimes also 'reason, cause'. REW 6029.

3. Ir. accuiss, W. achos, fr. Lat. occasiō (above, 2). Pedersen 1.195. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 110.

Ir. cōis, Nir. cuis, fr. Lat. causa (above, 2). Vendryes, De hib. voc. 128.

Ir. adbar ('material' and 'cause'), Nir. adhbhar, Gael. aobhar, prob. cpd. fr. the root of Ir. berim 'carry, bring' (10.61). Macbain 18. Otherwise Pedersen 2.518.

5. Lith. prieštasis, cpd. of prie 'near' and second part fr. \*žad-tis = žadėti 'promise', žadas 'voice', priežada 'vow', žodis 'word'. Leskien, Ablaut 374.

Lett. vaina, mostly 'guilt, fault' (16.76), but also simple 'cause'.

6. ChSl. vina (reg. word for airia, but mostly as 'guilt, fault'), see under 'fault' (16.76).

SCR. uerok, orig. 'declaration' or the like, cpd. of uz- 'up' and deriv. of reči = ChSl. rešti 'say' (cf. ChSl. pro-rōkū 'prophet', etc.).

Boh. přičina, Pol. przyczyna, Russ. pričina, cpds. of Slavic pri- 'near, at' and deriv. of Boh. činiti, etc. 'do', with development of 'cause' perh. first in verb 'do, effect, cause'. Berneker 156 f.

7. Skt. kāraṇa-, fr. caus. stem of kr- 'do'.

| 17.43 DOUBT (sb.)                |                                |                                   |  |
|----------------------------------|--------------------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Grk. ἀπιστία, δισταγμός          | Goth. <i>twēifl</i> (acc. sg.) | Lith. <i>abejojimas, abejonė</i>  |  |
| NG ἀμφιβολία (δισταγμός, ἀπορία) | ON <i>ef, tija</i>             | Lett. <i>šaubas</i>               |  |
| Lat. dubitatio, dubium           | Sw. <i>tveitl</i>              | ChSl. <i>samīnenije</i>           |  |
| It. dubbio                       | OE <i>tuōo, tuōonung</i>       | SCr. <i>dojba, sumnja</i>         |  |
| Fr. doute                        | ME <i>doute</i>                | Boh. <i>pochybnost</i>            |  |
| Sp. duda                         | NE <i>doubt</i>                | Pol. <i>wątpienie, wątpliwość</i> |  |
| Rum. îndoiă                      | Du. <i>twiifel</i>             | Russ. <i>somnienie</i>            |  |
| Ir. condubart, amaires           | OHG <i>zweho, zwifal</i>       | Skt. <i>saṁcaya-, saṁdeha-</i>    |  |
| Nlr. dabht, amhras               | MHG <i>zwīvel</i>              | Av. ....                          |  |
| W. ameu, petruster               | NHG <i>zweifel</i>             |                                   |  |
| Br. mar, arvar                   |                                |                                   |  |

The most common relation of words for 'doubt' is with words for 'two' or 'both', through the notion of 'two minds'. A few mean strictly 'disbelief, distrust'. Others come from various sources through the medium of notions like 'difficulty, perplexity, confusion', and especially 'hesitation'.

1. Grk. ἀπιστία, lit. 'disbelief, distrust': ἀπιστία 'distrust, doubt', fr. ἀπιστος 'untrustworthy, incredible', neg. of πιστός 'faithful, trustworthy' (16.65) beside πιστεύω 'believe' (17.15), etc.

Grk. δισταγμός, δισταγμα (neither common), fr. διστάζω 'doubt, hesitate', prob. fr. a \*διστος = Skt. *dviṣṭha-* 'ambiguous', etc., fr. \**dwi-* or \**dvi-* in words for 'in two, apart', related to the numeral for 'two'. Cf. Goth. *twēifl*, etc. (below, 4). Walde-P. 1.820. Boisacq 191.

Grk. ἀμφιβολία 'state of being attacked on both sides' (Hdt.), 'ambiguity', late also 'doubt' as reg. in NG: ἀμφίβολος 'attacked on both sides', 'ambiguous, doubtful', ἀμφιβάλλω 'put about, beset (on all sides), doubt', cpd. of ἀμφί 'about, on both sides' and βάλλω 'throw'.

Grk. ἀπορία 'difficulty, perplexity', NG 'perplexity', fr. ἀπορος orig. 'impassable' (: περᾶω 'pass across', etc.), hence 'difficult'.

2. Lat. dubitatio, deriv. of dubitare (> Fr. douter, Sp. dudar, whence back-formations Fr. doute, Sp. duda), frequent. of dubitare (gl.) beside adj. dubius,

neut. dubium used as adv. and sb. (> It. dubbio), deriv. of a \**dubus*, fr. \**du-bhos* (cf. *du-plez* and *pro-bus*): *duo* 'two'. Walde-P. 1.818. Ernout-M. 285. Walde-H. 1.375 f.

Rum. îndoiă, deriv. of vb. îndoi 'doubt', lit. 'double', fr. doi 'two'. Tiktin 801.

3. Ir. condubart (contubart), fr. \**com-di-fo-ber-* (but not finite vbl. forms quotable), cpd. of *ber-* in *berim* 'carry', etc. Pedersen 2.467.

Ir. amaires, Nlr. amhras, lit. 'disbelief', neg. to Ir. *ires(s)* 'belief, faith' (22.11). Cf. Grk. ἀπιστία, above, 1.

Ir. dabht, fr. NE *doubt*. W. ameu, etym.? Morris Jones, 264 (but??).

W. petruster, also 'hesitation', deriv. of petruso 'hesitate, doubt', petrus 'doubtful' (MW also sb. 'doubt'), apparently cpd. of intens. adj. *pet* (Spurrell 309) and *rhus* 'a start, recoil, hesitation, fear', etc.

Br. mar, cpd. arvar (ar- 'before, toward'), Corn. mar, orig. 'hesitation': Ir. maraim 'remain', Lat. mora 'delay'. Walde-P. 2.690.

4. Goth. *twēifl* (acc. sg., Skeir. 2.14), Du. *twiifel* (MLG *twīvel* > Dan. *tvivl*, Sw. *tvivl*), OHG *zwīfal* (also *zwīfo*, blend with *zweho*), MHG *zwīvel*, NHG *zweifel*; ON *týja*, OE *tuōo*, OHG *zweho*; OE *tuōon*, rare, usually *tuōonung*; all derivs. of \**dwi-*, \**dwei-* related to the

numeral for 'two'. Walde-P. 1.818 ff. Falk-Torp 1303 f.

ON *ef* (Nlcel. *eft*, Norw. *eve*, OSw. *jaf*) : OHG *iba* in *āne iba* 'without fail', prob. sb. fr. conj. ON *ef*, OHG *iba*, OE *gif* 'if', Goth. interrog. particle *ibai, iba*, etc. Falk-Torp 1524. Torp, Nynorsk 91. Feist 286 f.

5. Lith. *abejojimas, abejonė*, derivs. of vb. *abejoti*, beside sb. *abejas* (only in locution *be abejo* 'without doubt') : *abu, abeji* 'both', ChSl. *oba*, Skt. *ubhāu*, Goth. *bai*, etc. id.

Lett. *šaubas* : *šaubīt* 'shake, waver', refl. 'doubt', Lith. *siaubti* 'rage', *siaubytis* 'waver, stagger', *siūbuoti* 'shake, rock', perh. also Boh. *chybať* 'waver, doubt', etc. (below, 6). Mühl.-Endz. 4.5. Walde-P. 1.502 f. Berneker 412 f.

6. ChSl. *samīnenije* (in Gospels for παρατήρησις 'observation', in Supr. for εὐλάβεια 'caution' and τὸ δισταῖεν 'doubt'), SCr. *sumnja*, Russ. *somnienie* : Pol. *wątpienie, wątpliwość*, fr. vb. *wątpić* : Ukr. *vomp* (sb.), *vompyty* (vb.) id., Boh. *vtip* 'wit', root connection? Brückner 605 (fr. \**tlp-* : *tep-* in ChSl. *tepā, leti* 'strike'). Miklosich 352.

7. Skt. *saṁcaya-* : *saṁ-ṣi-* 'hesitate, doubt', cpd. of ṣi- 'lie' with *saṁ-* 'together'.

Skt. *saṁdeha-* : *saṁ-dih-* lit. 'smear, besmear, cover', in mid. 'be doubtful, uncertain', pass. 'be smeared over, be confused', cpd. of *dih-* 'smear'.

#### 17.44 SUSPICION

|                      |                                 |                           |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Grk. ὑποψία, ὑπόνοια | Goth. <i>anaminds</i>           | Lith. <i>nužiūrėjimas</i> |
| NG ὑποψία, ὑπόνοια   | ON <i>grunr</i>                 | Lett. <i>aizduomas</i>    |
| Lat. suspiciō        | Dan. <i>mistanke</i>            | ChSl. ....                |
| It. sospetto         | Sw. <i>mistanke</i>             | SCr. <i>sumnja</i>        |
| Fr. soupçon          | OE ....                         | Boh. <i>podezření</i>     |
| Sp. sospecha         | ME <i>suspicio(u)n, suspect</i> | Pol. <i>podezrenie</i>    |
| Rum. bănuială        | NE <i>suspicion</i>             | Russ. <i>podozrenie</i>   |
| Amairas              | Du. <i>verdenking, achter-</i>  | Skt. <i>ṣaṅkā-</i>        |
| Nlr. (droch)-amhras  | OHG <i>arguān, zuruān</i>       | Av. ....                  |
| W. drugdybiaeth      | MHG <i>arcuān</i>               |                           |
| Br. diskred          | NHG <i>verdacht, arguohn</i>    |                           |

Words for 'suspicion' are most commonly derived, through the verbs, from words for 'look' or 'think' with prefixes meaning 'under' or 'behind' or with pejorative force. A few are the same words that are used for 'doubt' (17.42).

1. Grk. ὑποψία, deriv. of ὑποψομαι, fut. of ὑποράω 'suspect', cpd. of ὑπό 'under' and ὁράω, fut. ὄφρα 'see'.

|                      |                                 |                           |
|----------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------|
| Grk. ὑποψία, ὑπόνοια | Goth. <i>anaminds</i>           | Lith. <i>nužiūrėjimas</i> |
| NG ὑποψία, ὑπόνοια   | ON <i>grunr</i>                 | Lett. <i>aizduomas</i>    |
| Lat. suspiciō        | Dan. <i>mistanke</i>            | ChSl. ....                |
| It. sospetto         | Sw. <i>mistanke</i>             | SCr. <i>sumnja</i>        |
| Fr. soupçon          | OE ....                         | Boh. <i>podezření</i>     |
| Sp. sospecha         | ME <i>suspicio(u)n, suspect</i> | Pol. <i>podezrenie</i>    |
| Rum. bănuială        | NE <i>suspicion</i>             | Russ. <i>podozrenie</i>   |
| Amairas              | Du. <i>verdenking, achter-</i>  | Skt. <i>ṣaṅkā-</i>        |
| Nlr. (droch)-amhras  | OHG <i>arguān, zuruān</i>       | Av. ....                  |
| W. drugdybiaeth      | MHG <i>arcuān</i>               |                           |
| Br. diskred          | NHG <i>verdacht, arguohn</i>    |                           |

Grk. ὑπόνοια (also 'inner sense, conjecture', etc.), deriv. of ὑπονοέω 'suspect' (and 'conjecture'), cpd. of ὑπό 'under' and νοέω 'think' (17.13).

2. Lat. *suspicio* : *suspiciārī* 'suspect', *suspiciere* 'look up toward, admire, suspect' (hence, through pple. *suspectus*, It. *sospetto*, Sp. *sospecha*; VLat. \**suspectū* or \**suspiciō* > Fr. *soupçon*),

\**suspectū* or \**suspiciō* > Fr. *soupçon*),

#### CHAPTER 18

#### VOCAL UTTERANCE, SPEECH; READING AND WRITING

|                                |                                |
|--------------------------------|--------------------------------|
| 18.11 VOICE (sb.)              | 18.41 CALL (vb. = Summon)      |
| 18.12 SING                     | 18.42 CALL (vb. = Name)        |
| 18.13 SHOUT, CRY OUT           | 18.43 ANNOUNCE                 |
| 18.14 VARIOUS CRIES            | 18.44 THREATEN                 |
| 18.21 SPEAK, TALK              | 18.45 BOAST (vb.)              |
| 18.22 SAY                      | 18.51 WRITE                    |
| 18.23 BE SILENT                | 18.52 READ                     |
| 18.24 LANGUAGE                 | 18.53 LETTER (of the Alphabet) |
| 18.25 DIALECT                  | 18.54 LETTER (= Epistle)       |
| 18.26 WORD                     | 18.55 TABLET                   |
| 18.27 DICTIONARY               | 18.56 PAPER                    |
| 18.28 NAME                     | 18.57 PEN                      |
| 18.31 Ask? (Question, Inquire) | 18.58 INK                      |
| 18.32 ANSWER (vb.)             | 18.59 PENCIL                   |
| 18.33 ADMIT, CONFESS           | 18.61 BOOK                     |
| 18.34 DENY                     | 18.62 PAGE                     |
| 18.35 Ask?, REQUEST            | 18.63 LINE                     |
| 18.36 PROMISE (vb.)            | 18.64 PRINT (vb.)              |
| 18.37 REFUSE                   | 18.65 LITERATURE               |
| 18.38 FORBID                   | 18.66 AUTHOR, WRITER           |
|                                | 18.67 POET                     |

cpd. of *su(b)s-* 'under' and *specere* 'see, look at'. Ernout-M. 961, 1008. REW 8484, 8488. Gamillscheg 812. Bloch 2.288.

Rum. bănuială, deriv. of *banui* 'suspect, imagine, presume', fr. Hung. *bánni*, *bán* 'regret, be sorry, care, be concerned' (cf. Rum. *îmi bănuiesc* 'I am sorry'). Tiktin 156.

3. Ir. amaires, Nlr. amhras, lit. 'disbelief', also 'doubt' (17.43), hence Nlr. *drochamhras*, cpd. with pejorative prefix *droch-* 'ill-' (16.72).

W. drugdybiaeth, cpd. of *drug* = Ir. *droch* (above) and *tybiaeth* 'supposition, conjecture', deriv. of *tybio* 'think, suppose' (17.14).

Br. *diskred*, lit. 'disbelief' : *diskredi* 'doubt, not believe', neg. of *kredi* 'believe' (17.15).

4. Goth. *anaminds*, cpd. of *ana-* 'to, on' and \**minds* : Lat. *mēns* 'mind' (17.11), Goth. *munan* 'think' (17.13), etc., evidently a close translation of Grk. ὑπόνοια.

ON *grunr*, beside *gruna* 'suspect' (impers. *grunar mik*), etym. (e.g. relation to Grk. φράω) dub. Walde-P. 1.699. Falk-Torp 353, 1474.

Dan. *mistanke*, Sw. *mistanke*, cpd. of *mis-*, *miss-* (= NE *mis-*, NHG *miss-*, etc.) and *tanke* 'thought'. Falk-Torp 724.

ME *suspicio(u)n*, NE *suspicion*, fr. Anglo-Fr. *suspicionem* = OFr. *souspeçon*, Fr. *soupçon* (above, 2). NED s.v. ME *suspect*, fr. Lat. *suspectus* (above, 2).

Du. *verdenking*, NHG *verdacht*, derivs. of Du. *verdenken* 'suspect', NHG *ver-*

*denken* 'find fault, take amiss', older also 'suspect', MHG *verdenken* 'think, remember, ponder', cpd. of *denken* 'think' (17.13). Weigand-H. 2.1142.

Du. *achterdocht*, lit. and in ODu. often 'afterthought', cpd. of *achter* 'behind, after' and *-docht* dial. for *-dacht* : *denken* 'think'. Franck-v. W. 8 f.

Du. *argwaan*, OHG *arguān*, MHG *arcuān* (Luther still *arguān*), NHG *arguohn*, cpds. of *arg*, OHG *ar(a)g* 'worthless, bad', etc. (: ON *argr*, OE *earh* 'fearful, cowardly', etc.) and OHG *wān*, etc. 'hope, expectation' (16.56). Weigand-H. 1.83.

OHG *zurwān*, cpd. of pejorative prefix *zur-* (= ON, OE *tor-*, Goth. *tuz-*, Grk. *δov-*, etc.) and *wān* (cf. above).

5. Lith. *nužiūrėjimas*, fr. *nužiūrėti* 'suspect' (also 'observe, notice'), cpd. of *nu-* 'down' and *žiūrėti* 'look, gaze'.

Lett. *aizduomas*, fr. *aizduomāt* 'suspect', cpd. of *aiz* 'behind' and *duomāt* 'think' (17.13).

6. SCr. *sumnja* 'doubt' (17.43), also 'suspicion'.

Boh. *podezření*, Pol. *podezrenie*, Russ. *podozrenie*, derivs. of Boh. *podezřít*, Pol. *podezrzyć*, Russ. *podozrevat'* 'suspect', lit. 'look under, look from beneath', etc., cpd. of Slavic *podŭ* 'under', and forms related to ChSl. *zŕjā, zŕjēti* 'see, look'.

7. Skt. *ṣaṅkā-*, also 'anxiety, fear', etc. : *caṅk-* 'hesitate, be anxious, fear, distrust', etc., prob. : Lat. *cunctāri* 'delay', Goth. *hāhan*, OE *hōn, hangian*, etc. 'hang'. Walde-P. 1.383. Uhlenbeck 301. Ernout-M. 242. Walde-H. 1.307.

ChSl. *samīnēti se* (Supr. 'suspect, doubt', etc.; in Gospels *usamīnēti se* 'doubt'), cpd. of *mīnēti* 'think' (17.14).

SCr. *dojba* : *dojji, dva* 'two'. Berneker 247.

Boh. *pochybnost, pochyba* (bez *pochyby* 'without doubt') : *chybati* 'doubt, waver', Pol. *chybať* 'shake, move to and fro', etc. (general Slavic in related senses), Skt. *kṣubh-* 'shake, tremble', etc. Walde-P. 1.502 f. Berneker 412 f. Brückner 188 (: Lith. *skubus* 'swift').

Pol. *wątpienie, wątpliwość*, fr. vb. *wątpić* : Ukr. *vomp* (sb.), *vompyty* (vb.) id., Boh. *vtip* 'wit', root connection? Brückner 605 (fr. \**tlp-* : *tep-* in ChSl. *tepā, leti* 'strike'). Miklosich 352.

7. Skt. *saṁcaya-* : *saṁ-ṣi-* 'hesitate, doubt', cpd. of ṣi- 'lie' with *saṁ-* 'together'.

Skt. *saṁdeha-* : *saṁ-dih-* lit. 'smear, besmear, cover', in mid. 'be doubtful, uncertain', pass. 'be smeared over, be confused', cpd. of *dih-* 'smear'.

| 18.11 VOICE (sb.) |                                  |                     |  |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Grk. φωνή         | Goth. <i>stibma</i>              | Lith. <i>balsas</i> |  |
| NG φωνή           | ON <i>rgad, raust</i>            | Lett. <i>bals</i>   |  |
| Lat. vōx          | Dan. <i>stemme, røst</i>         | ChSl. <i>glasŭ</i>  |  |
| It. voce          | Sw. <i>röst, stamma</i>          | SCr. <i>glas</i>    |  |
| Fr. voix          | OE <i>stefn, reord</i>           | Boh. <i>hlas</i>    |  |
| Sp. voz           | ME <i>vois, steven</i>           | Pol. <i>głos</i>    |  |
| Rum. voce, glas   | NE <i>voice</i>                  | Russ. <i>golos</i>  |  |
| Ir. guth          | Du. <i>stem</i>                  | Skt. <i>vāc-</i>    |  |
| Nlr. guth, glōr   | OHG <i>stimma, stimma, rarta</i> | Av. <i>vāc-</i>     |  |
| W. llais          | MHG <i>stimme</i>                |                     |  |
| Br. mouez         | NHG <i>stimme</i>                |                     |  |

Words for 'voice' are mostly connected with verbs for 'speak, say' (18.21, 22) or are words for the more generic 'sound' (15.44), several of which (besides those repeated here) are, as including vocal sound, also frequently 'voice'.

1. Derivs. of IE \**wek-* 'speak, say' (18.21). Walde-P. 1.245 f. Ernout-M. 1135 f.

Grk. ὥφ (poet.); Lat. *vōx* (> It. *voce*, Fr. *voix*, Sp. *voz*, Rum. lit. *voce*); Skt. *vāc-*, Av. *vāc-* (nom. sg. Skt. *vāk*, Av. *vāks*); Toch. A *wak*, B *wek*.

2. Grk. φωνή : φημί 'say, speak' (18.21).

Grk. φθόγγος, see 'sound' (15.44).

3. Rum. *glas*, fr. Slavic (below, 7), but largely replaced in modern lit. language by *voce* (above). Tiktin 686.

4. Ir. *guth*, etym. dub., perh. : Skt. *havate*, Av. *zavaiti* 'calls', etc. (18.41). Walde-P. 1.529 (vs. Pedersen 1.108).

Nlr. *glōr*, see 'sound' (15.44).

W. *llais*, etym.?

Br. *mouez, moez* for \**vouez*, \**voez*, fr.

Ofr. *vois*. The initial *v* was considered a mutated consonant, e.g. *da vouez* 'thy voice'; hence also with the other possible reconstruction Van. *boeh*. Henry 207.

5. Goth. *stibma*, OE *stefn, stemn*, ME

| 18.11 VOICE (sb.) |                                  |                     |  |
|-------------------|----------------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Grk. φωνή         | Goth. <i>stibma</i>              | Lith. <i>balsas</i> |  |
| NG φωνή           | ON <i>rgad, raust</i>            | Lett. <i>bals</i>   |  |
| Lat. vōx          | Dan. <i>stemme, røst</i>         | ChSl. <i>glasŭ</i>  |  |
| It. voce          | Sw. <i>röst, stamma</i>          | SCr. <i>glas</i>    |  |
| Fr. voix          | OE <i>stefn, reord</i>           | Boh. <i>hlas</i>    |  |
| Sp. voz           | ME <i>vois, steven</i>           | Pol. <i>głos</i>    |  |
| Rum. voce, glas   | NE <i>voice</i>                  | Russ. <i>golos</i>  |  |
| Ir. guth          | Du. <i>stem</i>                  | Skt. <i>vāc-</i>    |  |
| Nlr. guth, glōr   | OHG <i>stimma, stimma, rarta</i> | Av. <i>vāc-</i>     |  |
| W. llais          | MHG <i>stimme</i>                |                     |  |
| Br. mouez         | NHG <i>stimme</i>                |                     |  |

*stefn*, Du. *stem*, MLG *stemme* (> Dan. *stemme*, Sw. *stamma*), OHG *stimma*, *stimma*, MHG, NHG *stimme*, etym. dub., relation to Grk. σόμα 'mouth' (as Weigand-H. 2.973, Kluge-G. 595) improbable. Walde-P. 2.648. Falk-Torp 1156 f. Feist 452.

ON *rgad*, OE *reord* (mostly 'speech, language'), OHG *rarta* (also 'melody, rhythm'): Goth. *razda* 'speech, language', Skt. *rās-* 'roar, yell, cry, sound', *rasila-* 'noise, roar, cry, etc.'. Walde-P. 2.342. Falk-Torp 873.

ON *raust*, Dan. *røst* (rhet.), Sw. *röst* : ON *raus* 'loud talk', *rausa* 'talk loudly and rapidly', ODan. *ruse* 'roar, hurry', MHG *räuschen*, NHG *rauschen* 'rush, roar', outside connections dub., prob. of imitative origin. Walde-P. 1.142, 2.351. Falk-Torp 938. Hellquist 876.

ME *voiz*, *vois*, etc., NE *voice*, fr. OFr. *havate*, Av. *zavaiti* 'calls', etc. (18.41). Walde-P. 1.529 (vs. Pedersen 1.108).

Nlr. *glōr*, see 'sound' (15.44).

W. *llais*, etym.?

Br. *mouez, moez* for \**vouez*, \**voez*, fr.

Ofr. *vois*. The initial *v* was considered a mutated consonant, e.g. *da vouez* 'thy voice'; hence also with the other possible reconstruction Van. *boeh*. Henry 207.

5. Goth. *stibma*, OE *stefn, stemn*, ME

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Rum. *mărturis*, orig. 'bear witness', through Slavic (cf. Serb.-ChSl. *mărturisă* 'testari'). fr. aor. of Grk. *μαρτυρέω* 'bear witness'. Tiktin 956 f.

3. Ir. *atmu*, 3 pl., *ataimet*, NlR. *admhuighim*, W. *addef*, Br. *anzao*, cpds. of *ad*- 'to' and Ir. *daimim* 'permit, grant', etc. : Lat. *domare*, Grk. *δαμάω* 'tame, subdue', etc. Walde-P. 1.789. Pedersen 1.388, 2.503-4.

4. Goth. *andhailan*, OE *andettan*, cpd. of *and*- 'along, against' (cf. Goth. *and-hafjan* 'answer', etc.) and *hailan* 'call, name', pass. 'be called', etc. (18.42).

ON *jāta*, orig. 'say yes' = OHG *gi-jāzen*, MHG *jāzen* 'say yes, agree', deriv. of ON *jā*, OHG *jā*, etc. 'yes'. Falk-Torp 472.

OE *oncnāwan*, ME *aknawe*, Du., NHG *bekennen* (> Dan. *bekende*, Sw. *bekänna*), all orig. 'recognize, admit knowledge of', whence 'recognize as true', cpds. of OE *cnāwan*, NHG *kennen*, etc. 'know, recognize' (17.17). Hence early NE *acknowledge* sb., whence NE *acknowledge* vb. NED s.vv.

ME *confesse*, NE *confess*, fr. OFr. *confesser* (above, 2).

NE *admit*, fr. Lat. *admittere* (cf. It. *amittere*, etc., above, 2).

Du. *toegeven*, NHG *zugeben* (hence the use in this sense of Sw. *medgiva*, and less commonly Dan. *medgive*; cf. Falk-Torp

707), cpd. of *toe*-, NHG *zu* 'to' and *geven*, *geben* 'give'.

OHG *jehan*, also *bi*-, *gi-jehen*, MHG *jehen*, *bijehen* : W. *iaith*, Br. *yez* 'language' (18.24). Deriv. OHG *bijihit*, MHG *begiht* > *bihit*, NHG *beichte* 'confession', whence NHG *beichten* in eccl. usage. Weigand-H. 1.188.

MHG *gestān*, NHG *gestehen*, *zugestehen*, MLG *tōstān* (Dan. *tilstaa*, Sw. *tillstå* by semantic borrowing), orig. (and so mostly in MHG) 'stand, remain standing', whence 'stand beside, stand by, assist', and finally 'admit'. Falk-Torp 1261. Weigand-H. 1.708.

5. Lith. *pripažinti*, Lett. *atziēt*, orig. 'recognize' : Lith. *žinoti*, Lett. *zināt* 'know' (17.17).

6. ChSl. *ispovědati* (quotable only as 'confess' in eccl. sense, and so in modern Slavic), cpd. of *izā* 'out' and *povědati* 'tell, relate, say' (18.22).

SCR. *priznati*, Boh. *uznati*, Pol. *przyznać*, Russ. *priznat'*, *soznat'*, all orig. 'recognize', cpds. of SCR. *znati* 'know', etc. (17.17).

Boh. *připustiti*, cpd. of *pustiti* 'let go, release' (18.34).

7. Skt. *svī-kr-*, lit. 'make one's own', cpd. of *svī-* in cpds. for *sva*- 'own' and *kr-* 'make, do'. Cf. English *own*, *own up* in same sense.

Skt. *anu-bhāṣ-*, also 'speak to, address', cpd. of *anu-* 'along, to, toward', and *bhāṣ-* 'speak' (18.21).

## 18.34 DENY

|      |                     |       |                         |       |                            |
|------|---------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| Grk. | ἀρνέομαι            | Goth. | laugnjan, afaikan       | Lith. | ginčyti, išsiginti         |
| NG   | ἀρνέομαι, ἀρνέσθαι  | ON    | synja, neila            | Let.  | lięgti(ies)                |
| Lat. | negāre              | Dan.  | synja, neila            | ChSl. | otīrěsti sę, otīmetati sę  |
| It.  | negare              | Sw.   | neka                    |       |                            |
| Fr.  | nier                | OE    | wīþ-, at-sacan, lig-    | SCR.  | od-, poricati              |
| Sp.  | negar               |       | nian                    | Boh.  | popřiti                    |
| Rum. | nega, negă, îngădui | ME    | denye, wihsaye, wihsake | Pol.  | przeciż, zaprzec się       |
| NlR. | dostuindim          | NE    | deny                    | Russ. | otricat', otperet'         |
| Ir.  | diuāim, sēanaim     | OHG   | loochenen               | Skt.  | ni-hnu, apa-hnu-, apa-lap- |
| NlR. | guadu               | Du.   | loochen                 |       |                            |
| W.   | nach                | MHG   | lougen(en), versachen   |       |                            |
|      |                     | NHG   | leugnen                 |       |                            |

Several of the words for 'deny' are derivs. of neg. adverbs, that is, '(say) no'. Others are connected with words for 'refuse, reject, lie', etc.

1. Grk. ἀρνέομαι (cf. ἀρ-apos, ἔξ-apos 'denying'), perh. : Alb. *rrem* 'false', *rremē*, *rrenē* 'lie'. Walde-P. 1.78.

2. Lat. *negāre* (> It. *negare*, Fr. *nier*, Sp. *negar*; Rum. *nega* recent borrowing), deriv. of a neg. \**neg(i)* strengthened form of *ne* (cf. Skt. *nahī*, Grk. *οἶχι*, *μήχι*, Lith. *negi*, etc.). Walde-P. 542, 2.319. Ernout-M. 659, 664.

Rum. *îngădui*, fr. Hung. *tagad* 'deny'. Tiktin 1548.

3. Ir. *dostuindim*, cpd. of *di-* 'from, off' and *sluindim* 'designate' (: OW *isllinnit* gl. *profatur*, *loquitur*, etc., outside connections dub., cf. Pedersen 1.83 f.); vbl. n. *diltud* 'denial', whence NlR. *diuāim*.

NlR. *sēanaim* (= *sēanaim* 'bless, sanctify'), deriv. of *sēan* 'omen, lucky sign, charm' (fr. Lat. *signum*). Orig. 'make the sign' (of the cross), whence 'deny' (or 'bless'). Cf. NE colloq. *cross my heart and hope to die*.

W. *guadu* : Lat. *vetāre*, early Lat. *volāre* 'forbid', OW *guetid* 'says'. Loth, RC 42.367 f. (vs. Morris Jones 370).

Br. *nac'h* : W. *nacau* 'refuse', derivs. of W. *nac*, Br. *nag*, prevocalic forms of neg. *na*. Henry 208.

4. Goth. *laugnjan*, OE *lignian*, Du. *loochenen*, OHG *lougen(a)n*, MHG *lougen(en)*, NHG *leugnen* : Goth. *liugan*, ON *liuga*, etc. 'lie' (16.67).

Goth. *afaikan*, cpd. of *af-* 'from, away' and *aikan* : OHG *eihhōn* 'award, adjudge', root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.11. Feist 3.

ON *synja*, with *syn* 'denial' : Goth. *sunjōn* 'justify, excuse', OHG *sunna* 'legal hindrance from appearing in court', fr. the root of Goth. *sunjis*, ON *sannr*, etc. 'true' (16.66), through notion of 'true statement' (in denial). Falk-Torp 1227.

ON *neita*, Dan. *neigte* (ODan. *nege*), Sw. *neka*, derivs. of ON, Dan., Sw. *nei* 'no'. Falk-Torp 761. Hellquist 695.

OE *wipsacan*, ME (early) *withsake*, also OE *atsacan*, ME (early) *atsake*, ME *forsake*, OHG *farsahhan*, MHG *versachen*, cpds. of prefixes expressing separation, and OE *sacan* 'fight, strive, contend', OHG *sahhan* 'quarrel, contend' : Goth. *sakan* 'strive, rebuke', etc.

ME *withsaye*, cpd. of *with-* (cf. above) and *saye* 'say' (18.22).

ME *denye*, NE *deny*, fr. OFr. *deneier*, Fr. *dénier* 'refuse, disown', fr. Lat. *dēnegāre* 'reject, refuse', cpd. of *negāre* (above, 2). NED s.v.

5. Lith. *ginčyti*, *išsiginti* (also *už-*) : *ginti* (*gintu*, *gyniau*) 'defend, protect, for-

bid', also refl. 'deny', and *ginti* (*genu*, *gyniau*) 'drive', ChSl. *žena*, *gūnati* 'drive', etc. (16.65). NSB s.vv. Walde-P. 1.680 f.

Lett. *liegt* (also 'forbid, refuse'), refl. *liegties*, etym. dub.; perh. as 'restrain' : Ukr. *za-lyhaty* 'tie up, bind, pledge', Lat. *ligāre* 'tie', etc. (Walde-P. 2.400). Mühl-Endz 2.494.

6. ChSl. *otūvēsti* sg (1sg. *otūvērǫ* sg; the usual rendering of ἀρνέομαι in the Gospels), refl. of *otūvēsti* 'throw away, reject', cpd. of *vřěsti* 'throw' (10.25).

ChSl. *otūmelati sę*, and *otūmēlati sę*, refl. of *otūmelati*, *otūmēlati* 'throw away' iter. to *mesti* 'throw' (10.25). Berneker 2.40, 53.

SCR. *odricati*, *poricati*, Russ. *otricat'*, cpd. of *od-*, *po-*, *ot-* with sense 'away, back' and iter. forms to SCR. *reči*,

ChSl. *rešti*, etc. 'say' (18.22). Cf. ChSl. *prērěkati* 'contradict' (Supr.).

Boh. *popřiti*, Pol. *zaprzec się*, *zapierać się*, Russ. *otperet'*, cpds. (in part refl.) of Boh. *přiti* 'contest, dispute', Pol. *przeć*, Russ. *peret'* 'press, push, jostle', ChSl. *přiti* 'beat, wash by beating', refl. 'contend, strive' : Skt. *prt-* 'fight, quarrel', Arm. *hari* 'strike', etc. Walde-P. 2.42. Brückner 442.

Pol. *przeciżyć*, fr. the adv. *przeko* 'across, diagonally through'. Brückner 443.

7. Skt. *ni-hnu*, *apa-hnu*, cpds. of *ni-* 'down, back', or *apa-* 'away, back', and *hnu-* 'hide from, drive or take away' (etym. dub., Uhlenbeck 362).

Skt. *apa-lap-*, cpd. *apa-* (cf. above) and *lap-* 'prate, chatter, talk'.

## NG ἱστέω, fr. class. Grk. ἱστέω 'seek'

(11.31). Also rarely 'demand, require'.

Grk. ἑρωτάω 'ask' (1.81) is frequently used for 'ask' in Hellenistic times (LXX, NT, pap.).

NG παρακαλῶ (milder than ἱστέω, used like NE *I beg you*, *I pray you*, please), fr. class. Grk. παρακαλέω (cpd. of καλέω 'call', 18.41) 'summon, invite, exhort', etc., late also 'beseech' (Polyb., NT, etc.).

3. Lat. *petere* (> Sp., Port. *pedir*), orig. ('fly at') 'assail, attack', hence 'seek' and 'ask, request' : Grk. *πείρομαι* 'fly', Skt. *pat-* 'fly, fall', etc. Walde-P. 1.20. Ernout-M. 763 f.

Lat. *rogāre* 'ask' in both senses (18.31), as 'ask' > Sp. *rogar*; Rum. *roga* in polite phrase *te rog*, *vă rog* 'please', or refl. 'pray'.

Ir. *demandare*, Fr. *demander* 'ask' in both senses (18.31).

It. (r)chiedere, Rum. *cere*, fr. Lat. *guarere* 'seek' (11.31). REW 6923, 7235.

4. Ir. *condaigim*, *cuingim*, fr. \**com-di-saigim*, cpd. of *saigim* 'go toward, seek' (11.31). Pedersen 2.607. Thurneysen, Gram. 116, 450.

Ir. *guidim*, mostly 'pray', see 22.17.

NlR. *iarraim*, also (and in OIr. mostly) 'seek' (11.31).

W. *gofyn*, 'ask' in both senses (18.31). Br. *goulenn*, 'ask' in both senses (18.31).

5. Goth. *bidjan* (*baþ*, *bēdum*, *bidans*), ON *bíðja*, Dan. *bede*, Sw. *bedja*, OE *bidan*, ME *bidde*, (NE *bid* 'command, invite', etc. by crossing with OE *bēdan*; Du. *bidden* mostly 'pray'), OHG, MHG, NHG *bitten*, etym. disputed, perh. (with secondary ablaut) : Grk. *πειθω* 'persuade', Lat. *fidere* 'believe, trust', etc. Walde-P. 2.139. Kluge-G. 60. Falk-Torp 66. Feist 89. NED s.v. *bid*, vb.

Sw. *begära*, orig. only 'desire' (16.62). OE *ascian*, ME *aske*, NE *ask*, OHG *eiscōn*, MHG *eischen*, 'ask' in both senses (18.31).

## OE gīwian (freq. in Lindisf. Gospels) :

*gīnam*, OHG *ginēn*, *giuēn*, etc. 'yawn' (4.52). Sievers, Anglia 16.98 f. Cf. NE

*gape after*, hence *gape* 'desire eagerly' (NED s.v. *gape*, vb. 4 b) and Lat. *hiāre ac poscere* (Cic. Verr. 2, 3.4).

NE *request*, fr. OFr. *requester*, deriv. of sb. *requeste*, fr. OFr. *requerre* : It. *richiedere*, etc. (above, 3).

ME *demaund*, NE *demand* (now stronger than *ask*, *request*), fr. OFr. *demandier* (above, 3).

NE *beg*, primarily 'ask alms', but also a humble or polite expression for 'ask, request', orig. dub. NED s.v.

Du. *verzoeken*, NHG *ersuchen*, cpds. of Du. *zoeken*, NHG *suchen* 'seek'.

Du., NHG *verlangen* (> Dan. *forlange*), orig. 'desire, long for' (16.62).

Du. *vorderen*, MHG *vordern*, NHG *fordern*, fr. MLG *vorderen* (> Dan. *fordre*, Sw. *fordra*), OHG *fordarōn*, lit. 'cause (command) that something go forward', deriv. of OHG *fordar*, etc. 'fore, forward'. Weigand-H. 1.568. Falk-Torp 266.

6. Lith. *reikalaui* (mostly 'demand'), fr. *reikalas* 'necessity' : *reikėti* 'be necessary' (9.93).

7. ChSl. *prosiiti*, etc., above, 1.

ChSl., SCR. *moliti* 'ask, beg', refl. 'pray', see under 'pray' (22.17).

SCR. *iskati*, also 'seek' (the general Slavic meaning, ChSl. *iskati*, etc., 11.31). SCR. *tražiti*, also 'seek' (11.31).

Boh. *žádati*, Pol. *žadac*, orig. 'desire' (16.62).

Russ. *trebovat'*, lit. 'need' : ChSl. *trěbē* 'opus ut', *trěbū* 'necessary', etc. (9.93, 9.94).

8. Skt. *yác-*, perh. : OHG *jehan* 'confess, acknowledge, say', W. *iaith* 'language', etc. Walde-P. 1.205.

Skt. *arthaya-*, esp. *prārthaya-* (*prarthaya-*), lit. 'strive to obtain, desire' : *artha-* 'aim, purpose' (17.41).

Av., OPers. *jad-* 'beseech, pray for', see under 'pray' (22.17).

## 18.36 PROMISE (vb.)

|      |                        |       |                               |       |                      |
|------|------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | ὑποσχεῖσθαι, ἐπαγγέλλω | Goth. | gahailan                      | Lith. | (pri)žadėti          |
| NG   | ὑποσχεῖσθαι, ἐπαγγέλλω | ON    | heilan                        | Let.  | (ap)suolīt           |
| Lat. | promittere             | Dan.  | love                          | ChSl. | oběsati              |
| It.  | promittere             | Sw.   | lova                          | SCR.  | oběsati              |
| Fr.  | promettre              | OE    | (be)hātan                     | Boh.  | slibiti              |
| Sp.  | prometer               | ME    | (be)hote                      | Pol.  | obiecac, przyrzec    |
| Rum. | promite, făgădui       | NE    | promise                       | Russ. | oběsati, suditi      |
| NlR. | duaiingir, gellaim     | Du.   | beloven                       | Skt.  | pratiṣhā-, pratiṣru- |
| Ir.  | geallaim               | OHG   | giheizan                      |       |                      |
| NlR. | addau                  | MHG   | ge-, ver-heizen, ver-sprechen |       |                      |
| W.   | goueslla               | NHG   | versprechen, verheissen       |       |                      |
| Br.  |                        |       |                               |       |                      |

Words for 'promise' include some meaning literally 'undertake' or 'put forth', several cpds. of verbs for 'speak, say, call, know, hear', derivs. of nouns for 'vow, pledge', and some cognates of words for 'dear' and 'love' ('find agreeable, acceptable' > 'promise').

1. Grk. ὑποσχεῖσθαι and (Ion., Delph., etc.) ὑποσχεῖσθαι, late Byz., NG ὑποσχεῖσθαι (cf. Grk. fut. ὑποσχεῖσθαι, 2d aor. ὑποσχεῖσθαι), orig. 'undertake', cpd. of ὑπό 'under' with forms of ἵσχω 'hold, hold back' (\**si-zgh-*) and ἔχω 'hold, have'.

Grk. ἐπαγγέλλω 'proclaim, announce', but freq. also 'promise', cpd. of Grk. ἀγγέλλω 'announce'.

NG pop. *ráḡw*, fr. class. Grk. *ῥάσσω* 'array, assign', etc., in mid. also 'agree upon', whence 'promise' (cf. NE *agree to* = 'promise' in Byz. (Chron. Mor. *ῥάσσε*, etc., also ἐτάχθη κ' ὑποσχέσθαι) > Romance words), lit. 'put forth', cpd. of *mittere* 'let go, send' (10.63). Ernout-M. 622.

Rum. *făgădui*, also 'entertain' (a guest), fr. Hung. *fogad* 'receive, welcome, vow, promise'. Tiktin 605.

3. Ir. *duaiingir* (3sg.), cpd. of *gairim* 'shout, call' (18.41). Pedersen 2.534.

Ir. *gellaim*, NlR. *geallaim*, in the older language largely 'pledge', deriv. of *gell* 'pledge' : *giáll*, W. *guyystl*, ON *gisl*, etc. 'hostage'. Walde-P. 1.554. Pedersen 2.537.

W. *addau*, *addo*, fr. *ad + do* 'yes', hence orig. 'say yes to'.

Br. *goueslla*, deriv. of *gouesll* 'vow, promise, pledge, hostage' (= W. *guyystl*, etc.; cf. Ir. *gellaim*, above).

4. Goth. *gahailan* ('call together' and 'promise'), ON *heita*, OE (be)hātan, ME (be)hote, (be)hete, (be)highte, NE arch. *hight*, OHG *giheizan*, MHG *geheizen*, verheizen, NHG *verheissen*, cpds. (or the simple form) of Goth. *hailan*, etc. 'call' (18.41) and 'command' (19.45). Feist 236. NED s.v. *hight*, vb., B2.

Dan. *love*, Sw. *lova* (ON *lofa* 'allow, permit', but Nlcel. 'promise'), Du. *beloven* (MLG *loven*, OFris. *lovja* id.) : OHG *geloben* 'agree, permit' (NHG *geloben* 'vow, pledge'), Goth. *us-laubjan*, OE *ā-liefan*, OHG *ir-louben* 'permit', Goth. *liufs*, etc. 'dear' (16.26); cf. also words for 'praise' and 'believe' belonging to same group of cognates). Walde-P. 2.419. Falk-Torp 656 f. Franck-v. W. 48.

NE *promise*, fr. the sb. *promise*, fr. Lat. *prōmissum* (> *promittere*, above, 2).

MHG, NHG *versprechen*, fr. OHG *firsprehan* 'refuse, forbid, hinder', also 'speak for someone, defend' (these senses also in MHG), cpd. of OHG *sprehan* 'speak' (18.21). Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 602.

5. Lith. *žadėti*, *prizadėti* : *žodis* 'word' (18.26).

ME *denye*, NE *deny* (18.34), also 'refuse' (NED s.v. III).

Du. *weigeren* (MLG *wēgeren* > Dan. *vægre* only refl. with prep. *ved*, Sw. *vågra*), OHG *weigārōn*, MHG *weigern*, NHG *weigern*, mostly *verweigern* : OHG *weigār*, MDu. *weiger*, *wēger* 'resisting, stubborn', fr. the root of Goth. *weihan*, OHG *wigan* 'fight', etc. Walde-P. 1.232. Falk-Torp 1401. Weigand-H. 2.1229.

MHG *abselāhen*, *abselān* (MLG *afslān* > Dan. *afslaa*, Sw. *avslå*), NHG *abschlagen*, lit. 'strike off, down'. Falk-Torp 14.

5. Lith. *atsakyti*, also 'answer' (18.32), lit. 'say back'.

buke, threaten', SCR. *prijetiti* 'threaten' (18.44).

7. Skt. *niṣidh-*, *pratiṣidh-* 'drive off, prevent' and 'forbid', cpds. of *sidh-* 'drive off, repel', etym.?

| 18.41 CALL (vb. = Summon) |                              |       |                                    |
|---------------------------|------------------------------|-------|------------------------------------|
| Grk.                      | καλέω                        | Goth. | <i>hailan</i>                      |
| NG                        | φωνάω, κράω, καλώ            | Let.  | <i>kalla</i>                       |
| Lat.                      | <i>vocāre</i>                | Dan.  | <i>kalde</i>                       |
| It.                       | <i>chiamare</i>              | Sw.   | <i>kalla</i>                       |
| Fr.                       | <i>appeler</i>               | OE    | <i>clīpan, clegan</i>              |
| Sp.                       | <i>llamar</i>                | ME    | <i>clepe, calle</i>                |
| Rum.                      | <i>chema</i>                 | NE    | <i>call</i>                        |
| Ir.                       | ( <i>do-</i> ) <i>gairim</i> | Du.   | <i>roepen</i>                      |
| Nir.                      | <i>gairim, gairimim</i>      | OHG   | ( <i>h-</i> ) <i>ruofan, halōn</i> |
| W.                        | <i>galu</i>                  | MHG   | <i>ruofen</i>                      |
| Br.                       | <i>gervel</i>                | NHG   | <i>rufen</i>                       |

Several of the words for 'call' (summon or attract attention) are the same as, or are derived from, those meaning 'shout, cry out' (18.13). This is especially true in the popular language. Some of them, but by no means all, are used also for 'call' = 'name' (18.42).

1. Grk. καλέω (NG καλώ lit. and esp. 'invite') : Lat. *calāre* 'call out, proclaim, convoke', Lat. *clāmāre* 'shout, cry out' (18.13).

Grk. κράω 'shout', freq. 'call' in pop. Byz. (e.g. Chron. Mor.; sometimes also 'call' = 'name') and NG.

NG pop. φωνάω 'shout' and 'call'.

2. Lat. *vocāre* : *vōx* 'voice' (18.11). It. *chiamare*, Sp. *llamar*, Rum. *chema*, fr. Lat. *clāmāre* 'shout' (18.13). REW 1961.

Fr. *appeler*, fr. Lat. *appellāre* 'address, call upon, invoke', cpd. (*ad-p-*) like *com-pellāre* 'accost, reproach', *interpellāre* 'interrupt', fr. the root of *pellere* 'drive, drive out, strike' (10.65). Walde-P. 2.677. Ernout-M. 749 f. Walde-H. 1.59. REW 542.

3. Ir. *gairim* 'shout' and (esp. in OIr. cpd. *do-gairim*, with prefix *to-*) 'call';

Av. *anlarā-d-mrū-* 'renounce' or 'forbid', with sb. *anlarā-ukti-* 'interdict' (Y. 19.15), cpds. of *anlarā* (= Lat. *inter*) with *mrū-* and *vač-* 'speak, say' (18.22). Cf. Lat. *interdicere*, above, 2.

OE *clegan*, OHG (*gi*)*keuen* (chiefly 'name') : Grk. γόω 'lament', ChSl. *govoriti* 'make a noise' (Russ. *govorit* 'speak', etc., 18.21). Walde-P. 1.635.

OHG (*h-*)*ruofan*, MHG *ruofen*, NHG *rufen*, Du. *roepen*, orig. 'shout', whence increasingly also 'call'.

OHG *halōn*, *holōn*, *holēn* 'bring' and freq. 'call' (Ofr., Tat., etc.), see 10.62.

5. Lith. *šaukti*, Lett. *saukt* 'shout' and 'call'.

6. ChSl. *zuvati* (and esp. in Gospels

*pri-zuvati*), SCR. *zvati*, Russ. *zval* : Lith. *žavėti*, Lett. *zavēt* 'bewitch', Skt. *hūd-, hū-*, Av. *zbd-, zav-* 'call', Grk. καύωμαι 'boast', perh. Ir. *guth* 'voice'. Cf. esp. the 3sg. ChSl. *zovetū* = Av. *zavati*, Skt. (but mid.) *havate*. Walde-P. 1.529.

Boh. *volati*, Pol. *wolać*, perh. deriv. of the exclamation attested in ObOh. *vele*, ChSl. *o vele, vole* 'āye, āpa' (Supr., etc.). Brückner 630.

7. Skt. *hūd-, hū-*, Av. *zbd-, zav-* : ChSl. *zuvati*, etc. (above, 6).

| 18.42 CALL (vb. = Name; b) Be Called, Named) |   |       |                                    |
|--|---|-------|------------------------------------|
| Grk.   | καλέω, ὀνομάζω                                    | Goth. | <i>hailan, namnjan</i>             |
| NG   | λέγω, ὀνομάζω                                     | ON    | <i>heita</i> (also b) <i>kalla</i> |
| Lat.   | <i>vocāre</i>                                     | Dan.  | <i>kalde, hede</i> (b)             |
| It.  | <i>chiamare</i>                                   | Sw.   | <i>kalla, hela</i> (b)             |
| Fr.  | <i>appeler</i>                                    | OE    | <i>hātan</i> (also b), <i>clī-</i> |
| Sp.  | <i>llamar</i>                                     |       | <i>plan, nemnan</i>                |
| Rum.   | <i>chema</i>                                      | ME    | <i>hole, hight</i> (esp. b),       |
| Ir.  | <i>gairim</i> (?)                                 |       | <i>clepe, calle nemne</i>          |
| Nir.   | <i>gairim</i>                                     | NE    | <i>call, name</i>                  |
| W.   | <i>galu</i>                                       | Du.   | <i>noemen, heeten</i> (b)          |
| Br.  | <i>gervel</i> (or phrase with <i>hano</i> 'name') | OHG   | <i>heizan</i> (also b)             |
|  |   | MHG   | <i>heizen</i> (also b)             |
|  |   | NHG   | <i>nennen, heissen</i> (b)         |

The majority of the common words for 'call' = 'name' are the same as those for 'call' = 'summon' (18.41) or belong to groups which once had this sense (as SCR., Boh. *nazvati*, etc. : ChSl. *zuvati* 18.41). In general, pass. or refl. forms are used for 'be called, bear a certain name', as Grk. καλοῦμαι, Lat. *vocāri*, Fr. *s'appeler*, Dan. *kaldes*, Russ. *nazva'sja*, etc. But forms of the Gmc. group, Goth. *hailan*, ON *heita*, OE *hātan*, OHG *heizan* were used for both 'call' and 'be named' (but pass. in Goth. *hailada* and OE *hātte*; cf. NED s.v. *hight*, vb.), and the latter use prevails in the modern forms (Dan. *hede*, Sw. *hela*, Du. *heeten*, NHG *heissen*, NE arch. *hight* pple.).

Other terms are derivs. of nouns for 'name' (18.28), as Grk. ὀνομάζω, the Gmc. group Goth. *namnjan*, OE *nemnan*, etc., and the Slavic group (not included in the list; some of them mostly 'name' = 'appoint' or the like) ChSl. *imenovati*, Boh. *imenovati*, etc. A few are words for 'say'. So Grk. λέγω as 'call, name' rarely in class. Grk., freq. in NT, and the usual expression in NG (πῶς τὸν λέγε, πῶς λέγεται; 'what is his name?'); ChSl. *navěsti* (in Gospels reg. for καλέω, also ὀνομάζω), cpd. of *rešti* 'say' (18.22). Cf. also Lith. *vadinti* : Skt. *vad-* 'speak, say' (18.21).

Skt. *abhi-dhā-*, lit. 'put on', but esp. 'put a name upon, call', with sbs. *abhi-dhā-*, *abhidhāna-* 'appellation, name'.

| 18.43 ANNOUNCE |                         |       |                                      |
|----------------|-------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| Grk.           | ἀγγέλλω, ἀναγγέλλω      | Goth. | <i>gateihan, mērian</i>              |
| NG             | ἀναγγέλλω               | Let.  | <i>spilōn</i>                        |
| Lat.           | <i>nūntiāre</i>         | ON    | <i>boða, tjā, kynna</i>              |
| It.            | <i>annunciare</i>       | Dan.  | <i>kundgøre, forkynde</i>            |
| Fr.            | <i>annoncer</i>         | Sw.   | <i>kundgöra, förkunna</i>            |
| Sp.            | <i>anunciar</i>         | OE    | <i>cijpan, nūtran, bodian, bodan</i> |
| Rum.           | <i>anunța, vesti</i>    |       |                                      |
| Ir.            | <i>fóbcair</i>          | ME    | <i>kythe, bode, bede</i>             |
| Nir.           | <i>fógraim</i>          | NE    | <i>announce</i>                      |
| W.             | <i>cyhoeddi, datgan</i> | Du.   | <i>aankondigen</i>                   |
| Br.            | <i>kemenn, embann</i>   | OHG   | <i>cundan, mār(ren)</i>              |
|                |                         | MHG   | <i>kunden, kundigen</i>              |
|                |                         | NHG   | <i>ankündigen, verkünden</i>         |

'Announce' is expressed by words meaning literally 'bring a message, bring news, make known, make public', etc.

But besides the words listed, common verbs for 'say' or 'speak' may be used in a formal way so as to be virtually equivalent to 'announce' or 'declare' (thus *saiō the king*, bibl. *I say unto you*, etc.).

1. Grk. ἀγγέλλω, cpd. ἀναγγέλλω, fr. ἀγγέλος 'messenger', of dub. orig. (cf. Pers. ἀγγαρος 'messenger' or early loanword fr. the same source?). Walde-H. 1.46.

2. Lat. *nūntiāre* (later and esp. eccl.), *advūntiāre* (> Romance words), fr. *nūntium* 'message', *nūntius* 'messenger', generally derived fr. *novus* 'new' (e.g. as cpd. *\*novi-ventio-*, Brugmann, IF 17.366 f.) but perh. as an orig. augural term (cf. Ernout-M. 687) : Ir. *nūall* 'noise, cry', Skt. *nu-* 'sound, exult, praise'. Cf. Chruska, reported by Nidemann, Idg. Anz. 19.33 f.

Rum. *vesti* fr. sb. *vesti* 'announcement, news', fr. ChSl. *věsti* id. (below, 6), Tiktin 1733.

3. Ir. *fóbcair*, *fouacair* (3sg.), Nir. *fógraim*, fr. *\*fo-od-gair-*, cpd. of *gairim* 'shout, call' (18.13). Pedersen 2.535.

W. *cyhoeddi*, also 'publish', fr. *cyhoedd* 'public', cpd. of *cy-* 'with, common', but second part dub. Morris Jones 98 (but?).

W. *datgan*, cpd. of *dad-* with inten-

sive force and *canu* 'sing'. Morris Jones 266.

Br. *kemenn*, also 'command' (and so also with the cpd. *gourc'hennenn*), fr. Lat. *commendāre* (cf. 19.45).

Br. *embann*, also 'proclaim, publish', as sb. 'proclamation, bans', fr. French phrase (*proclamer*) *en ban*. Henry 112.

4. Goth. *gateihan*, ON *tjā*, also 'show' (OE *lōn*, OHG *zihan* 'accuse') : Grk. εἰκόνω, Skt. *dic-* 'show', etc. (15.55). Feist 204.

Goth. *mērian*, OE *māran*, OHG *mār(ren)* (ON *māra* 'praise') : ON *mārr*, OE *māre*, OHG *māri* 'famous', Ir. *mār*, *mōr* 'great', *māraim* 'make great, magnify', etc. Walde-P. 2.238. Feist 355.

Goth. *spilōn* : *spill* 'story', ON *spjall*, OE *spell*, OHG *spell* 'story, account', ON *spjalla*, OE *spellian* 'talk, converse', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 2.676 f. Feist 445.

ON *boða*, OE *bodian*, ME (NE) *bode*, fr. ON *boð* 'offer, message, command', OE *boð* 'command, message' : ON *bjōða* 'offer, command', OE *bēodan* 'offer, command, announce', ME *bede*, etc. (19.45).

ON *kynna* (rare in this sense, usually refl. with dat. or pass. 'learn, study', cf. Fritznar s.v.), OE *cijpan*, ME *kythe*, MLG (*vor*)*kunden* (> Dan. *forkynde*, Sw. *förkunna*), OHG *cundan*, MHG *kunden*, *künden*, NHG (*ver*)*künden*, fr.

ON *kunnr*, OE *cūþ*, OHG *cund*, Goth. *kunþs* 'known' (orig. pple. to Goth. *kunnan*, etc. 'know'); hence adj. OHG, NHG *kundig*, with deriv. vb. MHG *kündigen*, NHG more usually in cpds. *ankündigen*, *verkündigen*, Du. *aankondigen*, *vercondigen*. Weigand-H. 1.1171. Falk-Torp 258.

Dan. *kundgøre*, Sw. *kundgöra*, prob. translations of NHG *kundmachen*, *kundtun* 'notify, make known', cpds. of Dan. *kund*, etc. 'known' (= ON *kunnr*, cf. above) and words for 'make, do'. Falk-Torp 594.

NE *announce*, early *anounce*, fr. OFr. *anonc(i)er* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *skelbti* (freq. also with prefixes *ap-*, *pa-*) : *skalyti* 'bark, bay' (of dogs), Pol. *skolić* 'whine (as a dog)', OHG *scellan* 'sound, resound, make a noise, ring', ON *skjalla* 'clash, clatter', etc. Walde-P. 1.445.

Lith. *garsinti* (also *ap-*), fr. *garsas* 'sound, tone' (15.44).

Lett. *pazin'uo!*, caus. to (*pa*)*zīt* 'know' (17.17).

Lett. *sludināt* : *sludēt* 'be rumored

about', fr. the root of *slava* 'fame, glory', etc. (16.47). Mühl-Endz. 3.940 f.

6. ChSl. *vūz-věstiti* (the usual word in the Gospels for ἀναγγέλλω), SCR. *navijes-titi*, Boh. *zvěstiti*, Pol. *obwiescić*, Russ. *zovestiti* : ChSl. *věsti* 'news', *věstati* 'speak' (18.21).

ChSl. *novědēti*, freq. in Gospels for ἀναγγέλλω, but also for εἶπε, λέγω 'say' (18.21).

SCR. *obznaniiti*, Boh. *oznamiti*, Pol. *oznajmicić*, cpds. with caus. force to Slavic *znati* 'know' (17.17).

SCR. *oglasiti*, Boh. *ohlāsiti*, Pol. *ogłosić*, fr. Slavic *glasiti* 'voice' (18.11); cf. ChSl. *glasiti* 'make a sound'. Berneker 323.

Russ. *ob'javiti*, SCR. *objasiti* = ChSl. *ob-aviti* 'show' (15.55).

7. Skt. *ā-khyā-*, cpd. of *khyā-* in pass. 'be named, be known', and caus. 'make known, proclaim, relate, tell', etym.? Uhlenbeck 75.

Skt. *gāṇs-*, Av. *sqh-* : OPers. *gah-say*, etc. (18.22).

Av. *aof-*, see 18.21.

| 18.44 THREATEN |                           |       |                               |
|----------------|---------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| Grk.           | ἀπειλέω                   | Goth. | ( <i>ga</i> ) <i>hwōljan</i>  |
| NG             | φοβερίζω, ἀπειλώ          | ON    | <i>drōna, hōta</i>            |
| Lat.           | <i>timēre</i>             | Dan.  | <i>true</i>                   |
| It.            | <i>minacciare</i>         | Sw.   | <i>hōta</i>                   |
| Fr.            | <i>menacer</i>            | OE    | <i>hwōpan, bēotian, þrē-</i>  |
| Sp.            | <i>amenaza</i>            |       | <i>atian</i>                  |
| Rum.           | <i>amenința</i>           | ME    | <i>threle, boote, menasse</i> |
| Ir.            | <i>domaithim, bacraim</i> | NE    | <i>threaten, menace</i>       |
| Nir.           | <i>bagraim</i>            | Du.   | <i>droegen</i>                |
| W.             | <i>bygwth</i>             | OHG   | <i>drōwen, drōwen</i>         |
| Br.            | <i>gourdrōuz</i>          | MHG   | <i>drōwen, drōn</i>           |
|                |                           | NHG   | <i>drohen</i>                 |

Several of the words for 'threaten' were used also for 'urge, press' (as OE *þreatian*) or are cognate with others of such meaning, that is, 'threaten' was to 'exert pressure'. Several others meant originally 'frighten'. There are also

connections with words for 'keep away, prevent' (through 'warn'), 'project, hang over' (a threat hangs over one), 'disgusting' ('make oneself disagreeable' > 'threaten'), and 'loud noise, cry, call'.

1. Grk. ἀπειλέω, beside sb. ἀπειλή

mostly in pl. 'threats', etym. much disputed; various outside connections suggested (Boisacq 67 f. Walde-H. 1.59), but prob. the same word as ἀπειλώ 'force' (Hdt.), Elean ἀπορῆλω 'keep away, exclude' (from the altar, etc.), cpd. of εἶλω (*\*fēlōw*) 'force, press, shut in or out, prevent'. Cf. also Heracl. ἐγ- (= *kw-*)*ρηλω* 'keep away'. Semantic development 'keep away' through 'warn off, warn' to 'threaten'?

NG φοβερίζω, orig. 'frighten' (so LXX, Byz.), fr. φοβέρος 'terrible, fearful' : φόβος 'fear' (16.53).

2. Lat. *mināre*, lit. but only poet. 'jut out, project', whence usually 'threaten', beside *minaz* 'projecting, threatening', whence VLat. *minacia* sb. 'threat' (> It. *minaccia*, Fr. *menace*, Sp. (*a*)*menaza*, with deriv. vbs. for 'threaten', It. *minacciare*, Fr. *menacer*, Sp. *amenazar*, Rum. *amenința*. REW 5584).

fr. *minae* (pl.) 'projection', whence 'something hanging above >' threats' : *ē-*, *prominēre* 'project, hang over', etc. Ernout-M. 615 f.

3. Ir. *do-maithim*, perh. : Alb. *matem* 'lift the hand to strike, throw', but root connection dub. Walde-P. 2.237. Pedersen 2.575.

MR. *bacraim*, Nir. *bagraim*, fr. *bacar* 'threat, threatening', orig.? Macbain 26.

W. *bygwth*, orig. 'frighten', deriv. of *bug* 'goblin, ghost' (22.45).

Br. *gourdrōuz*, also sb. 'a threat', cpd. of *gour-* 'super' and *trouz* 'noise', in sense 'violent noise' > 'threat'. Henry 139.

4. Goth. *hwōljan*, *gahwōljan* (quotable only for *ἐπιτιμάω, ἐμβρομέομαι* 'rebuke, admonish sternly', but *hwōta* = ἀπειλή Eph. 6.9), ON *hōta, hōta*, Sw. *hōta* : ON *hvetja*, OE *hwettan* 'whet, urge, encourage', etc. Walde-P. 1.513. Falk-Torp 446. Feist 286.

Du. *dreigen*, OS *thrēgian*, perh. fr. an extension of *\*trei-* beside *\*trew-* in OHG *drēwen*, etc. (below), OE *þreatian*, etc. (above). Franck-v. W. 131 f.

OHG *drēwen*, *drōwen*, MHG *drōuwen*, *drōuwen* (NHG *drāuen*), and (fr. sb. *drō*) also *drōn*, NHG *drohen* : OE *þrēan* 'reprove, reproach, punish, torture', ChSl. *trova*, *truti* 'consume, devour', *trujā*, *tryti* 'rub', etc. (fr. the root seen in Dan. *true*, OE *þreatian*, etc. (above). Walde-P. 1.731. Weigand-H. 1.380 f.

2. Lat. *glōriāre*, deriv. of *glōria* 'fame, glory' (16.47), also 'vainglory, boasting'. Lat. *iactāre se* (> Sp. *iactarse*), lit. 'throw oneself about', frequent. of *iactare* 'throw'. Ernout-M. 466 f.

It. *vantarsi*, Fr. *se vanter* refl. (non-refl. 'vaunt, boast of', fr. VLat. *vāntiāre*, deriv. of *vānitās* 'emptiness, vanity' (: *vānus* 'empty, vain'). REW 9138.

Rum. *se lăuda*, refl. of *lăuda* 'praise' (16.79).

Rum. *se fāli*, deriv. of *fālā* 'praise, fame', fr. ChSl. *chvala* 'praise' (cf. below, 7). Tiktin 606 f.

3. Ir. *bāgim* and cpd. *ar-bāgim*, 'fight' and 'boast' or 'threaten' (OHG *bāga* 'strife', OS *bāg* 'boasting', etc., perh. fr. Celtic), prob. used orig. with reference to a war of words, but root connection? Walde-P. 2.130. Zimmer KZ 36.447 ff.

Ir. *mōidim* (orig. trans., 'boast of'; RIA Contrib. s.v.) Nir. *mōidhim* (also 'praise, celebrate') : *miad* 'honor' (16.46), outside connections? Walde-P. 2.222. Pedersen 1.184.

W. *ymffrostio*, also simple *frostio*, deriv. of *frost* sb. 'boast, pomp', orig.? Br. *fougeal*, deriv. of *fouge* 'vanity', fr. Fr. *fougue* 'fury'. Henry 124.

4. Goth. *hwōpan* = OE *hwōpan* 'threaten' (18.44).

ON *hrōsa* 'praise' (16.79), also (partly with dat. refl.) 'boast'.

ON *gambra*, prob. fr. *gambra* 'a mythical bird, venture' (for which cf. Falk-Torp 298). Cf. NE *crow over*.

Dan. *skryde*, Sw. *skryta* : MLG *schrūten* 'snort, puff', OE *hrūtan* 'make a noise, snore', etc., fr. a dental extension of the root seen in Skt. *kruṣ-* and Grk. *κραυγάζω* 'shout, cry' (18.13). Walde-P. 1.417. Falk-Torp 1033. Hellquist 954.

OE *gielpān*, ME *yelpē* (NE *yelp*), MHG *gelfen*, beside sbs. OE *gielp*, ON *gielp* 'boasting' : OS *galpōn* 'cry aloud, boast', *gelp* 'defiance', Sw. dial. *galpa* 'cry' (of birds), etc., fr. an extension of the root seen in ON *gala*, OE *galan*, etc.

ON *ōgna*, fr. *ōgn* 'dread, terror', pl. 'threats' : Goth. *agis* 'fright', *ōgan* 'be afraid', etc. (16



Lett. *rakstīt*, deriv. of *raksts* 'writing' (also 'embroidery, pattern'); this prob. : Lith. *rakštas* 'tomb' (orig. 'grave'), *rakštis* 'splinter', fr. the root of Lett. *rakt* 'dig', Lith. *rakti* 'dig, rake'. Mühl-Endz. 3.475.

5. ChSl. *pisati*, *piša*, etc., general Slavic : OPruss. *peisai* 'writes', Lith. *piešti* 'sketch, draw', ON *fä* 'color, adorn' (*fä* *rūnar* 'write runes'), OE *fag*

'colored, stained', etc., Grk. *ποικίλος* 'gay-colored', Skt. *piç-* 'carve, prepare, adorn', Av. *pis-* 'color, adorn', OPers. *ni-pis-* 'write', Lat. *pingere* ('*pei*-g- beside \**peik-*' 'embroider, paint', Toch. Endz. 3.475).

6. Skt. *likh-*, older *rikh-*, lit. 'scratch, scrape' : Grk. *ἔπειω* 'rend, tear', Lith. *riekti* 'slice (bread)'. Walde-P. 2.344. OPers. *ni-pis-* : ChSl. *pisati* (above, 5).

## 18.52 READ

|      |                     |       |                    |        |                   |
|------|---------------------|-------|--------------------|--------|-------------------|
| Grk. | ἀναγινώσκω          | Goth. | ussigwuan, anakun- | Lith.  | skaityti          |
| NG   | διαβάω (ἀναγινώσκω) | ON    | nan                | Lett.  | laisti (skaititi) |
| Lat. | legere              | Dan.  | læse               | ChSl.  | čisti             |
| It.  | leggere             | Sw.   | läsa               | Scr.   | čistati           |
| Fr.  | lire                | OE    | ræðan              | Boh.   | čisti             |
| Sp.  | leer                | ME    | rede               | Pol.   | czytać            |
| Rum. | chi                 | NE    | read               | Russ.  | čitat'            |
| Ir.  | léigim              | Du.   | lesen              | Skt.   | paṭh-             |
| Nlr. | lêghim              | OHG   | lesan              | Av.    | aiwi-ah-          |
| W.   | darllen             | MHG   | lesen              | OPers. | pati-pars-        |
| Br.  | lenn                | NHG   | lesen              |        |                   |

Words for 'read' are based on notions like 'recognize, pick out, gather, observe, interpret, go through', etc., secondarily applied to written characters.

Just as in the case of 'write' Lat. *scribere* is the source of the western European words except English, so Lat. *legere* is the source of the Romance (except Rum.), the Celtic, and, at least in part by semantic borrowing, of the most widespread Gmc. group.

1. Grk. ἀναγινώσκω, lit. (Hom., etc.) 'know, recognize', whence 'recognize written characters', 'read' (Pindar+), cpd. of γινώσκω 'know, recognize' (17.17).

NG διαβάω (the pop. word for 'read'; ἀναγινώσκω lit.), fr. Grk. διαβιβάζω 'carry across', Byz. διαβάω also 'pass the time, converse' (Chron. Mor.). Cf. NE *run through*, *fr. parcourir* in sense 'read rapidly'. Korais, Ἀνακτα 1.268.

2. Lat. *legere* (> It. *leggere*, Fr. *lire*,

Sp. *leer*), orig. 'pick up, gather, collect', whence 'read', prob. through 'pick up, put together the individual written characters', or merely 'gather' as 'comprehend the meaning of something written' (cf. NE *gather* in this sense. NED s.v. I, 10) : Grk. *λέγω* 'gather, collect' and also 'speak, say' (18.21). Walde-P. 2.422. Ernout-M. 535 ff. Walde-H. 1.780.

Rum. *liti*, fr. the Slavic (below, 6).

3. Ir. *lêghim*, Nlr. *lêghim*, fr. Lat. *legere* (above).

W. *dar-llen* (with intensive prefix), Br. *lenn*, orig. only sb. 'reading', fr. Lat. *legendum* 'what is to be read' (: *legere*, above). Pedersen 1.222, 225.

4. Goth. *ussigwuan* or simply *sigwuan* reg. render Grk. ἀναγινώσκω; *sigwuan* also 'sing' (18.12). Prob. orig. applied to reading aloud, reciting (as in Lk. 4.16, etc., the usual sense in NT; but also simply 'read' as in Lk. 6.3).

Goth. *anakunnan*, cpd. of *ana* 'on' and *kunnan* 'know' (renders ἀναγινώσκω 'read') Cor. 1.13, 3.2, lit. translation of the Greek.

ON *ræða*, OE *ræðan* (also 'advise, plan, rule, explain', etc.), ME *rede*, NE *read* = OHG *rātan* 'advise, consider, interpret', etc. : ON *ræða*, Goth. *rōðjan* 'speak, talk' (18.21). ON *ræða* is the older word and is always used where reference is to reading of runes, whereas *lesa* (below) is used only of reading writing in Latin characters (cf. B. M. Olsen, Runerne i den oldislandske literatur, 35 f.). The earliest citation of OE *ræðan* in NED refers to reading a book (Aelfred, Boeth., ca. 888).

ON *lesa*, Dan. *læse*, Sw. *läsa*, Du. *lezen*, OHG *lesan*, MHG, NHG *lesen*, all lit. 'gather, pick up' (= Goth. *lisan*, OE *lesan* in the lit. sense only). The use for 'read', which spread fr. OHG, etc. to Norse, may be in part a native development, but was doubtless affected by the double use of Lat. *legere* (above). Falk-Torp 677. Weigand-H. 2.56. Kluge-G. 355.

5. Lith. *skaityti*, Lett. *skaitīt*, both also 'count', and 'read' only dial. in Lettic : Lett. *šk'ist* 'think, intend, suppose, heed', fr. \**sk'eit-*, beside \**k'eit-* in

ChSl. *čisti*, etc. (below). Mühl-Endz. 3.866 f., 4.47.

Lett. *laist*, 'gather, select', and 'read' : Lith. *laisti*, Lett. *laist* 'pick up with the beak' (Lett. also 'court', etc.), OHG *lesan*, etc. (above, 4). Mühl-Endz. 2.423, 454.

6. ChSl. *čisti* (člq) 'read, count, calculate, honor', Boh. *čisti* 'read, count', as 'read' mostly replaced by iter. form *čítati* (ChSl. *po-čítati* 'read') in modern Slavic : Skt. *cit-* 'observe, notice', etc. Walde-P. 1.509. Berneker 174 f.

7. Skt. *paṭh-*, properly 'read or speak aloud' (also 'study, teach'), Mind. for *prath-* 'spread'. Wackernagel, Altind. Gram. 1.167. Walde-P. 2.677.

Skt. *adhi-i-*, lit. 'come upon' (cpd. of *i-* 'go, come'), hence 'remember, understand', and in mid. (*adhitte*) 'learn, study, read'.

Av. *aiwi-ah-*, also 'study, occupy the mind with' (esp. applied to studying the holy writ), cpd. of *aiwi-* 'to, at' and *ah-* 'be'. Barth. 278.

OPers. *pati-pars-* 'read' (an inscription) = Av. *paiti-fras-* 'ask', cpd. of *fras-* 'ask' (18.31). Cf. Pahl. *patpurs-*, Sogd. *piṣ-* 'read'. Barth. 999. Benveniste, BSL 31.2.71.

## 18.53 LETTER (of the Alphabet)

|      |           |       |                 |       |                 |
|------|-----------|-------|-----------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | γράμμα    | Goth. | bōka            | Lith. | raidė, litara   |
| NG   | γράμμα    | ON    | (bōk)stafr      | Lett. | burta           |
| Lat. | littera   | Dan.  | bogstav         | ChSl. | (kūniga)        |
| It.  | lettera   | Sw.   | bokstav         | Scr.  | slavo           |
| Fr.  | lettre    | OE    | (bōc)staf       | Boh.  | písmeno         |
| Sp.  | letra     | ME    | lettre, bocstaf | Pol.  | litera          |
| Rum. | litră     | NE    | letter          | Russ. | bukva           |
| Ir.  | litr      | Du.   | letter          | Skt.  | akṣara-, varṇa- |
| Nlr. | litr      | OHG   | buchstab        |       |                 |
| W.   | llythyren | MHG   | buchstap        |       |                 |
| Br.  | lizerenn  | NHG   | buchstabe       |       |                 |

Words for 'letter' (of the alphabet) are of diverse origin, but here again the Latin word has been widely borrowed.

1. Grk. γράμμα : γράφω 'write' (18.51).

2. Lat. *littera* (> Romance words), early *leitera*, orig. dub. Ernout-M. 557 f. Walde-H. 1.814 f.

3. Ir. *litr*, Nlr. *litr*, W. *llythyren*,

Fr. *lettre* now 'letter' in both senses. REW 5087.

Sp. *carta*, Rum. *carte* (Rum. also 'book') = It. *carta* 'paper', etc. (18.56).

Rum. *scrioare* (modern for the now arch. or pop. *carte*), deriv. of *scris* pple. of *scrie* 'write' (18.51). Tiktin 1394.

3. Ir. *scribend*, lit. 'writing', fr. Lat. *scribendum*, gerundive of *scribere* 'write' (18.51). Pedersen 1.225.

Ir. *epistil*, fr. Lat. *epistula*.

Nlr. *litr* (also, and earlier only, 'letter' of the alphabet), W. *llythy*, Br. *lizer* (whence new singulative forms for 'letter' of the alphabet, 18.53), fr. Lat. *littera*. Pedersen 1.234.

4. Goth. *aiṣistaule*, fr. Grk. ἐπιστολή, for which also the following. Cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 307.

ChSl. *bukŭvi*, also 'writing, document', pl. of \**buky*, fr. the Gmc. word, Goth. *bōka* 'letter', pl. 'writing, book', etc. (18.53, 18.61). Berneker 99. Stender-Petersen 450 ff.

ChSl. *kūnigy*, but mostly 'writing, book' (18.61).

Late ChSl. *posilaniŭje* : (po)sŭlati 'send' (10.63), lit. translation of Grk. ἐπιστολή.

Scr. *pismo*, Boh. *dopis*, *psant*, Russ. *pis'mo*, lit. 'writing' : ChSl. *pisati*, etc. 'write' (18.51).

Scr., Boh., Pol. *list*, lit. 'leaf' : ChSl. *listŭ*, Russ. *list*, etc. 'leaf' (8.56).

7. Skt. *lekha-*, lit. 'writing' : *likh-* 'write' (18.51).

Skt. *patra-*, lit. 'leaf', whence 'leaf for writing on, paper, letter' (cf. 18.56).

ME *lettre*, and pl. *lettres*, NE *letter*, fr. OFr. *lettre* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *laiškas*, orig. 'leaf (of a plant)', now 'letter', semantic borrowing fr. Pol. *list* (below, 6).

Lith. *gramata* (discarded in the new lit. lang., cf. NSB s.v.), Lett. *grāmata* (mostly 'book', as 'letter' replaced by *vēstule*), fr. ORuss. *gramota* 'writing, document', fr. Grk. γράμματα (above, 1). Mühl-Endz. 1.644. Berneker 345 f.

Lett. *vēstule* (recent), deriv. of *vēsts* 'news, message, messenger', fr. Russ. *vest'* 'news' (: *vedal'* 'know', etc.). Mühl-Endz. 4.571.

6. ChSl. *epistolŭja*, fr. Grk. ἐπιστολή, for which also the following. Cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 307.

ChSl. *bukŭvi*, also 'writing, document', pl. of \**buky*, fr. the Gmc. word, Goth. *bōka* 'letter', pl. 'writing, book', etc. (18.53, 18.61). Berneker 99. Stender-Petersen 450 ff.

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7. Skt. *lekha-*, lit. 'writing' : *likh-* 'write' (18.51).

Skt. *patra-*, lit. 'leaf', whence 'leaf for writing on, paper, letter' (cf. 18.56).

## 18.55 TABLET

|      |                             |       |                      |       |                    |
|------|-----------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | στέγη, πίναξ                | Goth. | spilda               | Lith. | lentelė, lentutė   |
| NG   | πίναξ                       | ON    | spjald, speld        | Lett. | galdin's           |
| Lat. | tabula, tabella, pugillaris | Dan.  | tafle                | ChSl. | dŭška              |
| It.  | tavoletta                   | Sw.   | tafla                | Scr.  | tablica            |
| Fr.  | tablette                    | OE    | bred, writbred, wez- | Boh.  | tabulka            |
| Sp.  | tabilla                     | ME    | bred                 | Pol.  | tabliczka, tablica |
| Rum. | clăr                        | NE    | tablette             | Russ. | tablica            |
| Ir.  | clár, pólaire, taball       | Du.   | table                | Skt.  | pañā-, phalaka-    |
| Nlr. | tabhall                     | OHG   | tavala               |       |                    |
| W.   | leech                       | MHG   | tavel(e)             |       |                    |
| Br.  | taolenn                     | NHG   | tafel                |       |                    |

Tablets of stone, metal, wood, or wax were in common use for writing purposes in ancient times (besides parchment or papyrus), in contrast to their restricted role in modern times.

Most of the European terms are words for 'board, plank', or 'slab', or diminutive forms of these, and in large part go back to the Lat. *tabula*.

1. Grk. στέγη, Dor. στάλα, Aeol. στάλα, the most widespread term for an inscribed monument of stone or bronze, orig. a block or slab of stone (in Hom. as part of a wall or a gravestone), fr. the root of στέλλω 'make ready', orig. 'put in place', OE *stellan* 'set, establish', OHG *stollo* 'support, post', etc., IE \**stel-* beside \**stlā-* 'stand'. Walde-P. 2.644.

Grk. πίναξ, orig. 'board, plank', hence 'platter' (5.32) and 'tablet'. Hence for 'tablet' also πίνακτον, πίνακίς, πίνακίδιον.

Grk. πλάξ, used of various objects with flat surface (: NHG *flach* 'flat', etc., 12.71), including 'tablet'.

Grk. δέλος, Cyr. δάλτος : δαδάλλω 'adorn', Lat. *dollare* 'hew', Skt. *dal-* 'split, burst'. Walde-P. 1.810. Boisacq 174.

Grk. πέτερον, πετέριον, in several regions 'tablet', in literature (also πέταρον) 'perch for fowls' and 'springboard', prob. fr. \**petēron*, \**petāron* = *πέδαρον* = *μετέωρον* 'in mid-air'. Schwyzler, Gr. Gram. 198.

2. Lat. *tabula* (> Romance words), early *leitera*, orig. dub. Ernout-M. 557 f. Walde-H. 1.814 f.

3. Ir. *litr*, Nlr. *litr*, W. *llythyren*,

2. Lat. *tabula* 'board, plank' (9.52), 'table, tablet' for writing (e.g. the *XII tabulae*), in latter sense esp. dim. *tabella*. Hence (fr. *tabula*) new dim. forms It. *tavoletta*, Fr. *tablette*, Sp. *tabilla*. Rum. *tablă* fr. *tabula* through Slavic. Ernout-M. 1011. REW 8514. Tiktin 1544.

Lat. *pugillaris*, orig. adj. 'to be held in the hand', fr. *pugillus* 'handful' : *pugnus* 'fist'. Ernout-M. 821.

3. Ir. *clār*, lit. 'board, plank' (9.52). Ir. *pólaire*, fr. Lat. *pugillaris* (above). Pedersen 1.222. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 167.

Ir. *taball*, Nlr. *tabhall*, fr. Lat. *tabula*. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 181.

W. *leech*, lit. 'flat stone, slab' : Ir. *lecc* 'stone, flagstone, etc.'

Br. *taolenn*, dim. of *taol* 'table', fr. Lat. *tabula*. Loth, Mots lat. 210.

4. Goth. *spilda*, ON *spjald*, *speld* : OE *speld* 'splinter, thin piece of wood', MHG *spelle* 'split piece of wood, hand-tool used in weaving', etc., fr. the root of OHG *spaltan*, MLG *spalden* 'split'. Walde-P. 2.678. Feist 445.

OE *bred*, lit. 'board, plank' (9.52), also cpds. *writbred* with *writ* 'writing', and *wex-bred* (for *pugillaris* Lk. 1.63) with *wex*, *wex* 'wax'.

ME, early NE *table*, ME *tablette* (rare in this sense), NE, Du. *tablet*, fr. Fr. *table*, *tablette* (above, 2).

OHG *tavala*, MHG *tavel(e)*, NHG *tafel* (specifically *schreibtäfel*), MLG *tavle*

sheet of papyrus (cf. πάπυρος γράμμος πᾶσιν, ἀφ' ἧς ὁ χάρτης κατασκευάζεται Diosc. 1.86), prob. a loanword, but source unknown. Hence Lat. *charta* (> It. *carta*; many other derivs. for paper as 'document, chart, card', etc., but not usual words for paper as writing material). Dim. *χαρτίον*, pl. *χαρτία* (> ChSl.

*chartija*, Scr. *hartija*, Rum. *hrtie*), NG *χαρτί*, pl. *χαρτιά*. Boisacq 1052. Ernout-M. 182. REW 1866. Berneker 385.

4. Russ. *bumaga*, Ukr. *bumaha*, of the same orig. as Scr. *pamuk*, etc. 'cotton' (6.24). Berneker 100 f.

5. Skt. *patra-* 'leaf' (8.54, 62).

## 18.57 PEN

|      |                 |       |          |       |                   |
|------|-----------------|-------|----------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk. | κάλαμος         | Goth. | pen      | Lith. | plunksna          |
| NG   | πέννα           | ON    | penni    | Lett. | spalva            |
| Lat. | calamus (penna) | Dan.  | pen      | ChSl. | trŭstŭ            |
| It.  | penna           | Sw.   | penna    | Scr.  | pero              |
| Fr.  | plume           | OE    | feher    | Boh.  | péro              |
| Sp.  | pluma           | ME    | penn     | Pol.  | pióro             |
| Rum. | pană, condei    | NE    | pen      | Russ. | pero              |
| Ir.  | penn            | Du.   | pen      | Skt.  | lekhanī-, kalama- |
| Nlr. | peppn           | OHG   | fedara   |       |                   |
| W.   | pŭn             | MHG   | veder(e) |       |                   |
| Br.  | pluenn          | NHG   | feder    |       |                   |

The instrument for writing on tablets in ancient Greece and Rome was the 'style', Grk. γράφεις (: γράφω 'write'), Lat. *stilus* (orig. any pointed instrument). The 'pen', for writing on parchment, papyrus, and the later paper, was a 'reed' (reed-pen) or later a 'feather' (quill-pen). The latter is the source of nearly all the Eur. words, which are either from the Latin or are native words for 'feather', and which have come to be felt as distinct words even when formally the same (as NHG *feder* in contrast to NE *pen* vs. *feather*) and so applied without any sense of incongruity to metal pens.

1. Grk. κάλαμος (> Lat. *calamus*), lit. 'reed'. Hence ChSl. *trŭstŭ* renders κάλαμος as 'reed' (Jagic, Entstehungsgesch. 398), and also as 'pen' (Psalt. p. 96 Geitler = Psalms 45.1).

Late Byz. κορόδι (NG κορόδι now esp. 'slate pencil'; cf. *μολυβοκόρνιδο*

'lead pencil'), dim. of κόνδυλος 'knuckle, joint, knob', here with reference to the joints of the reed. Hence Rum. *condeiu* the old word for 'pen' or 'pencil' (in mod. lit. mostly replaced by *pană*). Korais, Ἀνακτα 4.241. Tiktin 400.

2. Lat. *penna* 'feather', late (Isid.) 'pen'. Hence It. *penna*, OFr. *pennne* (> ME *pennne*, NE *pen* > W. *pin*). Rum. *pană*, NG *penna*, Ir. *penn*, Nlr. *peppn*, late ON *penni*, Dan. *pen*, Sw. *penna*, Du. *pen*. REW 6514. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 165. Falk-Torp 821.

Similarly Fr. *plume*, Sp. *pluma*, Br. *pluenn*, OE *feher*, OHG *fedara*, etc., Lith. *plunksna*, Lett. *spalva*, Scr. *pero*, etc., gen. Slavic, all lit. 'feather' (4.393).

3. Skt. *lekhanī-* : *likh-* 'write' (18.11). Skt. late *kalama-*, fr. Grk. κάλαμος. For this and *mela-* 'ink', fr. Grk. μέλαν, cf. Weber, Ber. Preuss. Akad. 1890. 912 ff.

4. Goth. *plunksna*, Lett. *spalva*, Scr. *pero*, etc., gen. Slavic, all lit. 'feather' (4.393).

5. Skt. *lekhanī-* : *likh-* 'write' (18.11). Skt. late *kalama-*, fr. Grk. κάλαμος. For this and *mela-* 'ink', fr. Grk. μέλαν, cf. Weber, Ber. Preuss. Akad. 1890. 912 ff.

(> Dan. *tafle*, Sw. *tafla*), fr. Lat. *tabula* (above, 2). Falk-Torp 1250. Weigand-H. 2.1018.

5. Lith. *lentelė, lentutė*, dims. of *lenta* 'board'

| 18.59 PENCIL |                      |      |              |
|--------------|----------------------|------|--------------|
| NG           | μολύβι, μολυβοκότυλο | Dan. | blyant       |
| It.          | lapis                | Sw.  | blyertspenna |
| Fr.          | crayon               | NE   | pencil       |
| Sp.          | lápiz                | Du.  | pollood      |
| Rum.         | creion               | NHG  | bleistift    |
| Nir.         | penna luaidhe        |      |              |
| W.           | pensel               |      |              |
| Br.          | pluenn-bloum         |      |              |

Many of the words for the modern 'pencil' are based on those for the material 'lead' (9.68), here to be understood as 'black lead', an old term for 'graphite' before its true composition was known (cf. NED s.v. *black lead*) and still so used of the *lead(s)* of a pencil. When I was a boy in school we spoke of *lead pencils* in distinction from the *slate pencils* still in common use. A few are based on terms for other mineral materials. Some words for a chalk crayon or for a small brush have been extended to cover 'pencil'. Some others are not connected with the material used, but are simply from the notion of 'mark, draw'.

1. Derivs., cpds., or phrases with words for 'lead' (9.68). NG μολυβοκότυλο (cf. κοτύλι, 18.57), but pop. simply μολύβι; Nir. penna luaidhe, Br. pluenn-bloum; Dan. blyant, Sw. blyertspenna, Du. pollood (pot 'pot', hence orig. 'pot lead', parallel to NE *polash*, etc.; Franck-v. W. 519), NHG bleistift (stift 'peg, pen, crayon', etc.); SCR. olavka, Pol. ołówek, Boh. olávkó (less common than tužka).

2. It. lapis, Sp. lápiz, orig. the material 'hematite', fr. Lat. lapis 'stone'. Cf. It. *matita* 'drawing pencil', fr. Grk. αἷμα-ρίτης 'hematite' (deriv. of αἷμα 'blood'). before its true composition was known (cf. NED s.v. *black lead*) and still so used of the *lead(s)* of a pencil. When I was a boy in school we spoke of *lead pencils* in distinction from the *slate pencils* still in common use. A few are based on terms for other mineral materials. Some words for a chalk crayon or for a small brush have been extended to cover 'pencil'. Some others are not connected with the material used, but are simply from the notion of 'mark, draw'.

3. Fr. crayon (> Rum. creion), also and orig. 'crayon', fr. craie, Lat. creta 'chalk'. REW 2319.

4. W. pensel, fr. ME *pensel* = pencil. Parry-Williams 110.

5. NE pencil, in ME *pensel* 'paint-brush', fr. OFr. *pincel* (Fr. *pinceau*), VLat. \**pēnicellum* = Lat. *pēnicillum*, dim. of *pēniculus* 'brush', dim. of *pēnis* 'tail'. NED s.v.

6. Lith. *pašelis* and *pieštukas*, fr. the root in *piešti*, *pašyti* 'mark, draw': ChSl. *pisati* 'write', etc. (18.51). Trautmann 210 f.

7. Lett. *zīmulis*, fr. *zīme* (Lith. *zymė*) 'sign': Lith. *žinoti*, Lett. *zīnīt* 'know'. 8. Boh. *tužka*, fr. *tužiti* 'stiffen, fasten', influenced by the *stift* of NHG *bleistift* (?).

9. Russ. *karandaš*, fr. Turk. *karadaş* 'slate' (cpd. of *kara* 'black' and *taş*, *daş* 'stone'), hence doubtless first used of the slate pencil. Lokotsch 1076.

| 18.61 BOOK |                 |       |       |
|------------|-----------------|-------|-------|
| Grk.       | βιβλος, βιβλίον | Goth. | bōkōs |
| NG         | βιβλίον         | ON    | bōk   |
| Lat.       | liber           | Dan.  | bog   |
| It.        | libro           | Sw.   | bok   |
| Fr.        | livre           | OE    | bōc   |
| Sp.        | libro           | ME    | book  |
| Rum.       | carte           | NE    | book  |
| Ir.        | lebor           | Du.   | boek  |
| Nir.       | leabhar         | OHG   | buoch |
| W.         | lyfr            | MHG   | buoch |
| Br.        | leer            | NHG   | buch  |

Most of the words for 'book' are based on names of various materials used for writing.

1. Grk. βιβλος, βιβλίον, orig. 'papyrus' (18.56), hence also 'roll of papyrus, book' (in Christian times The Book, the Bible). Hence dim. βιβλίον, βιβλίον eventually the common word for 'book'.

2. Lat. *liber* (> It., Sp. *libro*, Fr. *livre*), orig. 'thin inner bark of a tree', used for writing material before the introduction of papyrus: Russ. *lub* 'bark, bast', Lith. *luba* 'board', etc. Walde-P. 2.418. Ernout-M. 544. Walde-H. 1.790.

While *liber* was the generic term, others were used for the book form, as *volūmen* for the usual 'roll' (fr. *volere* 'turn'), and *cōdex*, orig. 'block of wood', then a set of wooden tablets fastened together on the edge, finally the similar arrangement of papyrus or parchment leaves and so the ancestor of the modern book form.

Rum. *carte* (old also 'letter'), fr. Lat. *charta* 'paper' (18.56). REW 1866.

3. Ir. *lebor*, Nir. *leabhar*, W. *lyfr*, Br. *leir*, fr. Lat. *liber*. Pedersen 1.226.

4. Goth. *bōkōs* (pl. 'writing, document, book', sg. 'letter of the alphabet'),

ON *bōk*, OE *bōc*, etc., general Gmc., orig. (pl. as in Goth.) 'tablets of beechwood': ON *bōk*, OE *bōc*, OHG *buocha*, etc. 'beech' (8.62). Walde-P. 2.128. Falk-Thorp 89. Kluge-G. 82.

5. Lith. *knýga*, fr. the Slavic (below, 6).

Lett. *grāmata*, old also 'letter' (Lith. *gramata* id.), fr. ORuss. *gramota* 'writing, document', ChSl. *gramala* 'scriptures', fr. Grk. γράμματα 'writing, letter' (18.54). Mühl-Endz. 1.644. Berneker 345 f.

6. ChSl. *kānigý* (pl. tantum) 'writing, letter, book', SCR. *knjiga*, Boh. *knihá*, etc. (but orig. in pl.), general Slavic for 'book', etym. disputed, but prob. as orig. 'wooden tablets' (like Goth. *bōkōs*), deriv. of a \**kānū* in Pol. *kien* 'stump', etc. Brückner 277 f. (and esp. KZ 45.313 ff.). Otherwise (as loanword) Berneker 664.

7. Skt. *pustaka-* (less usually *pusta-*), also 'manuscript', etym. dub. Uhlenbeck 171.

Skt. *grantha-*, lit. 'tying, binding, knot', whence 'a joining together, composition' and 'treatise, book': *granth-* 'fasten, arrange, compose'. Walde-P. 1.595.

## 18.63 LINE (of Writing or Printing)

|      |                |      |       |
|------|----------------|------|-------|
| Grk. | στίχος         | ON   | līna  |
| NG   | στίχος         | Dan. | linie |
| Lat. | versus         | Sw.  | rad   |
| It.  | riga           | OE   | līne  |
| Fr.  | ligne          | ME   | lyne  |
| Sp.  | línea, renglón | NE   | line  |
| Rum. | řínd           | Du.  | regel |
| Nir. | līne           | OHG  | zila  |
| W.   | līn            | MHG  | zile  |
| Br.  | linenn         | NHG  | zeile |

The 'line' of writing or printing is expressed in part by the usual words for 'line', mostly from Lat. *līnea* (12.84), in part by words for 'row, series, order' or 'rule'.

1. Grk. στίχος 'row' (: στείχω 'march, go', 10.47), hence 'verse' of poetry and 'line' of prose.

2. Lat. *versus*, orig. 'furrow' (fr. *vertere* turn), hence 'row, line' and esp. 'verse, line' of writing (esp. poetry, but not so restricted). Hence the widespread Eur. words, Fr. *vers*, OE *fers*, NE *verse*, NHG *vers*, etc., all most commonly applied to poetry (or 'verses' in the Bible), but Pol. *wiersz* reg. word for 'line' of prose or poetry.

It. *riga*, fr. OHG (Langob.) *řiga* 'line' (MHG *řihe*, NHG *reihe* 'line, row, order'): OE *řaw*, *řaw* 'row'.

Sp. *renglón*, deriv. of *řingla* (Cat. *řengla*), colloq. form of *řegla* 'rule' (Lat. *řegula*). Diez 483.

Rum. *řínd* 'row, order' and 'line', fr. Slavic, ChSl. *ředū* 'order', etc. (below, 5).

3. Sw. *rad* 'row, series' and 'line': ON *řpō* 'row, series', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.74. Falk-Torp 869. Hellquist 809.

Du. *regel* 'rule' and 'line', fr. Lat. *řegula* 'rule'.

NHG *zeile*, fr. OHG *zila*, MHG *zile* 'row, line', perh. fr. the same root as *ziel* 'object', *zeit* 'time', etc. Falk-Torp 1259. Kluge-G. 706.

4. Lith. *eilutė*, fr. *eilė* 'row, series', root-connection? Walde-P. 1.104.

Lett. *rinda* 'row' and 'line' = (or fr.) Lith. *rinda* 'row': ChSl. *ředū* 'order'. Mühl-Endz. 3.527.

5. SCR. *řadak*, Boh. *řadek*, *řadka*, fr. SCR. *řed*, Boh. *řad*, *řada*, 'order, row, series' = ChSl. *ředū* 'order'.

Pol. *wiersz*, fr. Lat. *versus* (above, 2), prob. through HG *vers*.

Russ. *stroka* (or more commonly dim. *stročka*) = ChSl. *stroka* 'center, point': ChSl. *strāknqti*, Russ. *streknuti* 'goad, prick'. Brückner 519.

6. Skt. *řekhā-* (12.84), quotable also for line of writing?

| 18.64 PRINT (vb.) |                   |      |         |
|-------------------|-------------------|------|---------|
| NG                | τυπώνω            | Dan. | trykke  |
| It.               | imprimere         | Sw.  | trycka  |
| Fr.               | imprimer          | NE   | print   |
| Sp.               | imprimir          | Du.  | drucken |
| Rum.              | imprima           | NHG  | drucken |
| Nir.              | clōdhaim          |      |         |
| W.                | argraffu, printiu |      |         |
| Br.               | moula             |      |         |

Verbs for 'print' are most commonly derived from those for 'press' (9.342). Some are from nouns meaning 'stamp, impression, seal'.

1. NG τυπώνω, fr. τύπος 'stamp, print' (cf. also ὀτύπος 'the press'), in class. Grk. 'impression', fr. τύπτω 'strike, beat'.

2. It. *imprimere*, Fr. *imprimer*, Sp. *imprimir*, Rum. *imprima*, fr. Lat. *imprimere* 'impress, stamp', cpd. of *premere* 'press'.

3. Nir. *clōdhaim*, fr. sb. *clō* 'stamp, print, form', etym.?

W. *argraffu* (sb. *argraff* 'impression, print'), fr. *ar-* 'upon' and obs. *graffo* 'engrave', fr. ME *grave* id. Parry-Williams 83.

W. *printiu*, fr. NE *print*. Br. *moula*, fr. *moul* 'mold, impression', fr. Fr. *moule* id.

4. Dan. *trykke*, Sw. *trycka*, Du. *drucken*, NHG *drucken*, orig. 'press', like OE *prycan*, etc. On the NHG distinction,

*drucken* 'print' vs. *drücken* 'press', cf. Kluge-G. 115, Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 113.

NE *print*, fr. sb. *print*, early *print*, fr. OFr. *printe*, deriv. of Lat. *premere* 'press'.

5. Lith. *spaudinti*, also and orig. 'press', beside *spaušti* 'press', whence also *spausdinti* 'print' with sb. *spauštuvė* 'printing house'.

Lett. *iespiest*, cpd. of *spiest* 'press'. Lett. *drukāt*, fr. sb. *drukā*, fr. LG *druk*.

6. SCR. *šampati*, fr. sb. *šampa* 'print', fr. It. *stampa* 'stamp, press, print'.

Boh. *tišknouti*, also 'press', with sb. *tišk* 'pressure, press'.

Pol. *drukować*, fr. sb. *druk* 'print, press', fr. NHG *druk*.

Russ. *pečatāl*, fr. *pečat* 'seal, stamp, the press' = ChSl. *pečātī*, Boh. *pečet*, etc. 'seal', fr. the root of ChSl. *pekā*, *pešti* 'bake', hence something 'baked in'. Cf. SCR. *opeka* 'brick' fr. the same root. Brückner 407.

## 18.65 LITERATURE

|      |               |       |                   |
|------|---------------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk. | γράμματα      | Goth. | (mēla)            |
| NG   | λογιστεία     | ON    | (script, ritning) |
| Lat. | litterae      | Dan.  | litteratur        |
| It.  | letteratura   | Sw.   | litteratur        |
| Fr.  | littérature   | OE    | (writ)            |
| Sp.  | literatura    | ME    | literature        |
| Rum. | literatură    | NE    | literature        |
| Ir.  | (scriptur)    | Du.   | letterkunde       |
| Nir. | litrīdheacht  | OHG   | (giscip, scrift)  |
| W.   | llyenyddiaeth | MHG   | (schrift)         |
| Br.  | lennegaz      | NHG   | literatur         |

## 18.66 AUTHOR, WRITER

|      |                        |      |                            |
|------|------------------------|------|----------------------------|
| Grk. | συγγραφεύς             | Dan. | forfatter, skribent        |
| NG   | συγγραφεύς, λογογράφος | Sw.  | skriftställare, författare |
| Lat. | scriptor, auctor       | OE   | writere                    |
| It.  | auctor, scriptore      | ME   | autor, writer              |
| Fr.  | auteur, écrivain       | NE   | author, writer             |
| Sp.  | autor, escritor        | Du.  | schrijver                  |
| Rum. | scriitor, autor        | OHG  | scriplor                   |
| Ir.  | auitor, scribimōir     | MHG  | tihtære                    |
| Nir. | ughdar, scriobmōir     | NHG  | verfasser, schriftsteller  |
| W.   | auður, skrívagnar      |      |                            |
| Br.  |                        |      |                            |

The majority of words for the literary 'author, writer' are words for 'writer', derived from the usual verbs for 'write'. But Lat. *auctor* 'author' has a large progeny, and in some languages the 'author'-words have a superior rank to the 'writer'-words, since the latter are so comprehensive, covering the veriest scribbler (so e.g. Fr. *auteur* vs. *écrivain*, Sp. *autor* vs. *escritor*); but NE *writer*, though comprehensive, is used, no less than *author*, of the greatest).

A few of the words listed are used for the author of particular works, but not in phrases like 'the Greek authors'. So NHG *verfasser*, while the corresponding Dan. *forfatter*, Sw. *författare* may be used also in such phrases.

1. Derivs. of verbs for 'write'. Obvious by comparison with the list 18.51, But NHG *schriftsteller* for 'literary writ-

er vs. *schreiber* 'writer' in general, 'scribe', etc.

2. Lat. *auctor* 'author' as 'originator, founder, proposer', etc., hence also literary 'author', fr. *augere* 'increase, augment'. Ernout-M. 89. Hence the widespread Eur. words.

3. MHG *tihtære* 'composer, writer' and 'poet', see 18.67.

NHG *verfasser*, fr. *verfassen* 'put together, compose', cpd. of *fassen* 'hold, seize' (11.14). Similarly Dan. *forfatter*, Sw. *författare*, fr. vbs. borrowed fr. MLG *vorvaten*. Falk-Torp 255.

4. SCR. *književnik*, fr. *književni* 'literary', fr. *knjiga* 'book' (18.61). Cf. ChSl. *kūnīžnikū* 'scribe'.

Boh. *pávodce*, 'author' in wider and narrower sense, fr. *pávod* 'origin'.

5. Skt. *grantha-kāra-*, *grantha-kṛt-*, cpds. of *grantha-* 'literary production, book' (18.61) and forms of *kṛ-* 'make'.

## 18.67 POET

|      |                |      |                       |
|------|----------------|------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | ποιητής        | ON   | skáld                 |
| NG   | ποιητής        | Dan. | digter                |
| Lat. | poēta          | Sw.  | skald, diklare (poet) |
| It.  | poeta          | OE   | scop                  |
| Fr.  | poète          | ME   | poet                  |
| Sp.  | poeta          | NE   | poet                  |
| Rum. | poet           | Du.  | dichter               |
| Ir.  | fáith, fili    | OHG  | scōf                  |
| Nir. | fīle           | MHG  | tihtære, poēte        |
| W.   | prydydd, bardd | NHG  | dichter (poet)        |
| Br.  | barz           |      |                       |

Most words for 'literature' are based on the notion of 'letters', and a Lat. deriv. has furnished what is virtually an international Eur. term.

For the earlier periods of the Eur. languages, before the adoption of Lat. *litterātūra*, the entries in the list (namely, the Ir., Goth., OE, OHG, ChSl.) are words for 'writing(s)' which are mostly quotable only with reference to the holy 'scripture'. But it may be assumed that they might cover also 'writings, literature' in general.

1. Grk. γράμματα, pl. of γράμμα 'letter' (18.54), covers 'letter' = 'epistle', 'documents', and 'writings' of an author, also the science of literature and grammar. Though apparently not quotable in class. times in a phrase like 'Greek literature', it was eventually so used, e.g. NG Ἑλληνικά γράμματα.

NG λογογραφία, lit. the 'art of words', a modern creation, now the technical literary term.

2. Lat. *litterae*, pl. of *littera* 'letter' (18.54), used like Grk. γράμματα for 'letter' = 'epistle', 'writings', and literature. This last use is preserved in Fr. *lettres* (*cultiver les lettres*, *un homme de lettres*, *belles-lettres*, etc.), NE *letters* (*man of letters*, etc.), etc., also in derivs., Ir. *litrīd* 'man of letters', whence Nir. *litrīdheacht* (or *litrēdhacht*) 'literature', and Du. *letter-kunde*. Otherwise replaced by the following.

Lat. *litterātūra*, a rendering of Grk.

γραμματική 'writing', esp. 'science of language, grammar', only later (not class.) 'literature', but source of the most widespread Eur. term.

3. Ir. *scriptur* 'scripture', fr. Lat. *scriptūra*. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 175. W. *llyenyddiaeth*, Br. *lennegaz*, derivs. (W. through vb. *llyenydd*) of W. *llen* 'lore, learning', Br. *lenn* 'reading', fr. Lat. *legendum* 'what is to be read' (cf. 18.52).

4. Goth. *mēla*, ON *script*, *ritning*, OE *writ*, OHG *giscip*, *scrift* (also *buoch-scrift* = *litteratura*, Notker), all fr. verbs for 'write' (18.51), and the reg. words for holy 'scripture'.

5. In ChSl. the Grk. γράμματα is rendered by *kūnigý* (whence words for 'book', cf. 18.61), *bukŭvi* (orig. 'letters', cf. 18.54), and *pisaniŭje* (: *pisati* 'write', 18.51). Cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 357.

SCR. *književnost*, deriv. (through adj. *književni* 'literary') of *knjiga* 'book' (18.61).

Boh. *pisemnictví*, deriv. (through adj. *pisemný*) of *pisati* 'write' (18.51).

Russ. *slovesnost* (now rather archaic), deriv. (through adj. *slovesnyj*) of *slovo* 'word' (18.26).

6. Skt. *grantha-* 'composition, literary production, book' (18.61).

Skt. *śāstra-* 'instruction' (: *śās-* 'teach', 17.25), 'instructional work' and applied to various forms of literature.

## 18.62 PAGE

|      |            |      |           |
|------|------------|------|-----------|
| Grk. | σελίς      | Dan. | side      |
| NG   | σελίδα     | Sw.  | sida      |
| Lat. | página     | NE   | page      |
| It.  | página     | Du.  | bladzijde |
| Fr.  | page       | NHG  | seite     |
| Sp.  | página     |      |           |
| Rum. | página     |      |           |
| Nir. | leathanach |      |           |
| W.   | tudalen    |      |           |
| Br.  | pajenn     |      |           |

The Greek and Latin words denoted the column of a papyrus roll, and, this being usually written only on one side, the column was in fact the 'page'. After the advent of the codex, with writing on both sides of the leaf and each side numbered, the same words were kept for this 'page' in the modern sense.

But in many of the Eur. languages 'page' is expressed, logically enough from its relation to the leaf, as 'side of a leaf' or more commonly simply as 'side'.

1. Grk. σελίς, -ίδος, used as an architectural term for 'cross-piece', also 'block of seats', 'rowing-bench', etc. (beside σέλα 'deck, rowing-bench, scaffold', etc.), was applied to the column of a papyrus roll (not necessarily identical with the sheet of papyrus, the writing in column sometimes crossing the juncture of the sheets; cf. also κολληματα 5ε, σελίδες 9λς '95 sheets, 137 columns', Riv. fil. 37.361), and later to the 'page' of codices. Hence NG σελίδα 'page'.

2. Lat. *página* (> It., Sp., Rum. *página* directly adopted; Fr. *page</*

this fr. OBoh. *bdti* 'speak, relate, tell stories' (Berneker 39). Gebauer 2.366. Russ. (beside usual *poet*) *stichovorec*, lit. 'verse-maker', cpd. of *stich*, ChSl. *stichū*, fr. Grk. *stichos* 'verse'.

7. Skt. *kavi*- 'wise, wise one, sage, seer', later 'poet', fr. the root seen in *ā-kūti*- 'intention', Grk. *koio* 'perceive', Lat. *cavere* 'beware', ChSl. *čuti* 'feel, perceive', etc. Walde-P. 1.368 ff.

## CHAPTER 19

TERRITORIAL, SOCIAL, AND POLITICAL DIVISIONS;  
SOCIAL RELATIONS

|   |  |
|---|--|
| 19.11 COUNTRY ("European Countries")      | 19.44 FREE (adj.)  |
| 19.12 ONE'S NATIVE COUNTRY                | 19.45 COMMAND, ORDER (vbs.)                              |
| 19.13 COUNTRY vs. TOWN                    | 19.46 OBEY   |
| 19.14 REGION, TERRITORY                   | 19.47 LET, PERMIT  |
| 19.15 CITY, TOWN                          | 19.48 COMPEL   |
| 19.16 VILLAGE                             | 19.51 FRIEND   |
| 19.17 BOUNDARY                            | 19.52 ENEMY  |
| 19.21 PEOPLE (Populace)                   | 19.53 COMPANION  |
| 19.22 A PEOPLE, NATION                    | 19.54 NEIGHBOR   |
| 19.23 TRIBE, CLAN, FAMILY (in Wide Sense) | 19.55 STRANGER   |
| 19.31 RULE (vb.), GOVERN                  | 19.56 GUEST  |
| 19.32 KING                                | 19.57 HOST   |
| 19.33 QUEEN                               | 19.58 HELP, AID (vbs.)                                   |
| 19.34 EMPEROR                             | 19.59 HINDER, PREVENT                                    |
| 19.35 PRINCE                              | 19.61 CUSTOM   |
| 19.352 Note on Other Titles of Nobility   | 19.62 STRIFE, QUARREL                                    |
| 19.36 NOBLE (sb.), NOBLEMAN               | 19.63 PLOT, CONSPIRACY                                   |
| 19.37 CITIZEN                             | 19.64 COMMON (adj.)                                      |
| 19.38 SUBJECT (sb.)                       | 19.65 MEET (vb.)   |
| 19.41 MASTER                              | 19.71 Note on Terms for Members of a Trade or Profession |
| 19.42 SLAVE                               | 19.72 WHORE, PROSTITUTE                                  |
| 19.43 SERVANT                             |  |

## 19.11 COUNTRY ("European Countries")

|                            |                         |                                    |
|----------------------------|-------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>χώρα, γῆ, χθών</i> | Goth. <i>land</i>       | Lith. <i>kraštas, žemė</i>         |
| NG <i>χώρα, τόπος</i>      | ON <i>land</i>          | Lett. <i>zeme</i>                  |
| Lat. <i>finēs, terra</i>   | Dan. <i>land</i>        | ChSl. <i>strana, zemlja</i>        |
| It. <i>paese</i>           | Sw. <i>land</i>         | SCr. <i>zemlja</i>                 |
| Fr. <i>pays</i>            | OE <i>land</i>          | Boh. <i>země</i>                   |
| Sp. <i>pais</i>            | ME <i>land, contree</i> | Pol. <i>ziemia</i>                 |
| Rum. <i>țară</i>           | NE <i>country, land</i> | Russ. <i>strana</i>                |
| Ir. <i>tír, crích</i>      | Du. <i>land</i>         | Skt. <i>deśa-, viśaya-, jana-</i>  |
| Nir. <i>tír</i>            | OHG <i>lant</i>         | Av. <i>daišhu-, OPers. dah-yu-</i> |
| W. <i>gwlad</i>            | OHG <i>lant</i>         |                                    |
| Br. <i>bro</i>             | NHG <i>land</i>         |                                    |

'Country' is intended here as the territory of a whole people or nation ("European countries"), though the words are used also in a more general sense for areas of indeterminate extent.

The majority are the same as words for 'land', but a few are from 'boundaries' or other sources.

1. Words for 'land' already discussed in 1.21.

1301

Grk. *γῆ, χθών* (poet.); Lat. *terra*, Rum. *țară*; Ir. *tír*; Goth. *land*, etc., general Gmc. (in NE now replaced in common use by *country*); Lith. *žemė* (formerly so used), Lett. *zeme*; ChSl. *zemlja* (reg. for *γῆ* including 'country', but *strana* for *χώρα*), SCr. *zemlja*, Boh. *země*, Pol. *ziemia* (Russ. *zemlja* formerly so used, but mostly *strana*).

2. Grk. *χώρα*, also 'space, place' like *χῶρος*, both orig. 'empty space': *χῶρος* 'bereft', Skt. *hā-* 'leave', etc. Walde-P. 1.543. NG *χώρα*, lit. 'country', pop. 'town' (19.15).

Grk. *τόπος* 'place' (12.11), 'region', NG pop. also 'country'.

3. Lat. *finēs*, lit. 'boundaries, limits', pl. of *finis* 'limit, border' and temporal 'end' (14.26).

It. *paese*, Fr. *pays* (> Sp. *pais*), fr. VLat. *pāgēnsis*, deriv. of *pāgus* 'country district' (19.14). REW 6145. Gamillscheg 679.

4. Ir. *crích* (beside more usual *tír*), see under 'region' (19.14).

W. *gwlad* : Br. *glad* 'wealth, fortune', Ir. *flaith* 'ruler', etc., fr. the root in Ir. *foln*- 'rule', Lat. *valere* 'be strong', OE *wealdan*, etc. 'rule' (19.31). Walde-P. 1.219. Pedersen 1.157.

Br. *bro*, also 'region' as W. *bro*, see 19.14.

5. ME *contree*, NE *country*, fr. OFr. *contrée*, *contrée* (now mostly 'country' in

more general sense), fr. VLat. *contrāta* (*regiō*), lit. '(region) opposite', deriv. of *contra* 'against, opposite'. REW 2187 NED s.v. *country*.

6. Lith. *kraštas* (now more usual than *žemė* for 'country'; cf. Hermann, Lit.-Deutsches Gesprächsb. 22, 36), also 'region' and (more orig.) 'side, edge, shore' = Lett. *krasts* 'shore', etym. dub. Mühl.-Endz. 2.260.

7. ChSl. *strana* (reg. for *χώρα*), Russ. *strana* (ChSl. form) = SCr., Boh. *strana*, Pol. *strona*, Russ. *storona* 'side' (12.36).

8. Skt. *deśa*, also 'region', lit. 'direction' : *diś-* 'show, point out'. Uhlenbeck 130.

Skt. *viśaya*, also 'territory, realm, kingdom', as orig. 'sphere of influence' : *viś-* 'be active', outside root connections dub. Uhlenbeck 289. Whitney, Roots 161.

Skt. *janapada*, cpd. of *jana*- 'race' and *pada*- 'station, abode' (lit. 'step' : *pad*- 'foot').

Av. *daišhu-, dah-yu-*, OPers. *dahyu-* (in OPers. used of the great provinces and also of regions within them; MPers. *deh* 'country', NPers. *diḥ* 'village'), prob. = Skt. *dasyu-*, the designation of the pre-Aryan inhabitants of India (orig. 'inhabitants of the country?'), root connections dub. Barth. 706 ff. Uhlenbeck 123.

## 19.12 ONE'S NATIVE COUNTRY

|                               |   |                                 |
|-------------------------------|---|---------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>πατρίς</i>            | Goth. <i>gabaurþs, land</i>                 | Lith. <i>tėvynė</i>             |
| NG <i>πατρίς</i>              | ON <i>fōstrjǫrð (-land)</i>                 | Lett. <i>tēviņa, tėvzeme</i>    |
| Lat. <i>patria</i>            | Dan. <i>fæderland (fosterland)</i>          | ChSl. <i>otčestvije</i>         |
| It. <i>patria</i>             | Sw. <i>fädernsland, fosterland</i>          | SCr. <i>domovina, otačastvo</i> |
| Fr. <i>patrie</i>             | OE <i>ēþel (ēþelland, faderēþel)</i> , eard | Boh. <i>vlast, otcina</i>       |
| Sp. <i>patria</i>             | ME <i>contree</i>                           | Pol. <i>ojczyzna</i>            |
| Rum. <i>patrie</i>            | NE <i>country, fatherland</i>               | Russ. <i>rodina, otečestvo</i>  |
| Ir. <i>atharde, atharthir</i> | Du. <i>vaderland</i>                        | Skt. <i>svadēga-</i>            |
| Nir. <i>tír dhúthchais</i>    | OHG <i>fateruodil</i>                       |                                 |
| W. <i>gwlad</i>               | MHG <i>vaterheim, vaterland</i>             |                                 |
| Br. <i>mamvro</i>             | NHG <i>vaterland</i>                        |                                 |

The notion of 'one's native country' may be expressed by the regular words for 'country' with appropriate context, as in NE *my country*, *die for one's country*, which (rather than *fatherland, native country*, etc.) carry the emotional value of Fr. *patrie*, NHG *vaterland*, etc. Where words for 'country' are repeated in this list, a similar context is, of course, to be understood.

But in most of the IE languages there are special terms. These are most commonly derivs. or cpds. of the words for 'father', possibly, but not necessarily, reflecting semantic borrowing from the Greek *πατρίς*. Much less commonly from words for 'mother'. Terms like NE *mother country* or *motherland*, though quotable in this sense, are used mainly to denote the relation of a country to its colonies or the home of certain products, etc.

Others are derived from words for 'home', 'birth', 'race, family', and (through 'possession') 'power'.

1. Derivs. or cpds. of words for 'father' (2.35).

Grk. *πατρίς* (also *πάτρα*, Hom. *πάτρα*), NG *πατρίς*; Lat. *patria* (> Romance words); Ir. *atharde, atharthir* (K. Meyer, Contrib. 144); OE *faderēþel*, OHG *fateruodil*, NE *fatherland*, NHG *vaterland*, Dan. *fæderland*, etc. (see list); Lith. *tėvynė*, Lett. *tēviņa, tėvzeme*; ChSl. *otčestvije* (reg. for *πατρίς*), SCr. *otačastvo, otadžbina*, Boh. *otčina*, Pol. *ojczyzna*, Russ. *otečestvo*.

2. Nir. *tír dhúthchais*, i.e. *tír* 'country' with gen. sg. of *Mír*, Nir. *dúthchas*

'inheritance, one's homeland or country' (cf. *Mír. firduchus* 'true native country'), deriv. of *Mír. dúthaigh* 'belonging to, fitting', Nir. *dúthaigh* 'estate, land, region' (19.14).

W. *gwlad* 'country' (19.11) and 'native country' (cf. *gwladgar* 'patriotic').

Br. *mamvro*, cpd. of *mamm* 'mother' and *bro* 'country'.

3. Goth. *gabaurþs* 'birth', hence as 'birthplace' for *πατρίς* (Mk. 6.4, Lk. 4.23, 24; but *in landa seinamma* = *eis tērēn πατρίδα αἰρού* Mk. 6.1).

ON *fōstrjǫrð* and *fōstrland*, Dan. (arch. or poet.), Sw. *fosterland*, cpds. of *fōstr* 'fostering' and words for 'land'.

OE *ēþel, ēþel* (freq. for *patria* in Gospels), also *ēþelland* and *faderēþel* (= OHG *fateruodil* so used by Tat.) = ON *ōðal*, OHG *uodāl, uodil* inherited 'estate, patrimony' (as OE *ēþel* also), with strong grade of root in ON *ādāl* 'nature', OE *æþele* 'noble', OHG *adal* 'noble descent, nobility' (NHG *adel*), etc., prob. : Goth. *atta* 'father', etc. Walde-P. 1.44. Falk-Torp 787, 1430, 1524.

OE *eard* (for *patria* in Mt. 13.54, 57, Aelfric, etc.), but mostly more general 'region' (19.14).

4. SCr. *domovina*, fr. *dom* 'house, home' (7.12).

Boh. *vlast* = ChSl. *vlasti* 'power', Pol. *włość* 'landed property', Russ. *volost* 'district', fr. the root of ChSl. *vlada, vlasti* 'rule' (19.31). Brückner 625 f.

Russ. *rodina*, fr. *rod* 'descent, race, family' (19.23).

5. Skt. *svadēga*, cpd. of *sva*- 'own' and *deśa*- 'country'.

## 19.13 COUNTRY

(vs. Town)

|                         |                             |                              |
|-------------------------|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>ἀγρός, χώρα</i> | Goth. <i>weihsa, haimōs</i> | Lith. <i>sodžius, kaimas</i> |
| NG <i>ἀγρός</i>         | ON <i>land</i>              | Lett. <i>lauki</i>           |
| Lat. <i>rūs, agrī</i>   | Dan. <i>land</i>            | ChSl. <i>sela</i>            |
| It. <i>campagna</i>     | Sw. <i>land</i>             | SCr. <i>selo</i>             |
| Fr. <i>campagne</i>     | OE <i>land</i>              | Boh. <i>venkov</i>           |
| Sp. <i>campo</i>        | ME <i>land, feild</i>       | Pol. <i>wieś</i>             |
| Rum. <i>țară</i>        | NE <i>country</i>           | Russ. <i>derevnia</i>        |
| Ir. <i>tuath</i>        | Du. <i>land</i>             |                              |
| Nir. <i>tuath</i>       | OHG <i>lant</i>             |                              |
| W. <i>gwlad</i>         | MHG <i>lant</i>             |                              |
| Br. <i>mace, ploue</i>  | NHG <i>land</i>             |                              |

Many of the words for 'country' as listed in 19.11 are used also for 'country' vs. 'city, town', as NE *in the country*, NHG *auf dem lande*, etc. Otherwise this is expressed by words for 'field' (often in plural) or derivs. of these, words cognate with others for 'space', some for 'village', and in a few cases by terms reflecting the notion of 'outside'.

1. Grk. *ἀγρός* 'field' (8.12), also 'country' in this sense, esp. pl. *ἀγροί* (but also sg. Hom.).

Grk. *χώρα* 'country' (19.11), sometimes also in this sense.

NG *ἔξω*, in class. Grk. 'prominence, protuberance' (so in lit. NG, also *κατ' ἔξω* 'par excellence, especially'), late also 'extremity', whence 'remote place' and so 'country' vs. 'town' (*εἰς τήν ἔξω* 'in the country'). Korae, *Ἀράκτα* 4.2.630.

2. Lat. *rūs* : Av. *ravah-* 'space, freedom', Goth., OE *rūm*, etc. 'space, room', ChSl. *rustiū, rovinū* 'level'. Walde-P. 2.356 f. Ernout-M. 879.

Lat. *ager* 'field' (8.12), also 'country' in this sense, esp. pl. *agri*. Cf. Lat. *pāgus* 'country district' and the derivs. for 'country' (19.11), these also often 'country' vs. town, hence words for 'peasant'.

It. *campagna* (> Fr. *campagne*), OFr. *champaigne*, etc., fr. MLat. *campānia*

(cf. Lat. *Campānia*), fem. of MLat. *campānius*, -eus, deriv. adj. fr. Lat. *campus* 'plain, field' (1.23), whence Sp. *campo* also 'country' vs. 'town'. REW 1557, Ernout-M. 140.

Rum. *țară* 'country' (19.11), also in this sense.

3. Nir. *tuath* 'territory, region' and 'country' vs. 'town' (Dinneen), fr. Ir. *tuath* 'people, notion' (19.22).

W. *gwlad* 'country' (19.11), also in this sense.

Br. *mace* 'plain, field' (1.23), also 'country' vs. 'town'.

Br. *ploue*, formerly 'parish, community' (= W. *plwyf*), fr. Lat. *plēbēs* 'the common people' (cf. 19.21). Loth, Mots lat. 196.

4. Goth. *weihsa* and once *haimōs* render *ἀγροί* 'country' as contrasted to *bourgs* 'πόλις' (Lk. 8.34, etc. *weihsa*; Mk. 5.14 *haimōs*), pls. of *weihs*, *haims* 'village' (19.16).

ON, OE *land*, etc. 'country' (19.11), also in this sense general Gmc., except Goth. and NE.

ME *feild* 'field' (8.12), also 'country' vs. 'town' (NE field obs. or arch. in this sense; NED s.v. 2).

5. Lith. *sodžius* and *kaimas* 'village' (19.16), both used also for 'country' vs. 'town' (cf. Senn, Lit. Sprachl.).

Lett. *lauki*, pl. of *lauks* 'open country, field' : Lith. *laukas* 'field' (8.12).

6. ChSl. *sela* (renders *ἀγροί* Mk. 5.14, Lk. 8.34), pl. of *selo* 'field' (8.12), SCr. *selo* 'village' (19.16) and 'country'.

Boh. *venkov* (cf. *venek* 'the outside,

country place'), fr. *ven* 'out' = Russ. *von*, SCr. *van*, ChSl. *vūnū* id.

Pol. *wieś* 'village' (19.16), also 'country' vs. 'town'.

Russ. *derevnia* 'small village, hamlet' (19.16), also 'country' vs. 'town'.

## 19.14 REGION, TERRITORY

|   |   |                                   |
|---|---|-----------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>χώρα, τόπος</i>                 | Goth. <i>gauri</i>                      | Lith. <i>šalis, kraštas</i>       |
| NG <i>χώρα, τόπος, μέρος</i>            | ON <i>herað, sveit</i>                  | Lett. <i>vidus, mala, puse</i>    |
| Lat. <i>regiō, tractus, territorium</i> | Dan. <i>egn, omraade, gebed</i>         | ChSl. <i>strana</i>               |
| It. <i>regione, territorio</i>          | Sw. <i>trakt, område, gebit</i>         | SCr. <i>kraj, predjel, oblast</i> |
| Fr. <i>région, territoire, enclavé</i>  | OE <i>eard, land(scepe)</i>             | Boh. <i>kraj(ina), obvod</i>      |
| Sp. <i>región, territorio</i>           | ME <i>contree, region, erd</i>          | Pol. <i>kraina, obwód</i>         |
| Rum. <i>regiune, ținut</i>              | NE <i>region, territory</i>             | Russ. <i>kraj, strana, oblast</i> |
| Ir. <i>crích, mruig</i>                 | Du. <i>streek, gebied</i>               | Skt. <i>deśa-, viśaya-, etc.</i>  |
| Nir. <i>dúthaigh, ceannlar</i>          | OHG <i>lant(scaf), gawi</i>             | Av. <i>daišhu-, zantū-</i>        |
| W. <i>ardal, bro, tiriogaeth</i>        | MHG <i>gegende, lantschaft, gōu(we)</i> |                                   |
| Br. <i>bro</i>                          | NHG <i>gegend, gebiet, lantschaft</i>   |                                   |

It is intended to group together here the most important of the words that denote an area of indeterminate extent and may serve for various areas intermediate between the whole 'country' and the 'city, town'. Most of the words for 'country' (19.11) are used also in a more general sense, and some of them are repeated in this list. Many of the words listed may have a more special technical application in certain periods or contexts, but no strict classification according to larger or smaller scope is feasible. A great number of others that are mainly technical terms for administrative divisions, 'province, district, canton, parish', etc., are omitted.

The words are based mainly on various spatial notions, as 'place, side, part, extent, line' and especially 'boundary', but several on the notion of possession or rule ('domain'), as NHG *gebiet*, etc.

1. Grk. *χώρα* 'space, place, country' (19.11), also 'region'.

Grk. *τόπος* 'place' (12.11), also 'region'.

NG *μέρος* 'part' (13.23), pop. 'region'.

2. Lat. *regiō*, lit. 'a direction, a (straight) line', whence 'boundary line', and so 'region, territory' (hence It. *regione*, etc.) : *regere* 'direct, rule', etc. Ernout-M. 857.

Lat. *tractus*, lit. 'a drawing out, extent', whence 'extent or stretch of land, tract, region' : *trahere* 'draw'. Ernout-M. 1051.

Lat. *territorium* (> It. *territorio*, etc.), deriv. of *terra* 'land, country' (1.21, 19.11). Ernout-M. 1034.

Lat. *pāgus* 'country district, rural canton', orig. 'boundary fixed in the ground' : *pangere* 'fix'. Walde-P. 2.2. Ernout-M. 722 f.

Fr. *endroit* 'place' and 'region', orig. 'right side', fr. *en droit*. Gamillscheg 359.

Rum. *ținut*, orig. 'possession', fr. pp. of *ținea* 'possess'. Tiktin 1601.

3. Ir. *crích* 'furrow, border, boundary', whence also 'territory, region' (cf. K. Meyer, Contrib. s.v.) : Lat. *cernere* 'separate, distinguish', Grk. *κρῖνω* 'separate, decide', etc. Walde-P. 2.584.

Ir. *mruig, bruig*, W., Br., Corn. *bro*

(Gall. *brogae* 'ager', *Allo-brogēs*) : Lat. *marpō* 'border', Goth. *marka* 'boundary', etc. (19.17). Walde-P. 2.283 f. Pedersen 1.97.

Nir. *dúthaigh* (also 'estate, land', orig. 'inherited land'), fr. *Mír. dúthaigh* 'belonging to, fitting', cf. *dúthaigh na fine* 'belonging to the family, inheritance' (Laws, Gloss. 283), perh. cpd. of *toich* 'natural, belonging to by nature'.

Sw. *område* (> Dan. *omraade*), deriv. of phrase *råda om* 'be master of, possess'. Falk-Torp 792. Hellquist 730.

Sw. *trakt*, fr. Lat. *tractus* (above, 2). Pedersen 2.667.

Nir. *ceannlar*, orig. 'pars ceterior' (as opposed to *altar* 'pars ulterior'), fr. *Mír. centar* 'this side', deriv. of OIr. *cen-* 'this side of' (as in *cenalpande* 'cisalpinus'). Pedersen 2.44, 197.

W. *ardal*, orig. 'border, marches', cpd. of ar 'on' and *tal* 'forehead, front, end' = Ir. *tel, tul* 'forehead' : Ir. *talam* 'earth', Skt. *talā-* 'flat surface', etc. Walde-P. 1.740. Pedersen 1.132.

W. *tiriogaeth*, deriv. of *tír* 'land





W. *cenel* (reg. word for a 'people, nation'): Ir. *cenél* 'race, family': Ir. *cinim* 'spring from', ChSl. *-četa, -četi* 'begin', etc. Walde-P. 1.398.

Br. *broad* (now reg. = Fr. *nation*, for which *pobl* in NT), deriv. of *bro* 'country' (19.11).

5. Goth. *þiuda*, OE *þeod*, etc., above, 1. For other Gmc. words see 19.21.

6. Lith., Lett. *tauta*, above, 1. Lith. *tauta*, now the accepted word, was

known to Kurschat only as *Tauta* 'Oberland'; in his NT he used *žmonės* (cf. 19.21), as also Deutsch-lit. Wtb. s.v. Volk; the Trowitz NT had *giminė* 'family, race'.

7. ChSl. *językū* 'tongue, language' (18.24), reg. in Gospels for *žovs*.

8. Skt. *janapada* 'country' (19.11) and its 'people'.

Av. *daišhu* 'country' (19.11) and its 'people'. Barth. 706 ff.

## 19.23 TRIBE, CLAN, FAMILY (in Wide Sense)

|                                  |                                   |   |
|----------------------------------|-----------------------------------|---|
| Grk. <i>φύλη, γένος</i>          | Goth. <i>kuni</i>                 | Lith. <i>gentis, kiltis, giminė</i>     |
| NG <i>φύλη</i>                   | Goth. <i>kind, kyn, att</i>       | Lett. <i>cilts, dzimta</i>              |
| Lat. <i>tribus, gens</i>         | Dan. <i>slamme, slagt, et</i>     | ChSl. <i>kolěno, rodū, plemę</i>        |
| It. <i>tribù</i>                 | Sw. <i>slam, slägt, ätt</i>       | SCR. <i>pleme, rod, zadruža</i>         |
| Fr. <i>tribu</i>                 | OE <i>cyn(n), mægþ, strjnd</i>    | Boh. <i>kmen, rod</i>                   |
| Sp. <i>tribu</i>                 | ME <i>kin, kinrede, strjnd</i>    | Pol. <i>plemia, rod</i>                 |
| Rum. <i>trib, semintie</i>       | NE <i>tribe, clan, sept</i>       | Russ. <i>plemja, rod</i>                |
| Ir. <i>tíath, fine, muinter</i>  | Du. <i>stam, geslachte</i>        | Skt. <i>jāti-, jāti-, kula-, vaṇṇa-</i> |
| Nlr. <i>treab, fine, muinter</i> | OHG <i>cunni, gislahti</i>        | O Pers. <i>taumā-</i>                   |
| W. <i>cenedd, llwyth, gwely</i>  | MHG <i>künne, geslehte, slamm</i> |   |
| Br. <i>meuriad</i>               | NHG <i>stamm, geslecht, sippe</i> |   |

The 'tribe' and the 'clan' or 'family' in a wide sense, based on varying degrees of kinship, real or fictitious, have their chief importance in primitive society, though in some cases they continued to play a role in a more advanced organization. Thus the Grk. *φύλη*, applied for example to the old Doric and the old Ionic tribes, became in the Athenian state a highly important, but artificially constructed, political organization. Lat. *tribus*, besides rendering Grk. *φύλη*, in native use denoted in the historical period a local district. The Grk. *γένος* and Lat. *gens* 'clan' continued important because of the noble families rather than as definite social and political organizations. Midway between the *φύλη* and the *γένος* was the *φάτρία* 'brotherhood' (fr. *φάτριο*, orig. 'brother' = Lat. *frater*, etc.), which in the developed Athenian state survived as a large family organi-

zation for cult purposes, without political significance. But in Homer *φάτριο*, not *γένος*, is the technical term rendered 'clan', as in *κατά φύλα, κατά φάτριο* 'by tribes, by clans', II. 2.362. Likewise the Roman *cūria* (perh. fr. \**co-uiriā* : *vir* 'man') was originally a division of the people more comprehensive than the *gens*.

Classifications of this kind, so far as they are found among other IE-speaking peoples (as the early Irish), correspond only approximately, and for modern society are without significance. Several of the words listed denote 'kin' without distinction of degree. The modern words are merely those commonly used to render terms applicable to other times or places (e.g. the Hebrew *tribes* of the Bible, *savage tribes*, etc.). For these reasons it is impossible to carry through a separation of 'tribe' and 'clan', though

the words are entered in this order where such a gradation is observed (e.g. NHG *stamm*, reg. used for 'tribe' vs. *geschlecht* for 'clan, family'). In many of the modern languages there is no special term for 'clan' (apart from the widely borrowed *clan*), but only words for 'family' (2.82) used also for 'family' in a wide sense.

1. Derivs. of IE \**ǵen-* in Grk. *γίνομαι* 'be born', Lat. *gignere*, Skt. *jan-* 'beget, bear', etc. Walde-P. 1.576 ff. Ernout-M. 415 ff. All orig. 'kin, race' in wide sense, but also used in narrower sense.

Grk. *γένος*; Lat. *gens*; Goth. *kuni*, ON *kyn*, kind, OE *cyn(n)*, ME *kin*, also deriv. *kinrede* (Wyclif for *φύλη* Mt. 21.30; NE *kindred*), OHG *cunni*, MHG *künne*; Skt. *jāti-, jana-*.

2. Grk. *φύλη* (Hom. *φύλον*) : *φύω* 'bring forth, produce, grow, be born', etc. (IE \**bheu-* 'become, be'). Walde-P. 2.141.

3. Lat. *tribus* (here in its use = Grk. *φύλη*, not in its technical Roman sense, which was more local), Umbr. *trifu*, fr. \**tribhu-*, prob. deriv. of *tri-* 'three' and denoting orig. a tri-partite division. But substantial historical evidence of this is lacking, and the precise history of the Roman *tribus* is difficult. Ernout-M. 1056 f. Pauly-Wissowa s.v. Hence (but in its biblical use as 'tribe') the Romance words (all lit.), etc.

Rum. *seminție*, deriv. of *sămîntă* 'seed' (VLat. \**sēmēntia* = *sēmēntis*). Pugsariu 1508.

4. Ir. *tíath* 'a people' (19.22), also applied to a large division, a 'tribe'. Thurneysen, Heldensage 76.

Ir. *fine* (group of kin within the tribe, cf. Thurneysen l.c. and RC 25.1 ff.) : OBr. *co-guenou* 'indigena', ON *vinr*, OE *wine* 'friend', etc. Walde-P. 1.259. Pedersen 1.156.

Ir. *treb*, Nlr. *treab*, orig. 'dwelling place' (: Ir. *atreba* 'habitat', OE *þorp* 'village', etc.; Pedersen 1.132), but as 'tribe' (esp. in translations) fr. (or influenced by) Lat. *tribus*.

Ir. *muinter*, Nlr. *muinter* 'people, household', also 'family' in wide sense, disputed whether fr. Lat. *monasterium* (cf. esp. Pokorny, Z. celt. Ph. 10.202 f.), or : Lat. *manus* 'hand', OE *mund*, OHG *mund* 'hand, protection, guardianship'. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 157. D'Arbois de Jubainville, RC 25.2 ff. Vendryes, RC 43.210.

Nlr. *clann* 'offspring, children' and 'clan, party, sect', etc. (Gael. *clann* > NE *clan*) = Ir. *cland*, *clann* 'plant' and 'offspring, children' = W. *plant* 'offspring, children', fr. Lat. *planta* 'shoot, sprout'. Pedersen 1.234, 235.

W. *cenedd*, listed under 'people, nation' (19.22) but in early Welsh history more properly 'tribe' or 'clan'. Cf. Ellis, Welsh Tribal Law and Customs in the Middle Ages 1.46 ff.

W. *gwely* 'bed, couch' (7.42) was in early times the technical term (now obs. in this sense) for a subdivision of the *cenedd*. Cf. Ellis l.c.

W. *llwyth* : Ir. *lucht* 'load, part, division, people', etc. (19.21).

Br. *meuriad* ('tribe, clan' Ernault; Vallée s.v. *tribù*), deriv. of *meur* 'great'.

5. Goth. *kuni* (used for *φύλη*), ON *kyn*, kind, OE *cyn*, etc., above, 1.

ON *att*, Dan. *æt*, Sw. *ätt* ('family' in wide sense), orig. 'what is one's own' : Goth. *ahts*, OE *æht* 'property', Goth. *aigan*, OE *āgan* 'own', etc. Walde-P. 1.105. Falk-Torp 1415. Hellquist 1449 f.

OE *mægþ* ('kin, family'; for *tribus* in Gospels, Aelfric, etc.), fr. *mæg* 'relative, kinsman', pl. *māgas* (2.81).

OE *strjnd* (in Lindisf. Gospels for *tribus*), fr. *gestrjnan* 'beget' (4.71).

## SOCIAL RELATIONS

1319

## 19.31 RULE (vb.), GOVERN

|   |                                     |                                   |
|---|-------------------------------------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>ἄρχω, κρατέω, ἡγέομαι</i>       | Goth. <i>reikinōn</i>               | Lith. <i>valdyti, viešpatauti</i> |
| NG <i>κυβερνώ</i>                       | ON <i>stjra</i>                     | Lett. <i>valdīt</i>               |
| Lat. <i>regere, imperāre, gubernāre</i> | Dan. <i>styre, herske</i>           | ChSl. <i>vlasti</i>               |
| It. <i>governare, reggere</i>           | Sw. <i>styra, herska</i>            | SCR. <i>vladati</i>               |
| Fr. <i>gouverner</i>                    | OE <i>wealdan, ricsian, recan</i>   | Boh. <i>vládouti</i>              |
| Sp. <i>gobernar</i>                     | ME <i>welde, reule, govern(e)</i>   | Pol. <i>rządzić, władać</i>       |
| Rum. <i>guberna, cîrmui</i>             | NE <i>rule, govern</i>              | Russ. <i>praviti</i>              |
| Ir. <i>foln-riaghlúighim</i>            | OHG <i>walden, hersen, regieren</i> | Skt. <i>śās-, kṣi-, ī-</i>        |
| Nlr. <i>regheln</i>                     | MHG <i>walden, hersen, regieren</i> | Av. <i>zā-</i>                    |
| W. <i>llywodraethu</i>                  | NHG <i>herrschen, regieren</i>      |                                   |
| Br. <i>sturia, gouarn</i>               |                                     |                                   |

Verbs for 'rule, govern' in the political sense are based upon such notions as 'be first, have power, be master of, command, put in order, direct, guide, steer'. The development from 'steer' (a ship) is common to Grk. *κυβερνώ* with its numerous offspring (the group to which *NE govern* belongs) and also (semantic borrowing?) the usual Scandinavian words and some others.

Many derivs. of words for 'master' (19.41), besides those included in the list, are used mostly like NE *dominate* and not commonly for 'rule' in the political sense. So, for example, Grk. *κυριεύω*, Lat. *domināri* (VLat. *-āre* > Fr. *dominer*, etc.), Goth. *frauinōn*, Lith. *ponavoti*, Boh. *panovati*, Pol. *panować*, Russ. *gosposdovoi*.

Most of the usual words for 'ruler', as a generic term covering more special titles like 'king', etc., are derived from some of the verbs listed here. Otherwise It. *sovrano*, Sp. *soberano*, Fr. *souverain* (Ofr. *soverain* > ME *soverain*, NE *sovereign* with spelling influenced by popular association with *reign*), fr. VLat. \**superānus*, fr. *super* 'above' (REW 8457, NED s.v. *sovereign*).

Likewise most of the usual words for 'government' are derived from some of the verbs listed here. Otherwise Grk.

*πολιτεία*, orig. 'citizenship', fr. *πολίτης* 'citizen', or Fr. *état*, NE *state*, NHG *staat*, etc. 'state' in political sense, fr. Lat. *status* 'situation, condition, state'.

1. Grk. *ἄρχω*, also 'begin' (14.25), with *ἄρχων* 'ruler', *ἀρχή* 'beginning' and 'rule, office', primary sense prob. 'be first', but etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.367. Boisacq 85 f. R. McKenzie, Cl. Q. 15.44 f.

Grk. *κρατέω*, deriv. of *κράτος* 'strength, might, power' (4.81).

Grk. *ἡγέομαι* 'lead' (10.64), also 'rule', with *ἡγέμεν* 'leader, chief, ruler'.

Grk. *κυβερνώ*, orig. 'steer' (a ship), hence also 'guide, govern', with *κυβερνήσις* 'steering' and 'government', eventually the usual words as in NG. Possibly deriv. of a word for 'rudder', and : Lith. *kumbras* 'curved handle of the rudder', etc. Walde-P. 1.467. Osthoff, IF 6.14. But more prob. fr. a pre-Greek source. Cuny, Rev. ét. anc. 12.156. Fohalle, Mélanges Vendryes 164 f. Walde-H. 1.625.

2. Lat. *regere* 'direct, guide' and 'rule' (> It. *reggere* with many uses, but partly 'rule' in political sense; Fr. *régir* 'administer, manage') : Grk. *ὀρέω*, Ir. *rigim* 'stretch out', Skt. *rj-* 'direct, attain', etc., IE \**reg-*, whence also the

widespread group for 'straight' (12.73). Walde-P. 2.362 ff. Ernout-M. 858.

Lat. *imperāre* 'command' (19.45), also 'rule'.

Lat. *gubernāre* 'steer' and (freq. in Cic.) 'govern' (> It. *governare*, Fr. *gouverner*, Sp. *gobernar*; Rum. *guberna* neolog. fr. Fr.), fr. Grk. *κυβερνώ* (above, 1). Ernout-M. 437. Walde-H. 1.625. REW 3903.

Rum. *cîrmui* 'steer' and 'rule' (the old word), deriv. of *cîrma* 'rudder', fr. Slavic, ChSl. *krāma*, etc. 'rudder' (10.86). Tiktin 297.

3. Ir. *foln-* in deponent forms, beside sb. *foln* 'rule' and 'ruler' : Lat. *valēre* 'be strong', Toch. A. nom. *wal*, obl. *lānt* 'king' (SSS 44), OE *wealdan* 'rule', etc. (below, 4). Walde-P. 1.219. Pedersen 1.157, 2.525.

Nlr. *riaghlúighim*, W. *rehoil*, fr. sbs. Nlr. *riaghail*, Ir. *riagal*, W. *rehoil* 'rule', fr. Lat. *régula* 'rule'. Pedersen 1.210. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 171. Loth, Mots lat. 202.

W. *llywio*, also and orig. 'steer', fr. *llyw* 'rudder' (10.86) and 'ruler'. Hence also *llywodraeth* 'government', with vb. *llywodraethu* 'govern'.

Br. *sturia*, also 'steer', fr. *stur* 'rudder' (10.86).

Br. *gouarn*, fr. Fr. *gouverner*.

4. Goth. *reikinōn*, fr. sb. *reiki* 'rule', fr. *reiks* 'ruler', early loanword fr. Celtic, cf. Gall. *-rix* in *Dumno-rix*, etc., Ir. *ri*, gen. *ri* 'king'. Similarly OE *ricsian*, OHG *rihhsōn*. Walde-P. 2.365. Feist 396.

Goth. *waldan* (but not quotable for 'rule' in political sense), ON *valda* (but mostly in other senses), OE *wealdan*, ME *welde* (NE *wield* in specialized sense), OHG *waltan*, MHG, NHG *walten* (NHG poet. or rhet.), Lith. *valdyti*, ChSl. *vlasti, vladat*, etc. (below, 5), both

groups fr. a dental extension of \**wel-* in Lat. *valēre* 'be strong', Ir. *foln-* 'rule', etc. (above, 2). Walde-P. 1.219. Falk-Torp 1391. Feist 548.

ON *stjra*, Dan. *styre*, Sw. *styra*, Du. *besturen*, all also and orig. 'steer' = OE *stieran* 'steer' (OE, ME also sometimes 'rule', cf. NED s.v. *steer*, 7), etc., fr. ON *stjri*, OE *stior*, etc. 'rudder' (10.86). Falk-Torp 1194.

OE *reccan* mostly 'tell, narrate', but also 'rule' (Bosworth-Toller s.v. vii) : Lat. *regere* 'direct, rule', etc. (above, 2). ME *reule*, NE *rule*, fr. Ofr. *reuler*, fr. Lat. *régulare* 'regulate', fr. *régula* 'rule' : *regere* (above, 2).

ME, NE *govern*, fr. Fr. *gouverner* (above, 2).

OHG *hērisōn*, *hērrēsōn*, MHG *hersen*, *herschēn*, NHG *herrschen* (MLG *herschēn* > Dan. *herske*, Sw. *herska*), fr. OHG *hēro*, *hērro*, NHG *herr* 'master' (19.41). Falk-Torp 401. Weigand-H. 1.855. Kluge-G. 247.

MHG, NHG *regieren*, Du. *regeeren*, fr. *régir*, Lat. *regere* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *valdyti*, Lett. *valdīt*, ChSl. *vlasti, vladat*, SCR. *vladati*, Boh. *vládouti*, Pol. *władać* (Russ. *władeti* mostly 'possess, own') : Goth. *waldan*, etc. (above, 4). As loanwords fr. Gmc. Stender-Petersen 213 ff.

Lith. *viešpatauti*, fr. *viešpatis* 'ruler, lord' (19.41). For current use, cf. Fraenkel, Z. sl. Ph. 6.90.

Pol. *rządzić*, fr. sb. *rząd* 'order, row' and 'rule' = ChSl. *rditi*, Boh. *řad* 'order, arrangement, regulation' : Lith. *rinda* 'row, rank', prob. Lat. *ordō* 'row, order', etc. Brückner 474. Walde-P. 1.75, 2.368.

Russ. *praviti* = ChSl. *praviti* 'guide', fr. *pravā* 'straight' (12.73).

6. Skt. *śās-* 'command' (18.45) and 'rule'.

Skt. *kṣi-* 'possess, rule', Av. *zā-* 'have

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power, rule' (with sbs. Skt. *kṣatra-*, Av. *zāθtra-*, OPers. *zāθtra-* 'rule, realm', Av. *zāyaya-* 'ruler, king', OPers. *zāyaya-*

*θiya-* 'king') : Grk. *κράομαι* 'possess'. Walde-P. 1.405. Barth. 550, 551, 553. Skt. *ī-* 'own' (11.12), also 'rule'.

## 19.32 KING

|  |                            |  |
|--|----------------------------|--|
| Grk. <i>βασιλεύς</i> ( <i>ἀναξ</i> poet.), | Goth. <i>þiudans</i>       | Lith. <i>karalius</i>                      |
| Byz. <i>βῆς βασιλεύς</i> , pop.            | ON <i>konungr, þjóðann</i> | Lett. <i>karalis, k'ėnin's</i>             |
| NG <i>βασιλεύς</i>                         | Dan. <i>konig</i>          | ChSl. <i>česar't, kral'i</i>               |
| Lat. <i>rēx</i>                            | Sw. <i>konung</i>          | SCR. <i>kralj</i>                          |
| It. <i>re</i>                              | OE <i>cuning, þioden</i>   | Boh. <i>kral</i>                           |
| Fr. <i>roi</i>                             | ME <i>kyng</i>             | Pol. <i>król</i>                           |
| Sp. <i>rey</i>                             | NE <i>king</i>             | Russ. <i>korol'</i>                        |
| Rum. <i>rege</i>                           | Du. <i>konig</i>           | Skt. <i>rājan-, rāj-</i>                   |
| Ir. <i>ri</i>                              | OHG <i>kuni(n)</i>         | Av. <i>zāyaya-</i> , OPers. <i>zāyaya-</i> |
| Nlr. <i>ri</i>                             | MHG <i>kuene</i>           |  |
| W. <i>breinin, teyrn</i>                   | NHG <i>könig</i>           |  |
| Br. <i>roue</i>                            |                            |  |

The title of 'king' has been, in the course of history, applied not only to the rulers of independent states, even great empires (before the rise of a superior title 'emperor', 19.34), but also to the petty chiefs of tribes or clans. Cf. NED s.v. *king*.

1. IE \**rēǵ-*, fr. the root \**reg-* in Lat. *regere* 'direct, guide, rule', etc. (19.31) Walde-P. 2.362 ff. Ernout-M. 864.

Lat. *rēx*, gen. *rēgis* (> the Romance words; but Rum. *rege* modern; older *cratū*, fr. Slavic *kralj*); Gall. *-rix* in *Dumno-rix*, etc., Ir. *ri*, gen. *ri* (W. *re* arch. 'lord, nobleman'), OCor. *ruy*, Br. *roue*, MBr. *roe* (Pedersen 1.51; or Br. forms fr. Fr. *roi* ?); Skt. (Vedic) *rāj-*, but commonly *n-stem rājan-*; cf. Goth. *reiks* 'ruler', loanword fr. Celtic.

2. Grk. *basileus*, NG pop. *basiliás*, without etym. (connection with *laós* 'people' impossible) and prob. of pre-Greek origin. Boisacq 115 f. Wacker-nagel, Sprachl. Untersuch. zu Homer 212. Kretschmer, Glotta 10.222. Wiewiecz, Eos 31.526 ff.

Grk. *ἀναξ*, dial. *ἀνάξ*, poet. word often applied to kings but also to gods and heroes, 'lord, master' (for Hom. use

of *ἀναξ* vs. *basileus*, cf. Wackernagel, op. cit. 209 ff.), possibly : Skt. *van-* 'win, gain', etc. (Schwyzer, Glotta 6.86), but more prob. of pre-Greek origin. Cuny, Rev. ét. anc. 16.297. Debrunner in Ebert, Reallex. 4.2.527. Śmieszek, Eos 31.547 ff.

In Byzantine times *basileus* was 'emperor', the regular title of the Roman emperor and the Persian 'king of kings' (19.34). For 'king' Lat. *rēx* was adopted, e.g. *βῆς Γότθων*, *βῆς φράγκων*, etc. Theophanes (1.472 f. De Boor) notes the crowning of Charlemagne, *βῆς τῶν φράγκων*, as *basileus* *Βυζαντινῶν*. But generally the German emperors were not according the emperor title by the Byzantine court. NG *rhgas* 'king' in cards.

3. W. *breinin* : W. *bry* 'high', Ir. *bri*, W. *bre* 'hill', Skt. *brhat-* 'great, high' (cf. fem. *brhatī*, Ir. *Brigit* 'the exalted one'), Av. *brəzant-* 'high', etc. Walde-P. 2.173. Pedersen 1.100.

W. *teyrn* 'ruler, king' : Ir. *tigerne* 'master, lord' (19.41). Here also W. *mechdeyrn*, OBr. *machtirn* ('tributary prince'), OCor. *mychtern* (reg. word for 'king', Williams Lex. 260), cpd. with word seen in Ir. *mac*, W. *mach* 'bond,

surety'. Loth, L'Émigration bretonne en Armorique 218 ff., Voc. vieux-breton. 182. Thurneysen Z. celt. Ph. 19.130. Otherwise (but to be rejected) Pedersen 1.137 and Ifor Williams, BBCS 10.39 ff.

4. Goth. *þiudans*, ON *þjóðann*, OE *þeoden*, derivs. of Goth. *þiuda*, ON *þjóð*, OE *þeod* 'people, nation' (19.22).

ON *konungr*, OE *cuning*, etc. (with short forms OE *cynig*, etc.), general Gmc. except Goth. : Goth. *kuni*, OE *cyn*, etc. 'family, race' (NE *kin*), but prob. more directly as patronymic of ON *konr* 'man of noble birth', OE *cune*, OHG *kuni*- in cpds., hence orig. 'descendant of one of noble birth'. Falk-Torp 563. Weigand-H. 1.1108. NED s.v. *king*.

5. Lith. *karalius* (> Lett. *karalis*), fr. the Slavic (below, 6). Brückner

3. Grk. βασιλεύς 'king' was used also of the Roman 'emperor' (both uses in NT), and only as 'emperor' in Byzantine times. See 19.32.

Grk. καίσαρ, fr. Lat. *Caesar*, is used of the Roman emperor (NT, inscriptions), but later, in accordance with later Roman use (Hadrian named his designated successor *Caesar*), of the appointed successor to the throne or a viceroy. In Byzantine times it is a common official title (cf. DuCange s.v.), but always subordinate to the βασιλεύς.

Grk. αυτοκράτωρ, cpd. of αὐτός 'self' and κράτωρ : κρατέω 'rule'; in class. times mostly adj. 'independent, absolute' (of rulers, etc.), then used to render Lat. *dictator* and later *imperator* (often *αὐτοκράτωρ καίσαρ* = Lat. *imperator Caesar*). In Byz. writers frequent enough beside usual βασιλεύς, and the reg. NG word, since βασιλεύς is again 'king'.

Lat. *Augustus* as title appears also in Grk. Αὔγουστος or translated Σεβαστός, and Αἰγυῖστα was the usual Byz. title of the empress.

## 19.35 PRINCE

|      |                             |       |                 |       |              |
|------|-----------------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|--------------|
| Grk. | ἄρχων                       | Goth. | reiks           | Lith. | kunigaikštis |
| NG   | πρίγκιπας, βασιλό-<br>πουλο | ON    | .....           | Lett. | kn'azs       |
| Lat. | princeps                    | Dan.  | fyrste, prins   | ChSl. | kūnec        |
| It.  | princeps                    | OE    | ealdor          | Boh.  | kněz         |
| Fr.  | prince                      | ME    | ealdor          | Pol.  | książę       |
| Sp.  | principe                    | NE    | prince          | Russ. | knjaz        |
| Rum. | prinț                       | Du.   | fürste, prins   |       |              |
| Ir.  | flaith, triath              | OHG   | fürsto, hēristo |       |              |
| Nlr. | flaith                      | MHG   | vürste, prinze  |       |              |
| W.   | tywysog                     | NHG   | fürst, prins    |       |              |
| Br.  | prins                       |       |                 |       |              |

The title of 'prince' is mainly medieval and modern, and one of very application, a generic term for 'ruler' (covering 'king', etc.), but especially the ruler of a small or vassal state, or member of royal family, or title of nobility ranking first below 'king' or in several countries below 'duke'. The title is also sometimes used with special reference to the heir to the throne, as Lat. *princeps* (after *Augustus*), NE *Prince of Wales* (which has a particular historical background), NHG *kronprinz*, etc., but this notion is more commonly expressed otherwise, as NG *δάδοχος* 'successor', Fr. *dauphin* (based on a personal name), or phrases with 'heir'. Cf. NED and Encycl. Brit. s.v. *prince*.

In earlier times the nearest equivalents would be words for 'king', which

were often used where we should render 'prince' (so Grk. βασιλεύς, Lat. *rēx* with dim. *rēgulus*, Skt. *rājan-*, etc.), or words for 'ruler, leader' (so Grk. ἄρχων in the Bible commonly rendered 'prince'), or words for 'a noble' (as ON *ǫðlingr*, OE *æþeling*, etc.).

Lat. *princeps* is the source of the majority of the Eur. words, either directly or in translation (OHG *fürsto*, NHG *fürst*, etc.). But the Slavic group (also Lith.) represents an early borrowing from the Gmc. word for 'king'.

1. Grk. ἄρχων 'ruler' (pple. of ἀρχω 'rule', 19.31), in various technical applications and freq. in the Bible, where it is rendered as 'prince' in modern versions (NE *prince*, NHG *fürst*, etc.). In Byz. writers it is the usual equivalent of the Slavic terms (below, 6).

NG (beside πρίγκιπας, below) βασιλόπουλο 'king's son', the pop. 'prince' of fairy tales.

2. Lat. *princeps*, fr. \**primo-caps* cpd. of *primus* 'first' and *capere* 'take', hence as adj. 'taking first place, first, most distinguished' and as sb. 'principal person, chief', later 'ruler' (applied to the emperor, sometimes to the heir to the throne).

Hence NG πρίγκιψ, pop. πρίγκιπας; It., Sp. *príncipe*, Fr. *prince* (> Rum. *prinț*, Br. *prins*, ME, NE *prince*, etc., common to all modern Gmc. languages).

3. Ir., Nlr. *flaith* 'ruler, prince': Ir. *foln-* 'rule', etc. (19.31).

Ir. *triath*, one of the highest titles (cf. Laws, Gloss. s.b.), etym.? Macbain 376. W. *tywysog* (title of the Welsh rulers, formerly 'kings', after they became vassals of the English king), lit. 'leader' (= Ir. *lōisech* 'leader'): W. *tywys* 'lead, guide' (10.64). Walde-P. 1.255. Pedersen 1.308.

W. *gweledig* (obs.), MBr. *gloedic*, a kind of 'prince' or 'duke', deriv. of W. *gwlad*, etc. 'country'. Loth. RC 33.352 f.

4. OHG *fürsto*, MHG *vürste*, NHG *fürst*, Du. *vorste* (MLG *vurste* > Dan. *fyrste*, Sw. *furst*), sb. fr. superl. adj. OHG *fürist* 'first', etc. (13.33). Weigand-H. 1.603. Falk-Torp 288.

OHG *hēristo*, *hērsto*, superl. of *hēr* 'excellent, distinguished, venerable' (NHG *hehr*) = OE *hār* 'gray, gray-haired, venerable' (NE *hoar*). Cf. OHG *hē(r)ro*, NHG *herr* 'master' (19.41).

Grk. ἄρχων in NT (see above, 1) is rendered in Goth. by *reiks* (loanword fr. Celtic, see 19.32); in OE by *ealdor* (lit. 'elder') and *ealdorman*.

5. Lith. *kunigaikštis* : *kunigas* 'priest, pastor' (secondary sense, as in Pol. *ksiądz*, formerly 'prince' and 'priest'), loanword fr. Gmc. OHG *kuni(n)g* 'king', etc. See below, 6.

6. ChSl. *kūnec*, SCr. *kněz*, Boh. *kněze*, Pol. *ksiądz* (Boh. *kněz*, Pol. *ksiądz*, now only 'priest'), Russ. *knjaz* (> Lett. *kn'azs*), early loanword fr. Gmc., OHG *kuni(n)g*, etc. 'king', but prob. reflecting an earlier less specific use of the latter (19.32). Berneker 663. Brückner 277. Stender-Petersen 200 ff.

19.352. Note on some other titles of nobility.

1. Duke. Lat. *dux* 'leader', esp. 'military leader, general'. Hence as title OFr. *ducs*, Fr. *duc* (> ME *duc*, NE *duke*), etc. In the Gmc. languages rendered in its old sense as 'army-leader' (cf. words for 'army' and 'lead', 20.15, 10.64), OE *herelega*, OHG *her(i)zogo* (these not yet titles), OHG *herzog* (> Russ. *gerzog*), Du. *hertog*, Dan. *hertug*, Sw. *hertig*; and so in Slavic, ChSl. *vojewoda* (fr. *voj* 'army' and the root of *veda*, *vesti* 'lead'), etc., of which SCr. *vojvoda* and Boh. *vévoda* are used for 'duke'. But Pol. *ksiądz* 'prince' (19.35) is also used for 'duke', and not only Pol. *wielki ksiądz*, but also Russ. *velikiy knjaz* for 'grand duke', (though Russ. *gerzog* is the reg. word for a foreign duke).

2. Count. Lat. *comes*, gen. -*itis* 'companion' (*com-* and the root of *ire* 'go'), in late Lat. a title of various state officials. Hence OFr. *count*, *conte*, Anglo-Fr. *counte* (> NE *count*), etc.

The corresponding native English title is ME *eorl*, *erl*, NE *earl* (but the earl's wife is a *countess*), fr. OE *eorl* 'man of noble rank', later esp. governor of one of the large divisions like Wessex, Mercia, etc. = ON *jarl* 'nobleman, chief' OS *erl* 'man', root connection dub. Falk-Torp 471, 1491. NED s.v. *earl*, sb.

OHG *grāfo*, *grāvo* ('judge', Tat., etc.), loanword fr. Gmc. OHG *kuni(n)g* 'king', Boh. *hrabě*, Pol. *hrabia*, Russ. *graf* : OE

*gerifa* 'prefect, judge' (> NE *reeve*), *scir-gerifa* (> NE *sheriff*), root connection dub. Weigand-H. 1.755. Kluge-G. 214. NED s.v. *reeve*, sb.

3. Marquis. OFr. *marquis*, later *marquis* (> ME *markys*, NE *marquis*), It. *marchese*, etc., fr. a deriv. of *marca*, Fr. *marche*, etc. 'borderland, marches', orig. Gmc. word for 'boundary', Goth. *marka*, etc. (19.17), whence, with word for 'count', the corresponding OHG *marcgrāvo*, MHG *markgrave*, NHG *markgraf*.

REW 5364. NED s.v. *marquis*. Weigand-H. 2.130.

4. Viscount. OFr. *vescuens*, *visconte*, Anglo-Fr. *viscounte* (> ME *viscounte*, NE *viscount*), Fr. *vicomte*, lit. 'vice-count', MLat. *vicecomes* (cf. Du Cange). Gamillscheg 889. NED s.v. *viscount*.

5. Baron. OFr. *baron*, *barun* (> ME *barun*, *baron*, NE *baron*), It. *barone*, etc., It. *barone*, etc., fr. late Lat. *barō*, *-ōnis* 'man' in Lex Salica, orig. Gmc. word. See Sp. *varón* 'man', 2.21 with refs.

## 19.36 NOBLE (sb.), NOBLEMAN

|      |                    |       |                     |       |                |
|------|--------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|----------------|
| Grk. | γενναῖος, εὐγενής  | Goth. | manna gōdakunds     | Lith. | bajoras        |
| NG   | εὐγενής            | ON    | ǫðlingr             | Lett. | mužnieks       |
| Lat. | nobilis, patricius | Dan.  | adelig, adelsmand   | ChSl. | boljarinū      |
| It.  | nobile             | Sw.   | adling, adelsman    | SCr.  | plemić         |
| Fr.  | noble              | OE    | æþeling             | Boh.  | šlechtic       |
| Sp.  | noble              | ME    | noble               | Pol.  | szlachcic      |
| Rum. | nobil              | NE    | noble, nobleman     | Russ. | dvorjanin      |
| Ir.  | aire, mál, flaith  | Du.   | edelman             | Skt.  | kulīna- (adj.) |
| Nlr. | flaith, triath     | OHG   | edeling             |       |                |
| W.   | pendefig           | MHG   | edelman, edelinc    |       |                |
| Br.  | nobl               | NHG   | adlige(r), edelmann |       |                |

A few of the forms listed are adjs., used with 'man' to express the sb., or without this especially in the plural (Grk. οἱ γενναῖοι, οἱ εὐγενεῖς, Lat. *nobilēs*, *patriciī*).

The majority are derived from words for 'birth, family, estate', that is, they mean literally 'of (good) birth', etc. But in some this notion comes secondarily from 'famous, chief', etc.

1. Grk. γενναῖος, fr. γέννα 'descent, birth, origin', fr. γένος 'race, family' (19.23), whence εὐγενής lit. 'well-born'.

2. Lat. *nobilis* (> the Romance words), fr. \**gnobilis* (cf. *ignobilis*), lit. 'known', whence 'famous' and then esp. 'noble (of birth)': *nōscere* 'know, recognize'. Ernout-M. 677.

Lat. *patricius*, fr. *pater* 'father', esp. pl. *patrēs* as honorary title, itself also sometimes 'nobles'.

3. Ir. *aire* ('noble, chief', cf. Hessen): Skt. *arya-* 'master, lord', *drya-* 'Aryan'. Walde-P. 1.80. Pedersen 2.32, 100.

Ir. *mál* 'prince, chief, noble' (RIA Contrib. s.v.), beside proper names *Maglo-* in Lat. inscriptions of Britain, W. *Mael* = Lat. *magnus* 'great', etc. Walde-P. 2.258. Pedersen 1.103.

Ir. *flaith*, see 19.35.

Nlr. *triath*, see 19.35.

W. *pendefig* (cf. Br. *pinvidik* 'rich' with metathesis), deriv. of a superl. fr. *pen* 'head, chief'. Pedersen 1.381.

Br. *nobl*, fr. Fr. *noble*.

4. Goth. *manna gōda-kunds* (= *āw-θρωτος εὐγενής* Lk. 19.12), cpd. of *gōþs* 'good' and *-kunds* (as in *himina-kunds* 'heaven-born, heavenly'): *kuni* 'race, tribe, family' (NE *kin*, etc.; 19.23).

ON *ǫðlingr*, OE *æþeling* (both esp. 'prince'), OHG *edeling*, MHG *edeling*

(esp. 'son of a nobleman'), MLG *edeline* (> Sw. *adling*), fr. OE *æþele*, OHG *edili*, NHG *edel*, adjs. 'noble' (whence again Du., MHG *edelman*, etc.), beside ON *aðal* 'nature', OE *æþelu* 'noble extraction', OHG *adal* ('noble' race), etc., with adjs. NHG *adlig* and Dan. *adelig* (with influence of NHG meaning): ON *ǫðal*, OE *ēþel*, OHG *uodal* 'estate, (inherited) land, patrimony', and all prob.: Goth. *atta* 'father', etc. Walde-P. 1.44. Falk-Torp 11, 1430, 1524. Weigand-H. 1.22 f., 403. NED s.v. *athel*.

ME, NE *noble*, fr. Fr. *noble* (above, 2); also cpd. *nobleman*.

5. Lith. *bajoras* (Lett. *bajārs* 'rich person'), fr. Slavic, cf. ChSl. *boljarinū* (below). Mühl-Endz. 1.252.

Lett. *mužnieks*, deriv. of *mužiā* 'estate (of a noble)', this fr. Liv. or Esth. *moiz* (perh. through Russ. *myša* 'farm, country house?'). Mühl-Endz. 2.662. Thomsen, Beröringer 270.

6. ChSl. (in Gospels only *žlověku dobra roda* 'man of good family', but Supr.) *boljarinū* (pl. *boljare*) = Russ. *bojarin* 'grantee', *barin* 'gentleman, sir', etc., widespread Slavic term, prob. early loanword fr. Turk. *boyul* 'tall'; cf. Byz. *βοῦλάδες*, *βοῦλάδες*. Berneker 72. Brückner 84 f. NED s.v. *boyard*.

SCr. *plemić*, deriv. of *pleme* 'tribe' (19.23).

Boh. *šlechtic*, Pol. *szlachcic*, beside Boh. *šlechta*, Pol. *szlachta* 'nobility', fr. MHG *schlecht*, OHG *slahita* 'species, sort, kind', cf. NHG *geschlecht* (19.23). Brückner 550.

Russ. *dvorjanin*, deriv. of *dvor* 'court, yard' (7.15). Berneker 241.

7. Skt. *kulīna-* (mostly adj.), deriv. of *kula-* 'tribe, family' (19.23).

## 19.37 CITIZEN

|      |                            |       |                         |       |                    |
|------|----------------------------|-------|-------------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | πολίτης, ἀστικός           | Goth. | baurgja                 | Lith. | piliētis           |
| NG   | πολίτης                    | ON    | borgarmaðr              | Lett. | pilsuonis          |
| Lat. | civis                      | Dan.  | borger                  | ChSl. | graždaninū, žitelj |
| It.  | cittadino                  | Sw.   | borgare                 | SCr.  | građanin           |
| Fr.  | citoyen                    | OE    | ceasterware, burhsitend | Boh.  | občan              |
| Sp.  | ciudadano                  | ME    | burgais, cītesein       | Pol.  | obywatel           |
| Rum. | cetățean                   | NE    | citizen                 | Russ. | graždanin          |
| Ir.  | cathrar                    | Du.   | burger                  | Skt.  | pāura-, nāgara-    |
| Nlr. | cathruightheoir, saorānach | OHG   | burgari                 |       |                    |
| W.   | dinesydd                   | MHG   | burgere                 |       |                    |
| Br.  | keodedour                  | NHG   | bürger                  |       |                    |

The majority of the words for 'citizen' are derived from those for 'city' (19.15) and meant orig. 'city dweller', the political sense of 'citizen' (vs. 'alien, subject', etc.) being secondary. This use of Grk. *πολίτης* beside *πόλις* 'city' but also the 'city-state', and of Lat. *civis* beside *civitas* (though here the *civis* is the earlier) doubtless influenced the formation and use of the other Eur. words.

A few of the words are derived from

verbs for 'dwell' and so meant orig. 'inhabitant'. One is derived from a word for 'community'.

1. Grk. *πολίτης*, and *ἀστικός* (latter less common, and at Athens 'city dweller' with only civil rights in contrast to *πολίτης*), fr. *πόλις* and *ἀστυ* 'city' (19.15).

2. Lat. *civis*, whence *civitas* 'citizenry, state', late 'city' and Romance words for 'city' (in part obs., 19.15), whence again derivs. for 'citizen', It. *cittadino*, Fr.

words for 'dwell' and so meant orig. 'inhabitant'. One is derived from a word for 'community'.

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*citoyen*, Sp. *ciudadano*, Rum. *cetățean* : Goth. *heiva-frauja* 'master of the house', OE *hūw-rāden*, Lith. *šaima*, etc. 'household, family' (2.82). Extension fr. 'member of the household' to 'member of the city or state'. Cf. *hostis* 'stranger' > 'enemy'. Walde-P. 1.359. Ernout-M. 191 b. Walde-H. 1.224.

3. Ir. *cathrar* (Sg 28a8, 33a10), Nlr. *cathruightheoir*, fr. Ir. *cathir*, Nlr. *cathair* 'city'.

Nlr. *saorānach*, lit. 'freeman', fr. *saor* 'free' (19.44).

W. *dinesydd*, fr. *dinas* 'city'.

Br. *keodedour*, *keodedad*, derivs. of *keoded* 'citē', MBr. *queudet*, fr. Lat. *civildem*. Loth. Mots lat. 149.

4. Goth. *baurgja* (= *πολίτης* Lk. 15.15, 19.14), ON *borgarmaðr* (with *maðr* 'man'), OE *burhsittend* (with pple. of *sittan* 'sit, dwell'), less usually *burhware* = Du. *burger* (MLG *borgere* > Dan. *borger*, Sw. *borgare*), OHG *burgari*, MHG *burgere*, NHG *bürger*, formed with the suffix *-wari* (as in Germano-Lat. *Chasvari*, etc.), fr. the older Gmc. word for 'city', Goth. *baurgs*, etc.

(19.15). Falk-Torp 94. Kluge-G. 87. From the same source also ME *burgais*, fr. OFr. *burgais*, late Lat. *burgensis*. NED s.v. *burgess*.

OE *ceasterware*, *ceastergeware*, fr. *ceaster* 'city'. For the suffix, cf. above.

ME *cītesein*, NE *citizen*, fr. Anglo-Fr. *cīteseyn* beside OFr. *cītean* (Fr. *citoyen*, above, 2). NED s.v. *citizen*.

5. Lith. *piliētis* (neolog.), Lett. *pilsuonis*, derivs. of Lith. *pilis* 'castle, fort', old 'city', Lett. *pils* 'castle, stronghold' (cf. Lett. *pilsēta* 'city', 19.15).

6. ChSl. *žitelj* (= *πολίτης* Lk. 15.15), lit. 'inhabitant': *žiti* 'live, dwell' (7.11).

ChSl. *graždaninū* (> Russ. *graždanin*), SCr. *građanin*, fr. ChSl. *građu*, etc. 'city' (19.15). Berneker 370.

Boh. *občan*, fr. *obec* 'community' = Pol. *obec* 'totality' (: ChSl. *obštā* 'common', etc., Meillet, Études 381).

Pol. *obywatel*, lit. 'inhabitant', fr. *obywać* 'live, inhabit' (7.11).

7. Skt. *pāura-* and *nāgara-* (both 'city dweller' without political sense), fr. *pura-* and *nagara-* 'city'.

## 19.38 SUBJECT (sb.)

|      |                     |       |                          |        |                       |
|------|---------------------|-------|--------------------------|--------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | ὑπήκοος             | Goth. | (u)hausjands             | Lith.  | pavaladinis, valdinys |
| NG   | ὑπήκοος             | ON    | undirmaðr                | Lett.  | pavalstnieks          |
| Lat. | subiectus, subditus | Dan.  | undersaat                | ChSl.  | .....                 |
| It.  | suddito             | Sw.   | undersäte                | SCr.   | podanik               |
| Fr.  | sujet               | OE    | underþeod(ed)            | Boh.   | poddaný               |
| Sp.  | súbdito             | ME    | suget                    | Pol.   | poddany               |
| Rum. | supus               | NE    | subject                  | Russ.  | poddannyy             |
| Ir.  | aíthech             | Du.   | onderdaan                | Skt.   | prajā-                |
| Nlr. | omōsaiðhe           | OHG   | untarītan, untarhiuti    | OPers. | ba(n)daka-            |
| W.   | deiliad             | MHG   | untarītan(e), under-säze |        |                       |
| Br.  | sujet               | NHG   | untertan                 |        |                       |

Words for 'subject' (here, of course, in the political sense) are mostly adjectives, used also as nouns, meaning orig. 'put under' or (in Grk., followed in Goth.) 'obedient'. A few are from other sources, as through 'tenant' from 'hold'

or 'repay', or through 'servant' from 'bind'.

1. Grk. ὑπήκοος, orig. 'obedient', but reg. word for 'subject' (adj. and sb.): ἀκούω 'hearing', ἀκούω 'hear, listen to' (15.41). Boissacq 37.

Under 'master' we have in mind especially 'master' vs. 'slave, servant', and in several of the words this was in fact the primary sense, as shown by the



*herr*, Du. *heer* (OS *hērro* > late ON *herra*, *herri*, Dan., Sw. *herre*), contracted fr. OHG *hērro*, comp. to *hēr* 'excellent, distinguished, venerable', etc. (NHG *hehr*) = OE *hār* 'gray, gray-haired, venerable'. Falk-Torp 400. Weigand-H. 1.854.

Du. *baas* (> NE esp. U.S. *boss*), orig.? Franck-v. W. s.v.

6. Lith. *ponas*, fr. Ukr., Pol. *pan* (below, 7). Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 120.

Lett. *kungs* (cf. Lith. *kunigas* 'priest, pastor'), fr. the Gmc. word for 'king', ON *konungr*, OHG *kuni(n)g* (19.32). Mühl.-Endz. 2.314 f.

7. ChSl. *gospodŭ*, SCR. *gospodar*, etc., above, 1.  
SCR. *gazda* (pop.), fr. Hung. *gazda* 'master'.

Boh. *pán*, Pol. *pan*, prob. abbr. (first as term of address) of the title seen in ChSl. *županŭ* (Supr.), SCR. *župan* 'head of a district' (orig.?). Brückner 393.

Russ. *chozjain*, fr. Turk. (cf. Pers.) *hoca* 'teacher, master, priest'. Berneker 400. Lokotsch 850.

8. Skt. *pati-*, Av. *paithi-*, above, 1.  
Skt. *svāmin-*, deriv. (or cpd.) of pron. *sva-* 'own'. BR s.v. Uhlenbeck 356.  
Skt. *īvara-* = *ī-* 'own' (11.12), rule'.

## 19.42 SLAVE

Grk. *δοῦλος*, oikéris  
NG *δοῦλος*, esclāvos  
Lat. *servus*, *mancipium*  
It. *schiauo*  
Fr. *esclave*  
Sp. *esclavo*  
Rum. *scălav*, rob  
Ir. *mug*, *dóir*, daer  
Nir. *slábhuidhe*  
W. *caethwas*, *slaf*  
Br. *sklav*

Goth. *skalks*, *þius*  
ON *þræll*, *þjǫ* (fem.)  
Dan. *slave*, *træl*  
Sw. *slaf*, *träl*  
OE *þēow*, *þræl*, *secale*,  
*wealh*  
ME *scălav*, *thral(l)*  
NE *slave*  
Du. *slaf*  
OHG *schalc*, *slave*, *diu*  
NHG *sklave*

Lith. *vergās*  
Lett. *vergs*  
ChSl. *rabŭ*  
SCR. *rob*  
Boh. *otrok*  
Pol. *niewolnik*  
Russ. *rab*, *nevol'nik*  
Skt. *dāsa-*

There is some overlapping between 'slave' and 'servant' (19.43). A word for 'slave' may cover also or eventually denote simply 'servant' (cf. Lat. *servus* and its derivs.). Conversely some of the words listed under 'servant' applied to servants who were in fact slaves (as Lat. *famulus*, *ancilla*). For older periods there is no such sharp distinction as later, and the assignment of certain words (esp. some of the old Gmc.) to one or the other group is bound to be somewhat arbitrary.

Words for 'slave' are cognate with words for 'house, oppress, work, trouble, distress, quick', etc., while some are of wholly doubtful origin. The widespread modern Eur. word, NE *slave*, etc., was

originally a 'Slav', the use of which for 'slave' goes back to Byzantine times when so many Slavs were taken captive and enslaved. Analogous is the use of OE *Wealh* 'Briton' for 'slave'. In general on words for 'slave' and 'servant', cf. Brugmann, IF 19.377 ff.

1. Grk. *δοῦλος* (Cret. *δῶλος*, but early Att. *δοῦλος* with genuine diphthong), etym.? Boissacq 198. Brugmann, op. cit. 386 ff. Lambertz, Glotta 6.1 ff. (loanword).

Grk. *οικέρις* (Hom., Cret. *οικέρις*, dial. also *οικιδάρις*), prop. a 'household slave' (freq. contrasted with *δοῦλος*, but also as synonym of; cf. LS s.v.), deriv. of *οἶκος* 'house'.

Grk. *δούλος* (poet.), uncertain whether

as orig. 'captive': *δαμάω* 'conquer', or as orig. 'house-slave': *δῶμος* 'house'. Walde-P. 1.788. Boissacq 193.

Grk. *ἀνδράποδα* (pl.), formed fr. *ἀνδρ*, *ἀνδρός* 'man' on the analogy of *τετραπόδα* 'quadrupeds' in phrases referring to captured 'men and beasts'. Boissacq 61.

Byz., NG *σκλάβος* = Byz. *Σκλάβος* 'a Slav, Slavic', shortened form of *Σκλαβνός* id., fr. Slavic *Slověninŭ*. Hence MLat. *scălavus* (> It. *schiauo* > Fr. *esclave*, Sp. *esclavo*; Fr. > Rum. *scălav* recent), and, through a Romance, esp. Fr. medium, the Gmc. words ME *scălav*, NE *slave*, late MHG *slave*, *scălav*, NHG *sklave*, etc. REW 8003a. Falk-Torp 1059. Weigand-H. 2.877. Kluge-G. 566.

2. Lat. *servus*, often explained as orig., though unattested, 'watcher, guardian': *servare* 'save, preserve, keep', Av. *pasuš-haurva-* 'guarding the flocks', etc. (see under Lat. *servare*, 11.24). Walde-P. 2.498. Ernout-M. 933. Otherwise Benveniste, Rev. ét. lat. 10.429 ff. (as Etruscan loanword), Vendryes, BSL 36.126 ff. (: Ir. *serbh* 'pillage', W. *heru* 'outlawry'). Brugmann, op. cit. 383 (as 'running': Skt. *sr-* 'run, flow').

Lat. *mancipium* 'possession, property' (: *manceps*, cpd. of *man-* = *manus* 'hand' and *capere* 'take'), also esp. 'slave'. Ernout-M. 585. Walde-H. 2.23.

Lat. *famulus* and *ancilla*, see under 'servant' (19.43).

Rum. *rob*, fr. Slavic (below, 6).

3. Ir. *mug* (Ogam *magu*) = Corn. *maw*, MBr. *mao* 'boy, servant', W. *meudwy* 'hermit' = 'servant of God', Gall. *Magu-riz* : Goth. *magus* 'boy', ON *magr* 'boy, son', etc. (2.25). Walde-P. 2.228.

Ir. *dóir*, daer 'unfree, serf, slave', opp. of *sóir*, saer 'free', see 19.44.

Ir. *cumal* 'bondmaid', orig. dub., perh. : *cuma* 'grief' (16.32). Walde-P. 1.387 f. Stokes 70. Laws, Gloss. 211.

Nir. *slábhuidhe*, lengthened form of older *slábhia*, *slábh*, prob. fr. ME *slave*.

W. *caethwas*, cpd. of *caeth* 'captive' (= Lat. *captus*, etc.) and *gwas* 'servant' (19.43).

W. *slaf*, fr. NE *slave*.

Br. *sklav*, fr. Fr. *esclave*.

4. Goth. *skalks*, OE *secale*, OHG *schalc*, MHG *schalc* = ON *skalkr* 'weapon-bearer, rogue', etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.594. Falk-Torp 980 f. Feist 428.

Goth. *þius* (ON *þewaz* runic; -þēr in names), OE *þēow* (ME forms rare), OHG *deo* (with fem. Goth. *þiwi*, ON *þjó*, OE *þēow*, OHG, MHG *diu*), prob. : Skt. *takva-*, *takv-* 'hasty, quick, active', fr. the root in Skt. *tak-* 'rush along', Av. *tač-* 'run, flow', Lith. *tekėti* 'run, flow'. Walde-P. 1.716. Feist 497 f. Falk-Torp 1307. NED s.v. *theow*.

ON *þræll* (> OE *þræl*, ME *thral*), Dan. *træl*, Sw. *träl*, etym. disputed; either as orig. 'one oppressed': Goth. *breihan*, OHG *dringan*, etc. 'press, oppress, afflict', or as orig. 'runner, messenger': Goth. *þragjan* 'run', etc. (10.46). Walde-P. 1.753. Falk-Torp 1293, 1568. Hellquist 1234.

OE *Wealh* 'Briton', used also for 'slave'.

5. Lith. *vergās*, Lett. *vergs* : Lith. *vargas* 'misery, distress', Lett. *vārgs* 'miserable', sb. 'misery', OPruss. *vārgs* 'evil', ChSl. *vragŭ* 'enemy', etc. (19.52). Walde-P. 1.320. Trautmann 352. Mühl.-Endz. 4.539.

6. ChSl. *rabŭ*, SCR. *rob*, Russ. *rab* : Goth. *arbaips* 'trouble, work', Lat. *orbus* 'bereft', Grk. *ὀρφανός* 'orphan', etc. Walde-P. 1.184.

Boh. *otrok* = Pol. *otrok* 'male person, youth, boy', ChSl. *otrokŭ* 'boy' (2.25).

Pol. *niewolnik*, Russ. *nevol'nik* (Boh. *nevolnik* less common), deriv. of Pol.

It. *servo*, fr. Lat. *servus* 'slave' (19.42), whence *servire* 'be a slave, serve', It. *servire*, Fr., Sp. *servir* with derivs. for 'servant' It. *servitore*, Fr. *serviteur*, Sp. *servidor*, Rum. *servitor*, also (fr. act. pple.) OFr. *servant* (only fem. *servante* now in use), Sp. *serviente*.

Fr. *domestique*, sb. fr. the adj. *domestique* 'domestic', fr. Lat. *domesticus*, deriv. of *domus* 'house'.

Sp. *criado*, orig. 'one reared' (in the house), fr. *criar* 'raise, rear' (Lat. *creare* 'create, beget'). REW 2305.

Rum. *slugă* and *slujnic*, fr. Slavic, cf. ChSl. *sluga*, dim. *služnikŭ*. Tiktin 1443-44.

3. Ir. *timthirithid*, fr. \**to-imb-d-rieth-* 'serve' (e.g. perf. *do-d-r-imbithid* 'has served it'), cpd. of *rethim* 'run' (cf. Grk. *ἀμφι-πολος* 'handmaid', Lat. *ancilla*, above, 2). Pedersen 2.598 f.

Ir. *foss*, W. *guas*, OBr. *guas*, MBr. *goas* (Br. *guaz* now esp. 'man', 2.21), cf. Gall. *Dago-vassus*, lit. 'Good Servant', MLat. *vassus* 'vassal' (fr. Gall.), prob. fr. \**upo-sto-* 'standing under' (: IE \**stā-* 'stand'; cf. Skt. *upa-sthāna-* 'standing near, attendance, worship'). Pedersen 1.35. Walde-P. 1.307.

Nir. *seirbhiseach*, orig. adj. 'serviceable, useful', fr. *seirbhis* 'service, work' (fr. NE *service*).

W. *gweinidog*, fr. *gwein* 'serve' (: Ir. *fo-gniu* id., cpd. of *gnū* 'do, perform'). Pedersen 2.545.

Br. *mevel*, prob. fr. \**magu-illo-* and so with fem. *mátez* (cf. OCorn. *mahtheid* 'virgo', Ir. *ingen macadaht* 'young full-grown girl', etc.) : Ir. *mug* 'slave' (19.42), etc. Walde-P. 2.228 (without *mevel*). Henry 201. Ernault, Dict. étym. 336.

4. Goth. *andbahts*, OE *ambeht*, OHG *ambacht* (ON only fem. *ambätt*), fr. Celt. \**ambaktos* (cf. Gallo-Lat. *ambactus* 'slave, vassal', W. *amaeth* 'farmer, plowman'), fr. a cpd. of *ambi-* 'about' (Ir. *imb-*, etc.)

and the root \**ag-* 'drive'. Walde-P. 1.35. Feist 48 f.

ON *þjónna*, with vbs. ON *þjóna*, Dan. *tjene*, Sw. *tjäna*, OHG *diōnan*, NHG *diēnen*, whence for 'servant' Dan. *tjener*, Sw. *tjänare*, MHG *dienere*, NHG *diener*, or, through sbs. for 'service' (ON *þjónusta*, OHG *dionost*, etc.), ON *þjónustumaðr*, MHG *dienestman*, etc., all : Goth. *þius*, etc. 'slave' (19.42). Walde-P. 1.716. Falk-Torp 1266.

OE *þegn*, ME *thain*, also esp. 'military servant, follower, retainer' (NE *thane*) = OHG *degan* 'boy, warrior, hero', ON *þegn* 'freeman' : Grk. *ῥέων* 'child' (2.43). NED s.v. *thane*.

OE *cniht*, OHG, MHG *kneht*, NHG, Du. *knecht*, in the older languages also 'boy', and esp. 'military servant, follower' (NE *knight*), see under 'boy' (2.25).

ME *servaunt*, NE *servant*, fr. OFr. *servant* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *tarnas*, prob. orig. 'young boy' : Skt. *taruna-* 'young, tender', as sb. 'boy, girl', Grk. *τέρην* 'tender'. Walde-P. 1.728.

Lith. *bernas* ('young man', esp. 'farm-servant') : Goth. etc. *barn* 'child' (2.27). Lett. *sulainis*, fr. Esth. *sulane* 'servant'. Mühl.-Endz. 3.1119.

Lett. *kalps*, fr. \**cholpā*, older form of Russ. *cholop* 'serf, servant' = ChSl. *chlapŭ*, etc. (below, 6). Mühl.-Endz. 2.144.

6. ChSl. *sluga*, etc., general Slavic, as orig. coll. 'household, retainers': Ir. *sluag* 'host', W. *llu* 'army', Ir. *teglach*, W. *teulu* 'family'. Walde-P. 2.716. Brugmann, IF 19.377 (with refs.).

ChSl. *chlapŭ* (Supr.; SCR. *hlap*, Boh. *chlap*, Pol. *chłop*, Russ. *cholop*, mostly 'peasant, serf'), etym. dub. Berneker 394. Brückner 180 (: Goth. *skalks* 'slave').

7. Skt. *bhṛtya-*, lit. 'one to be supported, maintained': *bhṛ-* 'carry, support'.

Skt. *sevaka-*, fr. *sev-* 'serve, attend, honor, dwell by', etym.? Uhlenbeck 341.

Skt. *ceta*, *ceṭaka-*, prob. MInd. form : *ceṭ-* 'be busy with'. Uhlenbeck 93.  
Av. *vaša-* = Skt. *vega-* 'tenant, dependent, vassal', fr. Av. *vša-* 'court, ruler's' dwelling, etc., Skt. *vṣ-* 'settlement, dwelling', etc. Barth. 1328.

## 19.44 FREE (adj.)

Grk. *δελτός*  
NG *δελτός*, *δεύρος*  
Lat. *liber*  
It. *libero*  
Fr. *libre*  
Sp. *libre*  
Rum. *liber*, *slobod*  
Ir. *sóir*, saer  
Nir. *saor*  
W. *rhydd*  
Br. *frank*

Goth. *freis*  
ON *frjáls*  
Dan. *fri*  
Sw. *fri*  
OE *frēo*  
ME *fre(e)*  
NE *free*  
OHG *frī*  
MHG *vrī*  
NHG *frei*

Lith. *laisvas*, *liuosas*  
Lett. *brīvs*, *svabads*  
ChSl. *slobodŭ*  
SCR. *slobodan*  
Boh. *slobodný*  
Pol. *wolny*  
Russ. *slobodnyj*, *vol'nyj*  
Skt. *svādharma-*

'Free' is understood here in its primary social and political application to one who is not a slave and enjoys civil liberty. But most of the words have also many of the secondary uses characteristic of NE *free* (NED s.v. 1-32).

These adjectives are the sources of the nouns for 'freedom, liberty' (or conversely in Slavic) and the verbs for 'free, liberate'.

1. Grk. *δελτός*, Lat. *liber* (> It. *libero*, Fr., Sp. *libre*; Rum. *liber* neolog.), Pael. *loufr* (cf. Fal. *loferta* 'liberta'), fr. \**leudhero-*, prob. deriv. of the stem in OE *leod*, OHG *liut* 'people, nation' (19.22), hence orig. 'belonging to the nation, native' (vs. 'captive' or 'slave'). Walde-P. 2.417. Ernout-M. 544 f. Walde-H. 1.791 f.

2. Rum. *slobod* (in modern lit. replaced by *liber*), fr. Slavic (below, 6).

MLat. *francus* (It., Sp. *franco*, Fr. *franc*, formerly used for 'free' vs. 'slave', now mostly 'free' in other senses), same word as the name MLat. *Francus*, etc. 'Frank'.

3. Ir. *sóir*, saer, Nir. *saor*, beside *dóir*, daer 'unfree' (cf. *sóir* et *dóir* Wb. 27c15),

cpds. of *so-* 'good' (Skt. *su-*) and *do-* 'bad' (Skt. *du-*), second part perh. \**wiro-* 'man' (Ir. *fer*, etc.). Stokes 280.  
W. *rhydd* : Goth. *freis*, etc. (below, 4).  
Br. *frank* ('vast, open' and 'free', cf. *frankiz* 'freedom'), fr. Fr. *franc* (above, 2).

4. Goth. *freis*, OE *frēo*, etc., general Gmc. (but only cpd. in ON *frjáls* = *fri-hals* 'free-necked', cf. Goth. *freihals*, OE *frēols* 'freedom', etc.; Nicel. *fri*, Dan., Sw. *fri*, fr. MLG *vri*, Falk-Torp 273) : Goth. *frjōn* 'love', Skt. *pri-* 'please', *priya-* 'dear', etc., also W. *rhydd* 'free'. Walde-P. 2.86 f. Feist 167 f. (19.22), hence orig. 'belonging to the nation, native' (vs. 'captive' or 'slave'). Walde-P. 2.417. Ernout-M. 544 f. Walde-H. 1.791 f.

5. Lith. *laisvas* : *leisti* 'let, permit' (19.47). Leskien, Ablaut 276, Bildung d. Nom. 344 f.

Lith. *liuosas*, fr. NHG (or LG) *los* 'loose, free'. Alminauskis 81.

Lett. *brīvs*, fr. LG *vri* (above). Mühl.-Endz. 1.336.

Lett. *svabads* (mostly 'loose, slack, tired', but also = *brīvs*), fr. Slavic, ChSl. *slobodŭ*, etc. (below, 6). Mühl.-Endz. 3.1139.

6. ChSl. *slobodŭ* (indecl.), SCR. *slobod-*

Dan., Boh. *slobodný* (Pol. *swobodny* now mostly 'free' = 'at leisure', etc.), Russ. *svobodnyj*, fr. sb. ChSl. *svoboda* 'freedom', etc. : OPruss. *supis*, acc. *subban* 'self, own', Goth. *siþja*, OE *siþ(b)* 'kinship, kin', etc., all fr. the pron. stem \**s(w)o-*. Walde-P. 2.456. Trautmann 291. Brückner 528.

Pol. *wolny*, Russ. *vol'nyj* : ChSl. *volja* 'will' (cf. Pol. *niewolnik*, Russ. *nevol'nik* 'slave', 19.42).

7. Skt. *svādharma-* : *svadhā-* 'peculiarity, custom', Grk. *ἔθος* 'custom', etc., fr. the pron. stem \**s(w)o-* (cf. ChSl. *svobodŭ*, above, 6).

## 19.45 COMMAND, ORDER (vbs.)

Grk. *κελεύω*, *προσάσσω*, etc.  
NG *προσάσσω*, *διατάσσω*  
Lat. *iubere*, *imperāre*  
It. *comandare*, *ordinare*  
Fr. *commander*, *ordonner*  
Sp. *mandar*, *ordenar*  
Rum. *comanda*, *ordona*, *po-*

Goth. *haitan*, *anabiudan*  
ON *bjōða*  
Dan. *befale*, *byde*  
Sw. *befalla*, *bjuda*  
Pol. *hataŋ*, (ge) *bodan*  
Russ. *komanda*, *ordenar*  
Skt. *dhā-*, *dhā-*

Lith. *liepti*, *įsakyti*  
Lett. *pavēlēt*  
ChSl. *(po)veliti*, *zapovēditi*  
SCR. *zapovijedati*, *narediti*  
Boh. *naříditi*, *rozkazati*  
Pol. *rozkazać*  
Russ. *prikazať*  
Skt. *ājāpaya-*, *ādic-*, *gā-*  
Av. OPers. *nāša-*

Ir. *forcumur*  
Nir. *ordāighim*  
W. *gorchymyn*  
Br. *gourc'henn*

Du. *beyelen*, *gebieden*  
OHG *gibetan*, *heizan*  
MHG *heizen*, *gebieten*  
NHG *befehlen*, *gebieten*, *heissen*

Verbs for 'command, order' are based on such diverse semantic sources as 'drive, urge, incite, intrust, arrange, put in order, point out, make known, announce, will', etc., all with acquired imperative force.

1. Grk. *κελεύω*, orig. 'urge, drive on' : *κέλευ* 'drive (a ship to land), put to shore', *κέλης* 'courser', Lat. *celer* 'swift', Skt. *kal-* 'drive', etc. Walde-P. 1.442. Boissacq 431.

Grk. *προσάσσω*, *ἐπιτάσσω*, cpds. of *τάσσω* 'arrange, appoint', esp. 'draw up (an army in battle order)'; similarly *διατάσσω* in class. Grk. chiefly in sense of simple verb 'appoint, draw up', but NG *διατάσσω* and *προσάσσω* the usual words for 'command'.

2. Lat. *iubere*, prob. orig. 'set in motion, incite' (cf. Grk. *κελεύω*) : Lith. *judėti* 'move (tremblingly)', be in motion', *judinti* 'move' (trans.), Pol. *judzić* 'excite, seduce', Skt. *yudh-* 'fight' (but

*ud-yudh-* 'boil up, go off in anger'). Walde-P. 1.204. Ernout-M. 500. Walde-H. 1.725.

5. Lith. *klausyti*, Lett. *klausīt*, lit. 'listen' (15.42).

6. ChSl. *poslušati* (reg. for *poslušati* in Gospels), Boh. *poslouchati*, cpds. of ChSl. *slušať*, Boh. *slouchati* 'listen', SCr. *slušať*, Pol. *sluchać* 'listen, obey' (SCr. freq. also *poslušati*), Russ. *slušať* 'listen', refl. *slušať'sja* 'obey', all orig. 'listen' (15.42).

7. Skt. *anu-ur-*, lit. 'go after, follow', hence 'attend, obey', cpd. of *anu-* 'after, with', and *ur-* 'turn, move, proceed'. Skt. *anu-śhā-*, lit. 'stand by', hence 'perform, obey', cpd. of *anu-* (cf. above) and *śhā-* 'stand'.

## 19.47 LET, PERMIT

Grk. *laōs*, *laōn*, *laōnē*  
NG *laōs*, *laōnē*  
Lat. *laōs*, *laōnē*  
It. *laōs*, *laōnē*  
Fr. *laōs*, *laōnē*  
Sp. *laōs*, *laōnē*  
Rum. *laōs*, *laōnē*  
Ir. *laōs*, *laōnē*  
Nir. *laōs*, *laōnē*  
W. *laōs*, *laōnē*  
Br. *laōs*, *laōnē*

Goth. *laian*, *ulaubjan*  
ON *laia*, *leifa*  
Dan. *laide*  
Sw. *laide*  
OE *laian*, *lifa*, *laian*  
ME *laie*, *lele*  
NE *laie*, *lele*  
Du. *laian*, *lifa*, *laian*  
Irl. *laian*, *lifa*, *laian*  
Nir. *laian*, *lifa*, *laian*  
W. *laian*, *lifa*, *laian*  
Br. *laian*, *lifa*, *laian*

Many of the words for 'let, permit' coincide, or are cognate, with those for 'leave' (12.18) or 'let go, release' (11.34), that is, meant originally 'leave free to do'. Other sources are such notions as 'give a place to', 'suffer, endure', 'be well disposed to, trust'. For some special forms meaning 'is permitted, may', like Lat. *impers. licet*, see 9.96.

1. Grk. *laōs*, fr. *\*laōs* (cf. *laōs* 'allow' and *laōs* 'allow', etym. dub. Walde-P. 2.472. Boisacq 211).

Grk. *laōnē*, cpd. of *laōnē* 'send, throw' (10.25), hence 'send to, let go, give up' and also 'permit'.

Grk. *laōnē*, cpd. of *laōnē* 'turn' (10.12), hence 'turn over to, intrust', and also 'permit' as reg. in NG.

NG *laōnē* 'leave' (12.18), also pop. word for 'let, permit'.

2. Lat. *sinere*, earlier sense 'place', seen in *situs* 'placed' and the cpd. *pōnere* 'place' (12.12), but root connections dub. Walde-P. 2.461. Ernout-M. 945 f.

Lat. *permittere* (> It. *permettere*, Fr.

*permettre*, Sp. *permitir*, Rum. *permite*; NE *permit*, cpd. of *mittere* 'send', orig. 'throw, let loose' (10.63), hence 'let go, intrust' and 'let, permit'.

Lat. *pati* 'suffer, endure' (cf. 16.31), also 'permit', as likewise Fr. *souffrir*, NE *suffer* (now arch. or dial. in this use, cf. NED).

It. *lasciare*, Fr. *laisser*, Sp. *dejar*, Rum. *lăsa*, all 'leave' (12.18) and 'let, permit'.

3. Ir. *laicim*, Nir. *laicim* : Grk. *laicim* 'leave', etc. (12.18).

Ir. *laicim*, Nir. *laicim*, fr. *cel* 'permission', abbr. of *lecel* (e.g. ML 69a23), this fr. Lat. *licet* or *laicim*. K. Meyer, Ber. Preuss. Akad. 1914. 939. Pokorny, Z. celt. Ph. 18.159.

W. *canialau* : *canial* 'permission, leave', loanword fr. Lat. *commodatus* 'leave of absence, furlough'. Thurneysen, IF 14.131 f. Pedersen 1.205.

W. *gadael*, also 'leave' (12.18). Br. *lezel*, also 'leave', fr. Fr. *laisser* (12.18).

## SOCIAL RELATIONS

4. Goth. *lātan*, OE *lātan*, NE *let*, OHG *lāzan*, etc., general Gmc. 'leave' (12.18), and 'let, permit', with partial dominance of latter sense as in NE *let*, and esp. cpds. Dan. *tillade*, Sw. *tillåta*, Du. *toelaten*, NHG *zulassen*.

Goth. *uslaubjan*, ON *leifa*, OE *līfan*, ME *leve* (cf. NE sb. *leave* 'permission' and vb. *leave* in U.S. locally = 'let, permit'), Du. *veroorloven*, OHG *erloben*, MHG *erloben*, NHG *erlauben* : Goth. *liufs* 'dear', OE *lufian* 'love', Skt. *lubh-* 'desire', etc. Sense 'permit', prob. through 'be well disposed to, trust'. Cf. the development of the same root in Goth. *galaubjan* 'trust, believe', NHG *glauben*, NE *believe*, etc. Walde-P. 2.419. Falk-Torp 656 f.

OE *þafan* (also 'submit to, endure'), perh. : Grk. *thōs* 'place' (but no trace of a Gmc. cognate of this), with development as in NHG *gestalten* (below).

NE *allow*, in some of its uses = *permit*, ME *allowe*, fr. OFr. *aloer*, fr. late Lat. *ad-locare* 'allocate, lease', blended with a deriv. of Lat. *ad-laudente* 'praise'. NED s.v. Gamillscheg 29.

Du. *toestaan*, cpd. of *staan* 'stand', cf. NHG *zugestehen* 'grant, concede'.

NHG *gestalten*, fr. MHG *gestaten*, OHG *gestātan* 'fix, establish', deriv. of OHG *stata* 'standpoint, opportunity', with semantic development through 'give a place, opportunity to'. Weigand-H. 1.708.

5. Lith. *leisti*, pres. *leidžiū* 'let go, let', perh. : Grk. *thōs* 'place' (but no trace of a Gmc. cognate of this), with development as in NHG *gestalten* (below).

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loose' and 'let, permit' : Lett. *laist* 'let loose, let', Goth. *lātan* 'leave, let', etc. (\**leid-* beside \**lād-*). Walde-P. 2.395.

Lett. *laist*, at-*laist* : Lith. *liautis* 'cease', Goth. *lūjan* 'give over, betray', all fr. a common notion of 'leave, give up'. Walde-P. 2.405. Mühl-Endz. 2.533.

Lith. *duoti* 'give' (11.21) is also used for 'permit', likewise ChSl. *dati* (e.g. Gospels, Mk. 5.19, Lk. 4.41).

6. Lith. *pavelyti*, Lett. *atvēlēt*, ChSl. *poveliti*, SCr. *dozvoliti*, Boh. *dozvoliti* (also *doz-*), Pol. *pozwolić* (also *doz-*), Russ. *pozvolit'*, cpds. of Lith. *velyti* 'wish', ChSl. *veliti* 'order', etc. : Lat. *velle* 'wish', etc. Cf. NHG *bevolligen* 'grant, permit'.

ChSl. *ostaniti* 'leave' (12.18), also 'permit' (e.g. Mk. 24.43).

Boh. *nehati*, lit. 'not care, not mind', neg. cpd. of \**chati* : SCr. *hayati* 'care, mind'. Berneker 382.

Russ. *razrešit'* 'resolve, solve' and 'permit', cpd. of *rešit'* 'resolve, solve, decide' (17.39).

7. Skt. *anu-jñā-*, cpd. of *jñā-* 'know, recognize', hence 'give recognition to, assent, permit'.

There seems to be no special Av. vb. for 'permit', but it may be expressed by the use of a modal form of the vb. denoting the action permitted, e.g. *kaī tā vastra hamyāta* (infin.), lit. 'are the clothes to be used?' = 'is it permitted to use the clothes?' Barth. 1810.

5. Lith. *leisti*, pres. *leidžiū* 'let go, let', perh. : Grk. *thōs* 'place' (but no trace of a Gmc. cognate of this), with development as in NHG *gestalten* (below).

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W. *cyfaill*, old *cyfaillt* = Ir. *com-alla* 'foster-brother', orig. pres. pple. of \**com-alim*, cpd. of *alim* 'nourish, rear'. Pedersen 2.35.

Br. *mignon*, fr. Fr. *mignon* 'darling, pet' (REW 5581.2). Henry 203.

4. Goth. *frijōnds*, OE *frēond*, etc., general East and West Gmc., but ON *frandi* 'relative', orig. pres. pples. of Goth. *frijōn*, OE *frēon*, etc. 'love' (16.27). Feist 168. Weigand-H. 1.583.

ON *vinr*, Dan. *ven*, Sw. *vän*, OE *wine*, OS, OHG *wini*, MHG *win(e)* : Ir. *fine* 'clan', Skt. *van-* 'desire, love, wish, acquire', etc. Walde-P. 1.259. Falk-Torp 1366.

5. Lith. *draugas* (also 'companion'), Lett. *draugs* = ChSl. *drugŭ* (also 'companion', prob. and adj. 'other'), Russ. *drug* (SCr. *drug*, Boh. *drug* 'companion', SCr. *drugŭ*, etc. 'other') : Goth. *drugan* 'do military service', *ga-drauhis* 'soldier', ON *Mitra*, etym. dub., perh. : Skt. *mith-* 'exchange', *mithuna* 'a pair', etc. Walde-P. 2.241. Uhlenbeck 223.

Av. *urvaša-*, etym. dub., perh. : *var-* 'choose'. Barth 1537.

Av. *frya-*, as adj. 'dear' (16.28).

OPers. *daustar-* (NPers. *došt*) : Av. *zūš-*, Skt. *jus-* 'take pleasure in, enjoy', Av. *zaōša-* 'pleasure', Grk. *γιομαί* 'taste, enjoy', etc. (15.31). Barth. 674 f.

Lith. *bičiulis* (pop. word for 'bosom-friend'), lit. 'bee-keeper', deriv. of *bičē* 'bee'. The bee-keepers of a neighborhood are bound together in close friendship.

5. Lith. *leisti*, pres. *leidžiū* 'let go, let', perh. : Grk. *thōs* 'place' (but no trace of a Gmc. cognate of this), with development as in NHG *gestalten* (below).

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ship and form a kind of 'bee-fraternity'. Cf. Žemaitės Raštai 1.231 ff., and Tautai ir Žemaičiai 4.459.

6. ChSl. *drugŭ*, Russ. *drug*, cf. Lith. *draugas* (above).

ChSl. (late) *prijateljŭ*, etc., general modern Slavic, fr. *prijati* 'favor, be well-disposed to' : Goth. *frijōn* 'love', *frijōnds* 'friend', etc., and esp. OHG *frīudil*, ON *frīðill* 'lover'. Walde-P. 2.87. Meillet, Études 312 f.

7. Skt. *sakhi-*, *sakhā-*, Av. *haz-*, both also 'companion', etym. dub. (: Skt. *sac-* 'follow', but *kh-* cpd. of *sa-* 'with?'). Walde-P.

ME *partener*, NE *partner* (now mostly with reference to business or games, but formerly of wider application, as often in the Bible), variant form (influenced by *part*) of *parcener*, fr. OFr. *parcener*, fr. MLat. *partionarius*, variant form of deriv. of *pars* 'part'. NED s.v. *partner*.

OHG *gesello*, *gesello*, MHG *geselle* (NHG *geselle* now esp. 'journeyman'), Du. *gezel*, usually *metgezel* (with *met* 'with'), orig. 'house-companion': OHG *sal* 'large room, hall, building', NHG *saal*, etc. Weigand-H. 1.703. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v.

Du. *makker*, prob. (with substitution of suffix): OE *gemacca* 'mate, consort, husband or wife', (ge)*macc* 'mate, equal', OHG *gimachho* id., OE *gemac* 'equal, well matched', OHG *gimah* 'fit, matched', etc., fr. the root of OE *macian*, OHG *mahhōn*, etc. 'make'. Franck-v. W. 409 f. NED s.v. *make* sb. 1.

NHG *gefährte*, orig. 'traveling companion' (so OHG *giferlo*, *gafarto*, MHG *gewerte*): *fahrt*, OHG *fart* 'journey'. Weigand-H. 1.646. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v.

5. Lith. *draugas*, also 'friend', see 19.51.

Lith. *bendras* (also 'partner', as adj. 'common, general'), Lett. *biedrs*: Grk. *πρωθεός* 'father-in-law, relative by mar-

riage', Skt. *bandhu-* 'relative', fr. the root in Skt. *bandh-*, Goth. *bindan*, etc. 'bind'. Walde-P. 2.152. Mühl.-Endz. 1.305 f.

6. ChSl. *drugŭ* (εραπος Mt. 35.12, etc.), SCR. *drug*, Boh. *druh*, *soudruh*, in ChSl. also 'friend' as Russ. *drug*, see 19.51.

ChSl. *obštinikŭ* (κοινωτός Mt. 23.30, etc.; Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 367), deriv. of *obštinŭ* 'sharing': *obšiti* 'common' (19.64).

Boh. *společník*: *spolčiti*, *spojiti* 'bind together, unite' (12.22).

Boh. *tovaryš* (also 'journeyman, assistant'), Pol. *towarzysz*, Russ. *tovarišč*, deriv. of Boh., Russ. *tovar*, Pol. *towar* 'goods, wares' = SCR. *tovar* 'load, burden' (itself of unknown source), with development through 'porter' or 'peddler' (?). Brückner 574.

7. Skt. *sahāya*, cpd. of *saha-* 'together with' and *aya-* 'going' (: *i-* 'go').

Skt. *sahacara*, cpd. of *saha-* 'together with' and *cara-* 'moving, going' ('car-move, go').

Skt. *sakhi-* Av. *hazi-* also 'friend', see 19.51.

Av. *astī-*, prob.: Skt. *atithi* 'guest' (fr. *at-* 'go, wander'). Barth. 213. Uhlenbeck 5.

## 19.54 NEIGHBOR

|      |                   |       |                    |       |                          |
|------|-------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|--------------------------|
| Grk. | γεινός            | Goth. | garazna            | Lith. | kaimynas                 |
| NG   | γεινός            | ON    | (nā)bi, (nā)granni | Lett. | kaimin's                 |
| Lat. | vicinus           | Dan.  | nabo               | ChSl. | sasēdŭ                   |
| It.  | vicino            | Sw.   | granne             | Scr.  | sasēdŭ                   |
| Fr.  | voisin            | OE    | nāhgebūr           | Boh.  | soused                   |
| Sp.  | vecino            | ME    | nāhgebūr           | Pol.  | soused                   |
| Rum. | vecin             | NE    | neighbor           | Russ. | sosed                    |
| Ir.  | comessam, comarsa | Du.   | buurman            | Skt.  | pratiuecin-, pratiē-sin- |
| Nlr. | comarsa           | OHG   | (nāh)gibūr(o)      |       |                          |
| W.   | cymydog           | MHG   | (nāh)gebūr(e)      |       |                          |
| Br.  | amezeg            | NHG   | nachbar            |       |                          |

## SOCIAL RELATIONS

1349

Words for 'neighbor' are based on such notions as 'dwelling together or near', sometimes simply 'dwelling' or 'next, nearest', and 'of the (same) village or house'.

1. Grk. *γεινός*, NG pop. *γεινός*, beside *γεινός* 'neighboring, adjacent', *γεινός*, *γεινός*, Ion. *γεινός* 'neighborhood', etc., etym.?

2. Lat. *vicinus* (VLat. *\*vecinus* > Romance forms), deriv. of *vicus* 'quarter, street' and 'village' (19.16). Ernout-M. 1103. REW 9312.

3. Ir. *comessam* 'next, nearest' and 'neighbor', cpd. of *com-* 'with' and *nessam* 'next, nearest'. Thurneysen, Gram. 233.

Ir. *comarsa* (K. Meyer, Contrib. 433), Nlr. *comarsa*, perh. cpd. of *ursa* 'doorpost' (cf. NE *next-door neighbor*). Zimmerman, Macbain 94.

W. *cymydog*, fr. a cpd. of *cy-* 'co-' and *bydio* 'live'.

Br. *amezeg*, adj. *amezek*, MBr. *amnesec*, fr. cpd. of *am-* 'about' and *nes* 'near' (cf. Ir. *comessam*, above). Henry 9. Ernault, Diet. étym. 203.

4. Goth. *garazna*, ON *granni* (and cpd. *nāgranni* with *nā* 'near'), Sw. *granne*, fr. Goth. *razn*, ON *rann* 'house' (7.12). Feist 197.

ON *būi*, lit. 'a dweller' (in cpds.), but commonly 'neighbor' (esp. 'a neighbor acting as a juror'), also cpd. *nā-būi* (with *nā* 'near'), Dan. *nabo*; in West Gmc., OE *gebūr*, OHG *gibūr(o)*, MHG *gebūr(e)* 'dweller, husbandman', but in OHG and MHG also 'neighbor', beside the cpds. (with *nēah*, etc. 'near') OE *nēahgebūr*, ME *neighebour*, NE *neighbor*, OHG *nāhgebūr(o)*, MHG *nāchgebūr(e)*, NHG *nachbar*; Du. *buur* but more commonly cpd. *buurman* (fem. *buurvrouw*): Goth. *bauan*, ON *bāa*, OE, OHG *bāan* 'dwell' (7.11). Falk-Torp 752. Weigand-H. 2.253 f. Franck-v. W. 100 f.

5. Lith. *kaimynas*, Lett. *kaimin's*: Lith. *kaimas* 'village, country', *kienas* 'court, farmyard', Lett. *ciems* 'village', etc. (19.16). Mühl.-Endz. 2.133.

6. ChSl. *sasēdŭ*, etc., general Slavic, cpd. of *sa-* 'with' and *sēdŭ* pple. of *sēdŭ*, 'sēsti' 'sit'. Cf. Skt. *samsad-* 'assembly'. Walde-P. 2.490.

7. Skt. *pratiuecin-, pratieveca-*, cpds. of *prati-* 'toward, near, against' and *uecin-, ueca-*, lit. 'settler': *vic-* 'settle down on, enter, resort to', etc.

Skt. *pratiuāsīn-*: *prati-uas-* 'live, dwell', cpd. of *prati-* and *vas-* 'dwell, remain'.

## 19.55 STRANGER

|      |                             |       |                      |       |                      |
|------|-----------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | ξένος                       | Goth. | gasts                | Lith. | svečias              |
| NG   | ξένος                       | ON    | gestr                | Lett. | svečnieks            |
| Lat. | peregrinus, hospes, advena  | Dan.  | fremmed              | ChSl. | stranŭ               |
| It.  | forestiere, straniero       | Sw.   | främling             | Scr.  | stranac, tudinac     |
| Fr.  | étranger                    | OE    | cuma, giest          | Boh.  | cizinec              |
| Sp.  | extranjero                  | ME    | strangere, gest      | Pol.  | cudzoziemiec         |
| Rum. | străin                      | NE    | stranger             | Russ. | čужoj                |
| Ir.  | echtrann                    | Du.   | vreemdeling          | Skt.  | vaidejika-, videcin- |
| Nlr. | duine iasachta              | OHG   | gast                 |       |                      |
| W.   | ciethr, estron              | MHG   | gast, vremdelinc     |       |                      |
| Br.  | estren, diaviesiad, diuroad | NHG   | fremde(r), fremdling |       |                      |

*svečnieks*, beside Lith. *svečias* 'guest' (earlier also 'stranger'), Lett. *svečs* 'strange, foreign', prob. as orig. 'by oneself, apart', fr. the pron. stem *\*swo-* 'one's own' (cf. Grk. *ekas* 'afar', fr. the same stem). Walde-P. 2.457. Mühl.-Endz. 3.1151, 1152.

6. ChSl. *stranŭ*, SCR. *stranac*: ChSl. *strana* 'region' (19.41).

SCR. *tudinac*, Boh. *cizinec*, Pol.  *cudzoziemiec*, Russ. *čужoj*, fr. the adjs. SCR. *tud*, Boh. *cizŭ*, Pol.  *cudzy*, Russ. *čужoj*, ChSl. *tuđŭ*, *štuđŭ* 'foreign, strange', fr. a

## 19.56 GUEST

|      |                     |       |       |       |           |
|------|---------------------|-------|-------|-------|-----------|
| Grk. | ξένος               | Goth. | gasts | Lith. | svečias   |
| NG   | ξένος               | ON    | gestr | Lett. | svečnieks |
| Lat. | hospes              | Dan.  | gast  | ChSl. | stranŭ    |
| It.  | ospite              | Sw.   | gäst  | Scr.  | gost      |
| Fr.  | hôte                | OE    | giest | Boh.  | host      |
| Sp.  | huésped             | ME    | gest  | Pol.  | gość      |
| Rum. | oaspe(ite), mosafir | NE    | guest | Russ. | gost      |
| Ir.  | oegi                | Du.   | gast  | Skt.  | atithi-   |
| Nlr. | aoghe               | OHG   | gast  |       |           |
| W.   | gwestai             | MHG   | gast  |       |           |
| Br.  | ostiziad            | NHG   | gast  |       |           |

Most of the words for 'guest' are the same as, or cognate with, those once meaning also and more originally 'stranger', and included in the discussion of the latter. They have persisted more widely in the sense of 'guest'. The few others are (like NE *visitor* freq. = *guest*) based on expressions for 'visit, go visiting', these partly from 'go' or 'village'.

1. Words discussed under 'stranger' (19.55).

Grk. *ξένος*, Lat. *hospes* (> Romance words), OE *giest*, etc., general Gmc., ChSl. *gostŭ*, etc., general Slavic, Lith. *svečias*.

2. NG *μουσαφίρης*, Rum. *mosafir*, fr. Turk. *müsafir*, fr. Arab. *musafir* 'voyager, guest'. Lokotsch 1510a.

3. Ir. *oegi*, Nlr. *aoghe*, perh.: Grk. *οἰχομαι* 'go away', Arm. *ej* 'descent',

*ijamen* 'descend', cf. esp. *ifavor* 'guest'. Walde-P. 1.104. Pedersen 1.101.

W. *gwestai*, fr. *gwesta* 'visit': *gwest* 'inn, lodging, feast', Ir. *feis* 'feast', etc. Walde-P. 1.308. Pedersen 1.80, 2.23.

Br. *ostiziad*, deriv. of *ostiz* 'host' (19.51).

4. Lett. *viesis*, fem. *viēsna* = Lith. *viēsni* 'female guest'; cf. also vbs. Lith. *viēsiti*, Lett. *viēsnot* 'be on a visit, be a guest': Lith. *viēs-pats* 'Lord, sovereign', Goth. *weihs*, Lat. *vicus* 'village', etc. (19.16). Mühl.-Endz. 4.669 f. Walde-P. 1.231.

Lett. *ciemin's*, fr. *ciems* 'village' (19.16). Cf. *ciema iet* 'go on a visit', like NHG dial. *ze dorfe gehen* (Grimm 2.1277). Mühl.-Endz. 1.393, 394.

5. Skt. *atithi-* lit. 'wanderer': *at-* 'go, walk, wander'. Uhlenbeck 5.

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## SELECTED INDO-EUROPEAN SYNONYMS

## 19.57 HOST

|      |                      |       |                     |       |                        |
|------|----------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | ξενόδοκος, ξένος     | Goth. | wairdus             | Lith. | šeimininkas            |
| NG   | οἰκοδοκός            | ON    | hūsbandi, gestgjafi | Lett. | saimnieks              |
| Lat. | hospes               | Dan.  | vært                | ChSl. | gostinŭ                |
| It.  | ospite               | Sw.   | vård                | Scr.  | domačŭ                 |
| Fr.  | hôte                 | OE    | ----                | Boh.  | hostiel                |
| Sp.  | huésped              | ME    | hoste               | Pol.  | gospodarz              |
| Rum. | gazdă                | NE    | host                | Russ. | chozjain               |
| Ir.  | hiatach              | Du.   | gastheer (waard)    | Skt.  | grhastha-, atithipati- |
| Nlr. | fear tighe (deltiir) | MHG   | wirt, gastgebe(r)   |       |                        |
| W.   | (llettyr)            | NHG   | wirt, gastgeber     |       |                        |
| Br.  | ostiz                |       |                     |       |                        |

'Host', as the correlative of 'guest', is sometimes expressed by the same word, but more often by a cpd. or deriv. as 'one who receives guests'. Other terms are from 'master of the house' used with a reference to his position as 'host', or (the Gmc. group) of doubtful source.

'Host' covered the public host 'innkeeper', and in some cases this has become the most familiar or even the only current use (shown in the list by parenthesis).

1. Grk. *ξένος* 'stranger' (19.55), 'guest', and sometimes 'host' (as Hom. II. 15.532, NT Rom. 16.23), but for 'host' usually *ξενόδοκος*, later *-δόχος*, 'one who receives guests', cpd. with the root of *δοκεואι*, Att. *δέχομαι* 'receive'.

NG *ξενόδοκος*, now only 'innkeeper' (cf. *ξενόδοχος* 'hotel'). For 'host' in social sense *οἰκοδοκός*, lit. 'master of the house'.

2. Lat. *hospes*, *-itis*, It. *ospite*, etc. 'host' and 'guest', see 19.55.

Rum. *gazdă*, fr. Hung. *gazda* 'master, landlord, innkeeper'. Tiktin 667.

3. Ir. (perh. nearest approach to 'host') *biatach*, lit. 'a victualer' ('a sort of public victualer . . . who was bound to entertain travellers and the chief's soldiers whenever they came that way', Joyce, Soc. Hist. 2.174): *biathaim* 'feed, nourish'.

Nlr. *ostdiir* 'innkeeper', fr. *osta* 'lodg-

ing, inn', this fr. ME *ooste*, *oste* id. (NED s.v. *host* sb.). Otherwise 'host' expressed by *fear tighe* 'man of the home', or by some other phrase.

W. *llettyr* 'lodger, innkeeper' (also 'host' in wider sense in NT Rom. 16.23; but now?), cpd. of *llety* 'inn, lodging' and *gyr* 'man'. Other current W. word for social 'host'?

Br. *ostiz*, prob. fr. OFr. *ostisse*, *hostise* 'habitation, tenure d'hôtes'. Loth, Mots lat. 191.

4. Goth. *wairdus*, OHG, MHG, NHG *wirt*, OS *wert*, Du. *waard* (MLG *wert* > Dan. *wært*, Sw. *vård*), perh.: ON *verðr* 'meal', MHG *urte*, *urte* 'bill, account', but root connection (as: OHG *bewarōn* 'keep', etc., or: OHG (*gi*)*werēn* 'grant, perform', etc.) wholly doubtful. Walde-P. 1.285. Falk-Torp 1371. Feist 545. Weigand-H. 2.1274. Kluge-G. 694.

ON *hūsbandi* 'master of the house, husband', but freq. of the master of the house where a guest stays (cf. Fritzner s.v. 2).

ON *gestgjafi* (late and rare), cpd. of *gestr* 'guest' and last member: *gjaf* 'gift'. Probably reflection of the custom of giving presents to departing guests (cf. Vigfusson, s.v.).

OE word for 'host'? In the Gospels Lk. 10.35 *laēs* 'physician' substituted for 'host' (as Lk. 10.34 *laēchūs* 'hospital' instead of 'inn').

Lat. *hospes*, *-itis*, It. *ospite*, etc. 'host' and 'guest', see 19.55.

Rum. *gazdă*, fr. Hung. *gazda* 'master, landlord, innkeeper'. Tiktin 667.

3. Ir. (perh. nearest approach to 'host') *biatach*, lit. 'a victualer' ('a sort of public victualer . . . who was bound to entertain travellers and the chief's soldiers whenever they came that way', Joyce, Soc. Hist. 2.174): *biathaim* 'feed, nourish'.

Nlr. *ostdiir* 'innkeeper', fr. *osta* 'lodg-

1354

## SELECTED INDO-EUROPEAN SYNONYMS

ice', deriv. of *ὄφελος* 'advantage, help': Skt. *phala-* 'fruit, result, advantage', etc. Walde-P. 2.102. Boisacq 732.

Grk. *ἐπικουρία*, deriv. of *ἐπικουρος* 'helper, ally', cpd. with second part fr. *\*κορός*: Lat. *currere* 'run', *cursus* 'course', OE *hors* 'horse', etc. Walde-P. 1.428. Boisacq 266. Walde-H. 1.315.

Grk. *ἀρήγω*, with *ἀρωγός* 'helping, helper' (both mostly poet., Hom. +), perh.: ON *rækja*, OE *reccan*, etc. 'take care of, heed', fr. strong grade of the root in Lat. *regere* 'direct', etc. Walde-P. 2.365. Boisacq 76 f.

2. Lat. *iuvare* (> It. *giuvare* 'help' in special uses, 'be of service, be suitable', etc.), *adiuvare*, *adiutare* (> It. *aiutare*, Fr. *aider*, Sp. *ayudar*, Rum. *ajuta*), root connection dub. (*iuvare* also 'please', cf. *iuvandus* 'pleasant'). Walde-P. 1.201. Ernout-M. 509 f. Walde-H. 1.736 f. Specht, KZ 65.207 f., 68.52 ff. (: Skt. *av-* 'favor'). REW 172, 4638.

Lat. *succurrere* (> It. *soccorrere*, Fr. *secourir*; Sp. *socorrer*, NE *succor* (now only lit.), fr. OFr. *socorre* = Fr. *secourir* (above, 2). NED s.v.

ME *ayde*, NE *aid*, fr. Fr. *aider* (above, 2).

NE *assist*, formerly also 'stand by, be present', fr. Fr. *assister*, fr. Lat. *adiistere* 'take a stand' and sometimes 'stand by, defend, aid'. NED s.v.

5. Lith. *gelbėti*, OPruss. *galbimai* (1pl. subj.), beside Lith. *gilbti* 'be in good health, get well', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.116.

Lith. *padėti* 'put in place' and 'help', cpd. of *dėti* 'place'.

Lett. *palīdzēt*, also less commonly *līdzēt*, fr. adv. *līdz* 'like': Lith. *lygus* 'like', etc. Semantic development through 'be equal to, avail' (cf. ChSl. *pomošti*, etc.)? Mühl.-Endz. 2.480.

Grk. *ἐπιδοῦναι*, orig. 'catch by the foot, fetter', with adj. *ἐπιδοός*, adv. *ἐμ-*

## SOCIAL RELATIONS

1353

ME *oste*, *hoste* (rarely also 'guest'), NE *host*, fr. OFr. (*h*)*oste* (above, 2).

Du. *gastheer*, lit. 'guest lord'.

MHG, NHG *gastgeber*, orig. 'one who gives a banquet' (*gastmahl*).

5. Lith. *šeimininkas*, Lett. *saimnieks*, lit. 'master of the house': Lith. *šeimyna*, *šeima*, Lett. *saime* 'family' (2.82).

6. ChSl. *gostinŭ* (*παροχέας* 'host' = 'innkeeper', Lk. 10.35), Boh. *hostiel*: ChSl. *gostŭ*, etc. 'guest' (19.56).

SCR. *domačŭ*, lit. 'master of the house', fr. *dom* 'house'. Berneker 210.

Pol. *gospodarz* = SCR. *gospodar*, etc. 'master' (19.41). Berneker 335.

Russ. *chozjain* 'master' (19.41) and 'host'.

7. Skt. *grhastha-* 'householder, married Brahman conducting his own household', often used (Grhyasutras) with especial reference to his duties as 'host', similarly sometimes also *grhin-*, both fr. *grha-* 'house'.

Skt. *atithipati-*, lit. 'lord of guests' (but only AV 9.6 on the entertainment of guests).

## 19.58 HELP, AID (vbs.)

|      |   |       |                                 |       |                 |
|------|---|-------|---------------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | βοηθεῖν, ὠφελεῖν,<br>ἐπικουρεῖν, ἀρήγω                        | Goth. | hilpan                          | Lith. | gelbėti, padėti |
| NG   | βοηθεῖν   | ON    | duga, hjalpa                    | Lett. | palīdzēt        |
| Lat. | (ad)iuuāre, adiuāre,<br>succurrere, auxili-<br>um ferre, etc. | Dan.  | hjælpe                          | ChSl. | pomošti         |
|      |   | Sw.   | hjälpa                          | Scr.  | pomoči          |
|      |   | OE    | helpan                          | Boh.  | pomoci          |
| It.  | aiutare, soccorrere,<br>giuare                                | ME    | helpe, soccure, ayde            | Pol.  | pomods          |
|      |   | NE    | help, aid, assist (suc-<br>cor) | Russ. | pomoč'          |
| Fr.  | aider, secourir   | Du.   | helfen                          | Skt.  | av-             |
| Sp.  | ayudar  | OHG   | helfan                          | Av.   | av-             |
| Rum. | ajuta   | MHG   | helfen                          |       |                 |
| Ir.  | fortiag, foreith, co-<br>brain                                | NHG   | helfen                          |       |                 |
| NIr. | cabruighim, foirim,<br>cuidighim                              |       |                                 |       |                 |
| W.   | cymorth, cynnorthwyo  |       |                                 |       |                 |
| Br.  | skoazia   |       |                                 |       |                 |



'oppose' (cf. Boh., Pol. *odpor* 'resistance'), cpd. of ChSl. *p(ř)řeti se* 'contend, dispute' (cf. *přija* 'strife', 19.62). Tiktin 1091.

3. Ir. *derban* (3sg.), fr. \**di-ro-ben-*, opposite of *lorban* 'is of service, promotes', OIr. *dororban* 'profeit', fr. \**to-ro-ben-*, cpd. of *ben-* 'be', used like Lat. *prō-sum*, *prōd-esse*. Pedersen 2.445. Somewhat otherwise Thurneysen, Gram. 529.

Ir. *baccaim*, Nlr. *bacaim*, also and orig. 'hack, lame', fr. Ir. *bacc*, Nlr. *bac* 'crook, hook, shackle', etc. = W. *bach* 'angle, corner', Br. *bac'h* 'crook, hook'. Walde-P. 2.105.

Ir. *coisaim* 'blame' and 'hinder', Nlr. *coiscim* 'hinder, prevent, forbid', fr. *con-sech-*, cpd. of *sech-* = IE \**sek-* in words for 'point out' and 'say', Lat. *insece*, etc. (18.22). Pedersen 2.618.

Nlr. *toirneascain* 'hinder, prevent, forbid', fr. Ir. *tairmesc-* in *tarmasca* 'disturb', *tairmesc* 'disturbance', cpd. of *mesc-* 'mix' (: Lat. *miscēre* 'mix', etc.). Pedersen 2.577, 612 ftn. Thurneysen, Gram. 531.

W. *rhwystr*, fr. *rhwystr* 'hindrance, obstacle' : Ir. *riastraim* 'distort', and prob. fr. \**reigstro* : W. *rhym* 'bond, bound', fr. the root in Ir. *conrigh* 'bind', Lat. *corrīgā* 'strap', etc. Walde-P. 2.347 (without W. *rhwystr*, etc.). Pedersen 2.445 (1.87). Morris Jones 140.

W. *atal*, also and orig. 'withhold, stop, check', cpd. of *al-* 'back' and *dal-* 'hold' (11.15). Morris Jones, 186.

Br. *herzel*, *harzel*, fr. *harz* 'obstacle, limit', etym.? Henry 158.

Br. *mirout* 'guard, preserve' (11.24) and 'prevent'.

4. Goth. *warjan* (reg. for *waldō*) = ON *verja*, OE *werian*, OHG *werjan* 'defend, ward off, avoid' (NHG *wehren*) : Skt. *vr-* 'cover, ward off, hinder, pre-

vent', etc. Walde-P. 1.280 f. Feist 551 f. Feist-Torp 1369. Goth. *ga-latjan*, *ana-latjan* (both for *lykōrra*; *latjan* 'delay, loiter'), ON *letja* (but esp. 'dissuade'), OE *lettan*, ME *lette*, NE *let* (obs.), OHG *lezzan* (rare), MHG *letzen* (mostly 'injure', as NHG *verletzen*), Du. *beletten*, etc. : Goth. *lats* 'lazy', OE *læt*, OHG *lass* 'slow, lazy, late', etc. Walde-P. 2.395. Feist 322 f. NED s.v. *let* v.?

ON *hindra* (but mostly 'keep back, delay'), Dan. (*for*)*hindre*, Sw. (*för*)*hindra*, OE *hindrian* (also 'injure'), ME *hindre*, NE *hinder*, Du. (*ver*)*hinderen*, OHG *hinderen*, MHG, NHG (*ver*)*hinderen*, all orig. 'keep back', fr. the adv. seen in Goth. *hindar*, OE *hinder*, OHG *hinter* 'behind'. Falk-Torp 406. NED s.v. *hinder*.

Dan. *hemme*, Sw. *hämme*, MHG, NHG *hemmen* 'obstruct, restrain, hinder' = ON *hemja* 'restrain', Salic Frank. *chamian* 'press', ME *hemme*, NE *hem* 'confine' (now mostly *hem in*; NED s.v. *hem* v. 3) : OE *hem* 'border', OE, OFris. *ham*, LG *hamm* 'inclosed land, pasture, meadow', Lith. *kamoti* 'press, oppress', etc. Walde-P. 1.388. Falk-Torp 396.

Dan. *forbygge*, Sw. *förebysga*, cpds. of *bygge*, *byggja* in their earlier sense of 'dwell' or 'be', hence 'forestall, prevent'. Sw. *förekomma*, Du. *voorkomen*, lit. 'come before', hence 'forestall, prevent'.

NE *prevent*, in earlier use 'act beforehand, anticipate, forestall', fr. pple. of Lat. *praevenire* 'come before, anticipate' and also 'prevent'. NED s.v.

NHG *vorbeugen*, lit. 'bend forward', hence 'avert, prevent'.

5. Lith. *klūdyti*, beside (but for 'hinder' now more usual than) *kliūti* 'catch on, hit on, befall', also 'hinder' (NSB s.v.) : Lett. *kl'ūt* 'reach, befall', sb. *kl'ūme* 'hindrance, defeat', prob. with

development of 'hinder' from 'get caught' on something and so 'be in the way' : Lat. *claudere* 'shut', *claudere* 'limp' and ultimately the group of words for 'hook, peg, key', Grk. *κλείς*, Lat. *clāvis*, etc. Walde-P. 1.492 f. Mühl.-Endz. 2.241. Lith. *trukdyti* 'hinder, obstruct, delay', caus. of *trūkti* 'delay' beside *trūkti* 'tear' and 'be wanting'. Walde-P. 1.731. Leskien, Ablaut 312. Mühl.-Endz. 4.251.

Lett. *kavēt* 'pass the time, delay' and 'hinder', with sb. *kautra* 'delay, indecision', perh. : Lat. *cavēre* 'beware', etc. Walde-P. 1.370. Mühl.-Endz. 2.181 f.

6. ChSl. (*vūz*)*braniti*, see under 'forbid' (18.38).

SCR. *prijeti* : *prijeti* 'go over, cross', cpd. of vb. for 'go', with development through 'make crooked' (cf. *prijek* 'crooked') or 'interfere'.

SCR. *smetati* 'disturb' and 'hinder', cpd. of *metati* 'throw', with development through 'throw down, disturb'.

Boh. *překažeti* 'hinder' beside *překaziti* 'hinder, spoil', cpd. of *kaziti* 'spoil' = ChSl. *kaziti* 'destroy', caus. of *česnati* 'disappear'. Berneker 498.

## 19.61 CUSTOM

|      |                               |       |                           |       |                             |
|------|-------------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|
| Grk. | ἔθος, ἥθος (ῥῆμος, ἔθης)      | Goth. | sidus, biuhti             | Lith. | paprotys, papratimas        |
| NG   | ἔθωμ                          | ON    | sidr, vani                | Lett. | ieradums, ieraša            |
| Lat. | mūs, cōnsuetūdō               | Dan.  | skik, sæd, sædvane        | ChSl. | obyčaj, nraŭ                |
| It.  | costume, usanza               | Sw.   | sædvänja, sæd, vana       | SCR.  | obyčaj, navada              |
| Fr.  | costume (pl.), coutume, usage | OE    | þæau, sidu, gewuna        | Boh.  | obycej, zvyk, mrav          |
| Sp.  | costumbre, usanza             | ME    | custume, usage, thew      | Pol.  | obycaj, zwyyczaj            |
| Rum. | obicei, moravuri (pl.)        | NE    | custom, usage             | Russ. | obyčaj, nraŭ (pl.)          |
| Ir.  | bēs, gnās                     | OHG   | sede, gebruik             | Skt.  | ācāra-, vyavahāra-, svadhā- |
| Nlr. | nās, beas, gnās               | MHG   | sile, gevon(e), gevonheit |       |                             |
| W.   | defod, arfer                  |       |                           |       |                             |
| Br.  | boaz, giz                     | NHG   | sille, (ge)brauch         |       |                             |

Words for 'custom' ('customs' of a people, etc.) are most commonly derived from words for 'one's own' or 'be accustomed to, use, usual' ('usual' in one case from 'known'). A few seem to be

connected with words of emotional value (ChSl. *nraŭ*, perh. Lat. *mūs*), in which case they must have first denoted mental habits. Words for 'way, manner' (9.992), most of them not included in

(fr. \**ob-vyk-*), also Boh. *zvyk*, Pol. *zwyczaj* (\**z-vyk-*) : ChSl. *vyknati*, SCR. *naviknati se*, Pol. *navyknąć*, etc. 'become accustomed, accustom oneself', Goth. *bi-uhts*, etc. (above 5). Walde-P. 1.111. Brückner 638. Trautmann 335.

ChSl. *nraŭ* (rare beside *obyčaj*; Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 372), Boh. *mrav*, Russ. *nraŭ* (pl.), in modern Slavic esp. 'manners, habit' : Lith. *noras* 'desire, will', *norėti* 'wish', etc. (16.61). Walde-P. 2.333. Trautmann 197 f.

SCR. *navada* : *navaditi* 'make accustomed to', Slov. *vaditi* id. also 'lure', Russ. *vadit* 'lure, attract', *povadnyj* 'customary, habitual', all perh. : ChSl. *vaditi* 'accuse', Lith. *vadinti* 'call, name', Skt. *vad-* 'speak', with complicated semantic development, such as 'speak' to 'speak against, accuse', and also through 'call' to 'lure, attract' and 'make accustomed to'?

Miklosich 373 (with separation). Trautmann 337 (without mention of the SCR. words). Rječnik Akad. 7.725 f.

8. Skt. *ācāra-* : *ā-car-* 'approach, manage, behave, exercise', cpd. of *car-* 'go, move, proceed'.

Skt. *vyavahāra-*, lit. 'action, practice, behavior' (later esp. 'legal procedure') : *vi-ava-hr-* 'have intercourse with, act, behave, deal with', cpd. of *hr-* 'take, carry'.

Let. *ieradums*, *ieraša* (also *paradums*, *paraša*) : *ie-rast* (*pa-rast*) 'become accustomed' (*parast* also 'find'), cpds. of *rast* = Lith. *rasti* 'find' (11.32). Mühl.-Endz. 2.55, 56, 3.86, 87.

7. ChSl. *obyčaj*, etc., general Slavic

this list, may also be used in the sense of 'custom', like NE *manners and customs* of a people, *falk-ways*.

1. IE \**s(w)dh-*, deriv. of the refl. pron. stem \**s(w)o-* in Skt. *sva-* 'own', Grk. *ōs* 'his, her', etc. Walde-P. 2.456. Falk-Torp 1230.

Grk. *ēthos* (whence late adj. *ēthos* 'customary' and sb. *ēthos*, the usual NG word) and *ēthos* (in pl. also 'accustomed places, haunts'; only so in Hom.); Goth. *sidus*, ON *sidr*, Dan. *sæd*, Sw. *sæd*, OE *sidu*, Du. *zede*, OHG *situ*, MHG *sile*, NHG *sille*; Skt. *svadhā-* (Vedic, also 'one's own power, pleasure, share', etc.).

2. Grk. *ῥῆμος*, in early use often 'custom', hence 'law' (21.11) : *ῥῆμα* 'deal out', allot', Goth., etc. *niman* 'take'. Walde-P. 2.330. Boisacq 662 f.

Grk. *ēthos*, in Hom. 'way, custom, right', hence later 'lawsuit' (21.13) : *δεικνύμι* 'point out', Skt. *diṣ-* 'point out', sb. *diṣ-* 'direction', etc. Walde-P. 1.776. Boisacq 170.

3. Lat. *mūs* (pl. *mōrēs* > Fr. *mœurs*), etym. dub.; possibly (with extension from mental habits) : Goth. *mōps* 'anger', OE *mōd* 'mood', etc. Walde-P. 2.239. Ernout-M. 633 f.

Lat. *cōnsuetūdō* (> It. *costume*, Fr. *coutume*, Sp. *costumbre*), fr. *cōnsuēscere*, cpd. of *suēscere* 'become accustomed, be used to', prob. fr. the same root as Grk. *ēthos*, etc. (above, 1). Walde-P. 2.456. Ernout-M. 997.

It., Sp. *usanza*, OFr. *usance*, fr. *usant-*, pple. stem of VLat. \**ūsāre* (It. *usare*, Fr. *user*, etc.) for *ūtī* (past pple. *ūsus*) 'use' (9.243). REW 9093. Gamillscheg 875.

Fr. *usage*, deriv. of *us* (rare, only *les us et les coutumes*), Lat. *ūsus* 'use, exercise', also 'habit, custom' : *ūtī* 'use'. REW 9099. Gamillscheg 875.

Rum. *obicei*, fr. the Slavic, cf. ChSl. *obyčaj*, etc. (below, 7).

Rum. *nārav* (arch. or pop.; in modern lit. instead *moravuri* pl., re-formation after Lat. *mōrēs*), fr. Slavic, cf. ChSl. *nraŭ*, etc. (below, 7). Tiktin 1035.

4. Ir. *bēs*, Nlr. *bēas*, perh. loanword fr. W. *moes* ('good') manners' (for \**boes*) = Br. *boaz*, perh. orig. 'peculiarity, eccentricity' : Ir. *bæs* 'foolishness', *baeth* 'simple', Gall. *bæs* 'more feritatis', but root connection dub. Pedersen 1.56, 540.

Ir. *gnās* = W. (*g*)*navs* 'nature, disposition' (> Mir., Nlr. *nās* 'custom') : Ir. *gnāth* 'usual, known' (in Nlr. also sb. = *gnās*), W. *gnavd* 'customary' : Lat. *nōtus*, Grk. *γινώσκω* 'known', etc. Pedersen 1.23, 48 f. Walde-P. 1.579.

W. *arfer*, also vb. 'to use, accustom', cpd. of the root \**her-* (IE \**her-*) 'carry' (only in cpds. in Britannie, W. *cymeryd* 'take', etc.). Walde-P. 2.472.

W. *defod*, MW *defawd*, orig.? Cf. *def* 'right, one's own' (in Evans and earlier editions of Spurrell).

Br. *giz*, fr. Fr. *guise* 'manner, way, fashion' (Gmc., OHG *wisa*, NHG *weise*, etc.). Henry 132.

5. Goth. *biuhti*, deriv. of *biuhts* 'accustomed', cpd. *bi-uhta-* : Lith. *j-unkti* 'become accustomed to', ChSl. *učiiti* 'teach', Skt. *okas-* 'pleasure, dwelling-place', etc. Walde-P. 1.111. Feist 97.

ON *vani*, Sw. *vana* (Dan. *vane*, mostly 'habit'), in cpds. Dan. *sædvane*, Sw. *sædvänja* (for *sæd*, *sed*, cf. above, 1), with ablaut OE *gewuna*, OHG *giwona*, MHG *gewone*, *gewonheit* (Du. *gewoonte*, NHG *gewohnheit*, mostly 'habit'), fr. the adjs. ON *vanr*, OE *gewun*, OHG *giwon* 'accustomed, usual' : ON *una* 'be satisfied with', OHG *wonēn*, *wonōn* 'be used to, dwell, remain', etc., Skt. *van-* 'wish, desire, get, win', etc. Walde-P. 1.260. Falk-Torp 1350.

Dan. *skik* = Sw. *skik* ('good') condition, (good) form', fr. MLG *schik* 'form,

Boh. *předejiti* 'come before, forestall, prevent', cpd. of vb. for 'go, come'.

Pol. *przeszkodzić*, cpd. of *szkodzić* 'harm, injure' (11.28).

Pol. *zapobiedz* 'run out of biedz' 'run' (10.46), cf. *zabiedz* 'run to' and in phrases 'get in the way of, prevent'. Semantic development as in Lat. *obstare* (above, 2) and late Lat. *obiāre*, NE *obviate*.

Russ. *mešať* (*pomešať*) 'mix, stir' and 'disturb, hinder, prevent' : ChSl. *měsiti* 'mix', Lst. *miscēre* 'mix', etc. Berneker 2.52 f.

Russ. *prepjatstvoval*, fr. sb. *prepjatstvie* 'obstacle, hindrance', fr. *prepjat* 'hinder' (obs.; hence also *prepona* 'obstacle', now obs.), cpd. of the verb seen in ChSl. *pěti* 'stretch' (cf. *patŭ* 'fetter'), Russ. *pjat*, *pnut*, *pinat* 'strike with the foot, kick', etc. Walde-P. 2.661.

7. Skt. *rudh-*, Av. *rud-* 'obstruct, avert, exclude, hinder, prevent', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.283.

Skt. *vr-* 'cover, ward off, hinder, prevent' : Goth. *warjan*, etc. (above, 4).

(fr. \**ob-vyk-*), also Boh. *zvyk*, Pol. *zwyczaj* (\**z-vyk-*) : ChSl. *vyknati*, SCR. *naviknati se*, Pol. *navyknąć*, etc. 'become accustomed, accustom oneself', Goth. *bi-uhts*, etc. (above 5). Walde-P. 1.111. Brückner 638. Trautmann 335.

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SCR. *navada* : *navaditi* 'make accustomed to', Slov. *vaditi* id. also 'lure', Russ. *vadit* 'lure, attract', *povadnyj* 'customary, habitual', all perh. : ChSl. *vaditi* 'accuse', Lith. *vadinti* 'call, name', Skt. *vad-* 'speak', with complicated semantic development, such as 'speak' to 'speak against, accuse', and also through 'call' to 'lure, attract' and 'make accustomed to'?

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7. ChSl. *obyčaj*, etc., general Slavic

|      |                                    |       |                            |       |                              |
|------|------------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|-------|------------------------------|
| Grk. | ἔρις, νείκος                       | Goth. | haifsts, sakjō, þwair-hei  | Lith. | ginčas, barnis, vaidas       |
| NG   | μάλονμα, καθῆσθαι                  | ON    | strīð, deila, þrata        | Lett. | k'ilda, strīde               |
| Lat. | lis, iurgium, riza                 | Dan.  | strid, trætte, twist       | ChSl. | přija (sávada)               |
| It.  | contesa, disputa, alterco          | Sw.   | strid, twist, grål, tráta  | SCR.  | razdor, svada, kava          |
| Fr.  | dispute, querelle                  | OE    | geftit, sacu, cēas(t)      | Boh.  | hadka, spor, svár            |
| Sp.  | contienda, reyerta                 | ME    | strif, chest, flit, sake   | Pol.  | sprzeeczka, spór, kłótnia    |
| Rum. | ceartă, gluceava                   | NE    | strife, quarrel            | Russ. | ssora, razdor, rasprja, spor |
| Ir.  | imbresan, debuiht, es-sinū, cininn | Du.   | strif, twist               | Skt.  | kalaha-, vivāda-, dvandva-   |
| Nlr. | imreas, bruighean, achran          | OHG   | strif, hader, zwist        | Av.   | mrvi-, stamba-               |
| W.   | cynnen, ymyrson, ymrafael          | NHG   | streit, hader, zwist, zank |       |                              |
| Br.  | dael, tabut                        |       |                            |       |                              |

Words for 'strife' may in part cover also 'armed strife', e.g. Grk. *ἔρις* in Homer, OHG *strif* commonly and still NHG *streizant* 'battle-ax'. But for words in which the notion of violence is dominant, see under 'fight' and 'battle' (20.11, 20.12). Several of the words denoted primarily 'legal strife, litigation', for which see also 21.13.

Besides the words listed, themselves differing in nuance, there are many others, like NE *row* (now the common colloq. term), *brawl*, *wrangle*, *squabble*, Fr. *rire*, Rum. *sfordă* (fr. Slavic), NG *ῥακάωμια*, etc.

1. Grk. *ἔρις* : *ἐρνύμι*, *ἐρίνω* 'rouse, stir up, incite', Lat. *eriri* 'rise', Skt. *r-* 'move', *sam-arana-* 'strife, battle' (20.12). Walde-P. 1.136 ff. Boisacq 280.

Grk. *νείκος* (mostly poet., but common prose word *φιλονεκία* 'love of strife, rivalry'; freq. v.l. *-νίκια* as if fr. *νίκα* 'victory'), perh. : Lith. *apnikti* 'fall upon, befall', Lett. *apnikti* 'become bored'. Walde-P. 2.321. Boisacq 660.

NG *μάλονμα*, also 'scolding, reproof', fr. *μαλόνω* 'scold, reprove, quarrel', fr. \**μαλδω* = *μαλίζω* 'smooth out, make level', deriv. of *μαλός* 'smooth, level'. Semantic development through 'correct, reprove' to 'scold, quarrel'. Hatzidakis, Einl. 155, Meo. 1.140 f.

Fr. *querelle*, fr. Lat. *querēla*, *querella*

OE *geftit*, ME *flit*, OHG *fliz* (also 'zeal, industry', NHG *fleiss*), OS *flit* 'fight, zeal in combat', with vbs. OE *flitan* 'quarrel, strive', OHG *flīzan* 'be zealous', etc., etym. dub., perh. fr. the root seen in Lett. *plīties* 'press, obtrude, demand'. Petersson, PBB 38.316. Walde-P. 2.684 (adversely).

OE *cēas*, later *cēast* (with additional suffix), ME *chest*, fr. Lat. *causa* 'lawsuit'. Holthausen 45. NED s.v. *chest*, sb.?

ME *strif*, NE *strife*, see above under ON *strif*.

NE *quarrel* (ME 'complaint, ground of complaint', etc.), fr. OFr. *querelle* (above, 2). NED s.v.

Du. *twist* (MLG *twist* > Dan., Sw. *twist*), late MHG, NHG *zwist*, lit. 'division, split' (cf. ON *twistra* 'divide, scatter'), from Gmc. \**twis-* 'apart' (cf. Goth. *twis-standan* 'separate'), orig. 'in two' : Goth. *twai* 'two', etc. Walde-P. 1.820. Falk-Torp 1305 f. Weigand-H. 2.1357 f.

MHG, NHG *hader* : OHG *hadu*, OE *heada*, Ir. *oath*, etc. 'battle' (20.12). Weigand-H. 1.788.

NHG *zank*, fr. vb. *zanken*, late MHG *zanken*, *zenken*, perh. deriv. of *zanke* 'prong, point'. Weigand-H. 2.1302. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 662. Kluge-G. 703.

throw'. Cf. W. *cyngor* 'council'. Pedersen 2.500, 501 Ann.

Nr. *cealg*, lit. 'deceit' (Ir. *celg*, 16.68), but also 'plot, conspiracy', also cpd. *coimh-chealg* with *comh* 'con'.

W. *cydfuriad*, cpd. of *cyd* 'con-' and *burriad* 'design, purpose, intention' (17.41).

Br. *irienn*, also and orig. 'woof' (in weaving), cpd. of *lien* 'linen'. Cf. Fr. *trame* in similar use. Ernault, Dict. étym. 317.

Br. *kavailh*, prob. fr. Fr. *cabale* 'cabal'.

4. ON *samblástr*, deriv. of *samblása* 'conspire', lit. 'blow together' (translations of Lat. *conspiratio*, *conspirare*).

OE *gecwādrēden* (gl. *conspiratio*, also 'agreement'), and *gecwis* (gl. *conspiratio*), both: *gecwēdan* 'say, speak, arrange, agree'; *rāden* 'condition, stipulation'. Cf. Goth. *gaqiss* 'agreement'.

NE *plot*, same word as *plot* 'small surface' (*plot of land*) used also for 'plan, scheme', but as 'conspiracy' doubtless influenced by *complot* used only in this sense, and prob. itself also fr. Fr. *pelote* (above, 2). NED s.v. Weekly, Words Ancient and Modern 93 ff.

5. Lith. *samokslas*, cpd. of *sa-* (*sam-*, *son-*) 'together, with' and *mokslas* 'knowledge, teaching'.

Lith. *suokalbīs*: *su-si-kalbēti* 'discuss, confer', refl. cpd. of *kalbēti* 'speak'.

6. Boh. *spiknutí*, Pol. *spiknienie*, with vbs. Boh. *spiknouti se*, Pol. *spiknąć się*, etc. (cf. also Boh. *píkel* 'intrigue'), root connection? Brückner 509 takes from \**pik-* in the imitative group Boh. *píkati*, Pol. *pikać*, Russ. *píkat'* 'peep', etc. (Walde-P. 2.70), but without comment on the semantic development (through notion of a secret cabal? Russ. *píkat'* is used also like NE colloq. *don't peep* 'don't utter a sound').

Pol. *spisek*, fr. *spis* 'list, inventory, census': *spisac'* 'write up, make a list, register', etc., cpd. of *pisac'* 'write'. Orig. 'list (of conspirators)'. Brückner 509.

Russ. *zavovor*, cpd. of *govor* 'rumor, jargon' = ChSl. *govorá* 'noise' (cf. Russ. *govorit'* 'speak', 18.21).

7. Skt. *kapatāprabandha-*, cpd. of *kapatā-* 'fraud, deceit, cheating' and *prabandha-* 'connection, band, tie'.

## 19.64 COMMON (adj.)

|      |           |       |                             |       |                     |
|------|-----------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | κοινός    | Goth. | gaimains                    | Lith. | bendras             |
| NG   | κοινός    | ON    | félags-, sameigin           | Lett. | kuopejs, kuopis     |
| Lat. | communis  | Dan.  | fælles                      | ChSl. | obščij              |
| It.  | commune   | Sw.   | gemensam                    | SCR.  | zajednički          |
| Fr.  | commun    | OE    | gemæne                      | Boh.  | obecný, společný    |
| Sp.  | común     | ME    | commun, imene               | Pol.  | (u)spólny           |
| Rum. | comin     | NE    | common                      | Russ. | obščij              |
| Ir.  | coicenn   | Du.   | gemeinschappelijck          | Skt.  | sāmānya-, sādharma- |
| Nr.  | coicheann | OHG   | gimeini                     |       |                     |
| W.   | cyffredin | MHG   | gemein                      |       |                     |
| Br.  | boutin    | NHG   | gemeinsam, gemeinschaftlich |       |                     |

'Common' is understood here as 'belonging to two or more', the primary sense, from which are derived words for notions of still more definitely social im-

port, as 'community', 'companion, partner', 'commonwealth', etc.

But various secondary uses such as 'public', 'general', 'frequent' (esp. in NE

common), and especially the derogatory 'common, vulgar, inferior', are 'common' (in sense here intended) to many of the words listed, and in some cases the old words have come to be used mainly or only in the derogatory sense (as NE *mean*, NHG *gemein*, Du. *gemeen*, Dan., Sw. *gemen*).

A cognate group, common to Italic and Germanic (strictly Goth. and West Gmc.), is derived from a root meaning 'change, exchange' mostly with a prefix for 'together'. Others are derived from expressions for 'together' (these in part from 'bind', 'heap', etc.) or various combinations with prefix for 'together'.

1. IE \**moini-*, fr. the root \**mei-* 'exchange' in Skt. *mayate*, Lett. *mil*, and with *i*-extension, Lat. *mūtare*, etc. Walde-P. 2.240 f. Ernout-M. 642 f. Walde-H. 1.255. Feist 190 f.

Lat. *communis* (> Romance and ME, NE words), OLat. *comoinis*, Osc. *muiniku* (nom. sg. fem.), Goth. *gaimains*, OE *gemæne*, ME *imene* (rare; ME *mene*, NE *mean* in secondary senses), OHG *gimeini*, MHG *gemein*, MLG *gemēn* (> Dan., Sw. *gemen*), Du. *gemeen* (all these now in derogatory sense; in older sense now NHG *gemeinsam* or *gemeinschaftlich*, Du. *gemeenschappelijck*, Sw. *gemensam*); cf. Lith. *mainas* 'exchange', Lat. *mānus* 'service, office', etc.

2. Grk. *κοινός*, fr. \**κοι-ος* = Lat. *cum*, early com 'with'. Walde-P. 1.258. Boisacq 482.

3. Ir. *coicenn*, Nlr. *coicheann*, cpd. of *com-* 'with' (: Lat. *cum*) and (?) the root of *techtain* 'own, possess' (11.12). Pedersen 1.327 (without comment on the verbal root).

W. *cyffredin*, earlier *cyffred* (also vb. 'comprise, embrace'): Br. *kevel* 'together', Ir. *combart*, *comfert* 'conception' (of a woman), fr. \**com-ad-ber-* cpd. of *berim* 'bear, carry'. Pedersen 1.476 f.

Br. *boutin*, fr. Fr. *butin* 'booty', through notion of 'common property'. Henry 41.

4. Goth. *gaimains*, etc., above, 1.

ON *félags* in *tílfélags* 'in common' and cpds. like *félagsfe* 'common property', etc., gen. of *félag* 'partnership' (cf. *félagi* 'partner' late OE *feolaga*, NE  *fellow*), cpd. of *fē* 'property'. So Dan. *fælles*, fr. *fælligs*, gen. of *fællig* = ON *félag*. Falk-Torp 288.

ON *sameigin*, *sameiginligr*, lit. 'having joint possession', fr. *sam-* 'together' and *eiga* 'own, possess'.

Sw. *gemensam*, see above, 1.

5. Lith. *bendras* (also as sb. 'partner, companion'), fr. IE \**bhndh-* 'bind' in Goth. *bindan*, Skt. *bandh-*, etc. (9.16). Walde-P. 2.152.

Lett. *kuopejs*, *kuopis*, fr. *kuopa* 'heap', loc. adv. *kuopā* 'together, in common'. Mühl-Endz. 2.344 f.

6. ChSl. *obščij* (SCR. *opci* obs. or dial.; Pol. *obcy* 'strange, foreign'), Russ. *obščij* (fr. ChSl.), fr. \**obšč-jo-*, deriv. of *obšč* 'about', formed like Skt. *apa-tya*, *upa-tya*, etc. Hence also ChSl. *obščinā*, Boh. *obecný* (Pol. *obecný* 'present, at hand'). Brückner 369 f.

SCR. *zajednički*, fr. *zajedno* 'together, at the same place or time', lit. 'at one', fr. *jedan* 'one'.

Boh. *pospolný*, *společný* (through *spolek* 'union'), Pol. *spólny*, *wspólny*, fr. advs. Boh. *spol*, *pospol*, Pol. *spół*, *współ* 'together', lit. 'on the same side', fr. *s-* = ChSl. *sč-* 'with' and a form = ChSl. *polū* 'side, shore' (mostly in phrases like *obū omū polū* 'on that side, beyond'). Brückner 429.

7. Skt. *sāmāna-* 'same, like, common', whence *sāmānya*, deriv. of *sam-* 'together', *sama-* 'same, like'.

Skt. *sādharma-*, cpd. deriv. (with *vddhi*) of *sa-* 'together' and *dhr-* 'hold'.

cpds. of Lith. *tikti* 'fit, suit', Lett. *tīkt* 'please' (16.21).

Lett. *sastapt*, cpd., with *sa-* and refl. *s*, of *tapt* 'attain' also 'become' = Lith. *tapti* 'become' (9.92). Mühl-Endz. 3.745.

6. ChSl. *sūrešti*, SCR. *sresti*, Russ. *vsresti*, cpds. of the same root as in ChSl. *obrešti* 'find' (11.32).

Boh. *polkati*, Pol. (*spolkać*, cpds. of the root seen in ChSl. *potuknati* 'hit, prick', Pol. *tkać* 'thrust, stick', etc. (: Grk. *rukos* 'hammer'). Walde-P. 2.615. Miklosich 368. Trautmann 331. Brückner 571.

7. Skt. *asad-* 'reach, approach, happen on, meet', cpd. of *sad-* 'sit'.

19.71. Note on terms for members of a trade or profession. Most of the more important of these, or words from which they are readily supplied (as 'miller', fr. 'mill'), are included in various other chapters. Thus 'hunter' (3.79); 'herdsman' (3.18); 'farmer' (8.11); 'craftsman, artisan' (9.42); 'carpenter' (9.43);

## 19.72 WHORE, PROSTITUTE

|      |                                    |       |                           |       |                                   |
|------|------------------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk. | πόρνη                              | Goth. | kalkjō                    | Lith. | kekšė, kurva                      |
| NG   | πόρνη                              | ON    | hōra, pūla, skakja        | Lett. | mauka, kurva                      |
| Lat. | meretrix, scortum, lupa, prostiūta | Dan.  | hore, skøge               | ChSl. | ljubodějica, blādnica             |
| It.  | putana, meretrice, prostituta      | Sw.   | hora, sköka               | SCR.  | bludnica, kurva                   |
| Fr.  | putain, prostituée                 | OE    | mīlestre, hōre            | Boh.  | kurva, nevěsta                    |
| Sp.  | pula, ramera, prostiūta            | ME    | hore, strumpet, putane    | Pol.  | kurwa, nierządnicza, uszetecznica |
| Rum. | curvă, prostituată                 | NE    | uhore, prostitute, harlot | Russ. | bljad', bljudnica                 |
| Ir.  | meretech, stripach                 | Du.   | hoer, deern               | Skt.  | veçyā, gamikā-, punica-           |
| Nr.  | mērdreac, stripach                 | OHG   | huora                     | Av.   | jahi-, jahikā-, kändiri-          |
| W.   | putain                             | MHG   | huore                     |       |                                   |
| Br.  | gast, vilgen                       | NHG   | hure, dirne, metze        |       |                                   |

For the 'prostitute' there is a wealth of terms, some the more official and legal like NE *prostitute*, some euphemistic (or originally so) like Fr. *courtesane*, NE *courtesan*, Fr. *fille de joie*, and the greatest variety of popular words, of

which only the most important are listed here. These latter include words for 'dear one' (so prob. the Gmc. group, NE *whore*, etc.), 'woman, girl, bride', which came to be used in derogatory sense, and opprobrious epithets of diverse sources.

1. Grk. *πόρνη*: *πέριμη* 'sell' (11.83), hence the female slave sold for prostitution. Walde-P. 2.40. Boisacq 805.

NG *curvāva*, fr. It. *puttana* (below, 2).

2. Lat. *meretrix*, lit. 'one who earns wages': *merere* 'earn, gain'. Hence It. *meretrice* (learned form), and by dissim. *meretriz* (Lex Salica), OE *mīlestre*, etc. Ernout-M. 609. REW 5523.

Lat. *scortum* 'skin, hide' (4.12), also 'prostitute'; cf. vulg. Fr. *peau*, NHG *balg*. Ernout-M. 909. Hammarström, Erans 23.104 ff., Glotta 20.203.

Lat. *lupa*, properly 'she-wolf' (fem. to *lupus* 'wolf'). The sense 'prostitute' is preserved in the Romance languages Sp. *loba*, It. *lupa*, and esp. Fr. *loue* (cf. Benveniste, *Mélanges Vendryes* 55 f.). Ernout-M. 567.

Let. *prōstīlita* (Plin. +), fem. of pass. pple. of *prōstītuere* cpd. of *statuere* 'place', hence lit. 'place in front', in actual use 'expose publicly to prostitution, prostitute'. Hence It., Sp. *prostīlita*, Fr. *prostītuée*, NE *prostitute*, etc., now virtually an international Eur. official term, together with forms for the institution 'prostitution', e.g. NHG *prostituierte*, *prostitution*, Russ. *prostītulka*, *prostitucija*, and other similar Gmc. and Slavic forms omitted in the list.

OFr. *pule*, Fr. *putain*, Sp. Prov. *puta*, Prov. *putana* (> It. *puttana*), prob. fr. fem. of Vlat. \**pūllus* (cf. Oit. *pullo* 'boy', *putta* 'girl', Lat. *pūlus*, Ernout-M. 829), with derogatory use like that of NHG *dirne*, etc. Diez 259. REW 6890. Otherwise (fr. fem. of OFr. *put*, Lat. *putidus* 'stinking') Gamillscheg 726, Bloch 2.195.

Fr. *courtesane* (> NE *courtesan*), orig. 'woman of the court', in present sense since 16th cent. Wartburg 2.851. NED s.v. *courtesan*.

Sp. *ramera*, Port. *ramiera*, fem. to

*ramero*, *ramiero* 'young bird of prey', lit. 'little branch', fr. *ramo* 'branch' (fr. Lat. *ramus* id.). REW 7035.

Rum. *curvă*, fr. Slavic (below, 6).

3. Ir. *meretech*, Nlr. *mērdreac*, fr. Lat. *meretrix* (above, 2). Vendryes, De hib. voc. 155.

Ir. *stripach*, Nlr. *striopach*, fr. Lat. *stuprum* 'dishonor, disgrace, debauchery' (with metathesis, cf. NE *strumpet*, below). Vendryes, De hib. voc. 180.

W. *putain*, prob. fr. ME *putaine* (rather than directly fr. Fr. *putain*). Parry-Williams 173.

Br. *gast* = W. *gast* 'bitch', etym.? Loth. Rk 36.166 (vs. Morris Jones 139).

Br. *vilgen*, deriv. of *vil* 'bad, ugly' (fr. Fr. *vil*). Henry 276.

4. Goth. *kalkjō* (or *kalki*; only dat. pl. *kalkjōm*), prob. a loanword, but source dub. Feist 307.

ON *hōra* (> OE *hōre*, ME *hore*, NE *whore*), Dan. *hore*, Sw. *hora*, Du. *hoer*, OHG *huora*, etc.; Goth. only masc. *hōrs* 'adulterer, fornicator', with vbs. Goth. *hōrinōn* 'commit adultery', etc. : Lat. *cārus* 'dear', Ir. *caraim* 'love', etc. (16.26). Walde-P. 1.325. Weigand-H. 1.907. Falk-Torp 418.

ON *pūla*, fr. OFr. *pule* (above, 2).

ON *skøkja*, Dan. *skøge*, Sw. *sköka*, prob. fr. MLG *schöke* id., this perh. deriv. of *schöde* 'foreskin on the horse's penis': MHG *schöte* 'shell, husk', ON *skauðir* 'foreskin on the horse's penis'. Falk-Torp 1013. The sense 'prostitute' could be from 'skin' as in the case of Lat. *scortum* (above), or (so Falk-Torp) through an intermediary 'vagina'. But cf. Hellquist 977 f.

OE *mīlestre*, fr. Lat. *meretriz* (above, 2).

ME, NE *strumpet* prob. fr. OFr. *strupe* beside *stupre* fr. Lat. *stuprum* (cf. Nlr. *striopach*, above, 3). Skeat, Etym. Dict. s.v. Wyld, Univ. Eng. Diet. s.v.

## CHAPTER 20

## WARFARE

|                     |                             |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|
| 20.11 FIGHT (vb.)   | 20.28 GUN; CANNON           |
| 20.12 BATTLE (sb.)  | 20.29 GUNPOWDER             |
| 20.13 WAR           | 20.31 ARMOR (DEFENSIVE)     |
| 20.132 ENEMY        | 20.32 BREASTPLATE, CORSELET |
| 20.14 PEACE         | 20.33 HELMET                |
| 20.15 ARMY          | 20.34 SHIELD                |
| 20.16 FLEET         | 20.35 FORTRESS              |
| 20.17 SOLDIER       | 20.36 TOWER                 |
| 20.18 GENERAL       | 20.41 VICTORY               |
| 20.19 ADMIRAL       | 20.42 DEFEAT (sb.)          |
| 20.21 WEAPONS, ARMS | 20.43 ATTACK (sb.)          |
| 20.22 CLUB          | 20.44 DEFENSE               |
| 20.222 BATTLE-AX    | 20.45 RETREAT (sb.)         |
| 20.23 SLING         | 20.46 SURRENDER (vb.)       |
| 20.24 BOW           | 20.47 CAPTIVE, PRISONER     |
| 20.25 ARROW         | 20.48 BOOTY, SPOILS         |
| 20.26 SPEAR         | 20.49 AMBUSH (sb.)          |
| 20.27 SWORD         |                             |

## 20.11 FIGHT (vb.)

|      |                     |       |                       |       |                        |
|------|---------------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | μάχομαι, πολεμέω    | Goth. | weihan                | Lith. | kovoti, kautis, muštis |
| NG   | πολεμῶ              | ON    | berjask, vega         | Lett. | kauties                |
| Lat. | pugnare, proeliari  | Dan.  | slaa, kæmpe           | ChSl. | pīrēti se, brati       |
| It.  | kampa, fācta, slās  | Sw.   | kampa, fācta, slās    | SCR.  | boriti se (biti se)    |
| Fr.  | combattre, pugner   | OE    | fohtan, wigan, winnan | Boh.  | bojovati (biti se)     |
| Sp.  | pelear, combatir    | ME    | fehthe, kempe         | Russ. | valčyć, bit' se        |
| Rum. | combate, (se)luptia | NE    | fehthe, kempe         | Skt.  | srañā'sja, bit'sja     |
| Ir.  | fichim, cathaigur   | Du.   | kampen, wechten       | Av.   | parot-, yud-           |
| Nr.  | cōmhraicim, troidim | OHG   | fehthan               |       |                        |
| W.   | ymllad              | MHG   | wehten, wigen         |       |                        |
| Br.  | en em ganna         | NHG   | kämpfen (fechten)     |       |                        |

Verbs for 'fight' (understood here in the military sense, though the words are not so restricted) are most commonly based on the notion of striking, but a few on other forms of violent action including 'hair-pulling'.

1. Grk. *μάχομαι*, with *μάχη* 'battle', *μάχαρα* 'knife', outside connections dub. Walde-P. 2.227. Boisacq 616, 1118.

Grk. *πολεμέω*, mostly 'make war', but

ME *putaine*, fr. Fr. *putain* (above, 2). NE *prostitute*, fr. Lat. *prostīlita* (above, 2).

NE *harlot*, only late ME in this sense, chiefly 'vagabond, beggar, rogue, etc.', fr. OFr. *herlot*, (*harlot* 'lad, knave, etc.' (widespread Romance word of dub. orig.)) NED s.v.

Du. *deern*, NHG *dirne* 'girl, lass, wench', but commonly 'prostitute': MHG *dierne*, OHG *diorna* 'girl, maid-servant', deriv. of OHG *deo* 'slave', etc. (19.42). Weigand-H. 1.360. Kluge-G. 106 f.

NHG *metze*, fr. MHG *Metze*, *Mätze*, orig. pet name for *Mechthild*, *Mathilde*, but in MHG (14th. cent.) already 'girl' and 15th-16th cent. in present sense. Weigand-H. 2.177. Kluge-G. 389 f.

5. Lith. *kekšė*, etym. dub. Berneker 538.

Lith., Lett. *kurva*, fr. Slavic (below). Mühl-Endz. 2.326.

Lett. *mauka*: *maukt* 'pull off or on' (clothes, etc.), Lith. *maukti* 'strip'. Mühl-Endz. 2.568.

6. ChSl. *ljubodějica* (reg. for *πόρνη* in Gospels), also *ljubodějti*, fr. *ljuby* *dējati* 'fornicate', phrase with *ljuby* 'love' and *dējati* 'put, perform'. Berneker 756.

ChSl. *blādnica* (Supr. for *πόρνη*), SCR. *bludnica*, Russ. *bljudnica*, deriv. of

ChSl. *blādū* 'propeia, fornication', *blāditi* 'err, fornicate', beside ChSl. *blēdi* 'gossip, trick', *blēda*, *blēsti* 'err, fornicate', Russ. *bljad'* 'whore', etc. : Goth. *blinds*, ON *blindr*, etc. 'blind', Goth. *blandan*,

etc. 'mix', etc. Berneker 60, 62. Walde-P. 2.216.

SCR-ChSl. *kurlea*, SCR., Boh. *kurva*, Pol. *kurwa*, orig. dub.; borrowing fr. the Gmc. group (ON *hōra*, etc. above, 4), is difficult phonetically. Berneker 651. Stender-Petersen 27.

Boh. *nevěsta*, dim. of *nevěsta* 'bride'. Pol. *nierządnicza*, lit. 'disorderly woman', deriv. of *nie-rząd* 'disorder, confusion', also 'dissipation, debauchery' (neg. of *rząd* 'order, series, etc.'). Brückner 474.

Pol. *walczyć* : *walka* 'fight, combat, struggle', Boh. *valka* 'war' (20.13).  
Russ. *sražal'sja*, refl. of *sražal'* 'throw down, fling down, smite', cpd. of *razit'* 'beat, smite' beside *raz* 'blow', ChSl. *u-raziti* 'strike', etc. (9.21).  
Russ. *drať sja*, refl. of *drať*, ChSl. *dirati* 'tear' (9.28).

## 20.12 BATTLE (sb.)

Grk. μάχη  
NG μάχη  
Lat. proelium  
It. battaglia  
Fr. bataille  
Sp. batalla  
Rum. bătălie, bătălia  
Ir. cath (gleo, irgal)  
Nir. cath, ág (gleo, iorghail)  
W. brwydr, cad  
Br. kann, emgann

Goth. waiþjō  
ON orrosla, bardagi, víg, hildr  
Dan. slag  
Sw. slå  
OE gefeoht, víg, camp, beadu, hild  
ME fhite, bataille, camp  
NE battle  
Du. slag  
OHG gifeht, víg, hiltia, strit  
MHG wic, gevehte, strit  
NHG schlacht, kampff, ge-  
fecht

Lith. kova, mušis  
Lett. kauja  
ChSl. kotora (ratl, boj)  
Boh. bitka, boj  
Pol. bitwa, boj  
Russ. boj, bitva, srazenie  
Skt. yuddha-  
Av. pašana-, araza-, rana-, hamarana-  
OPers. hamarana-

The majority of the words for 'battle' are connected with the verbs for 'fight' (20.11) or with others for 'strike, beat', etc. Some are words for 'strife', used also for 'armed strife', and one group shows the development 'field' > 'battle-field' > 'battle'.

1. Grk. μάχη : μάχομαι 'fight' (20.11).  
Grk. πόλεμος 'war' (20.13), in Hom. more freq. 'battle'.

2. Lat. proelium, perh. fr. \*pro-  
voiliom, fr. the root in Lith. vyti, veju  
'pursue, chase', ChSl. vojinu 'soldier',  
Russ. vojna 'war', etc. Boissacq, Mé-  
langes Pedersen 251 ff.

It. battaglia (> Rum. bătălia), Fr.  
bataille, Sp. batalla (Rum. bătălie in the  
older language only 'blow, beating', etc.,  
but now used also like bătălia as 'battle',  
fr. VLat. battūdia, deriv. of battuere  
'beat' (9.21). REW 995.

Rum. lupă (fr. Lat. lucta 'wrestling,  
wrestling-match') is a general word for

'fight, struggle' or esp. 'wrestling-match',  
not usual for 'battle'. But cf. the cor-  
responding Alb. luftë 'war'.

3. Ir. cath, W. cad (cf. Gall. Catu-riges,  
etc.) : ON Hǫðr, and Hǫðr in cpd. names,  
OE heaþu in heaþubyrne 'battle corslet',  
heapulind 'war-linden' (= 'shield', etc.,  
OHG Hadu-brand, etc., MHG, NHG  
hader 'quarrel, strife', ChSl. kotora  
'battle'. Walde-P. 1.339.

Ir. ág : Skt. āji- 'race, contest', āj-  
'drive', etc. Pedersen 1.101. Walde-H.  
1.24.

Ir. gleo, perh. fr. \*glivā- : Skt. jri-  
'spread out to, overpower'(?). Thur-  
neysen, Z. celt. Ph. 20.364 ff.

Ir. irgal, Nir. iorghail, cpd. : gal  
'bravery' (16.52). Pedersen 1.101, 358.  
W. brwydr = Ir. briathar 'word', with  
W. development through 'battle of  
words'? But root connection and pri-  
mary sense uncertain. Walde-P. 1.687,  
2.194. Pedersen 2.45.

Rum. lupă (fr. Lat. lucta 'wrestling,  
wrestling-match') is a general word for

## 20.13 WAR

Grk. πόλεμος  
NG πόλεμος  
Lat. bellum  
It. guerra  
Fr. guerre  
Sp. guerra  
Rum. războiu  
Ir. cocad  
Nir. cogadh  
W. rhyfel  
Br. brezel

Goth. waiþjō (dat. sg.)  
ON styrjöld, gunnr, stríð  
Dan. krig  
Sw. krig  
OE gewin, gefeoht, víg,  
orloge, gūþ  
ME werre  
NE war  
Du. oorlog, krijg  
OHG gifeht, strit, víg, ur-  
tugi  
MHG urliuge, strit, wic  
NHG krieg

ON stríð (late in this sense, earlier  
chiefly 'woe, grief'), OHG, MHG strit,  
general terms for 'strife' (19.62), but  
also armed strife 'battle, war', as freq.  
also Dan., Sw. strid, NHG streit.

OE gewin 'toil, labor', also 'struggle,  
contest' and 'war' (e.g. Troiāna gewin  
'Trojan war') : winnan 'toil, labor,  
strive, fight' (20.11).

OE gefeoht, OHG gifeht 'battle'  
(20.12), also 'war'.

OE orloge, OS orlag, orlogi, MLG or-  
loge, orloch, Du. oorlog, OHG urliugi,  
MHG urliuge, perh. as 'situation lacking  
oaths' (of peace) : Goth. liuga 'mar-  
riage', Ir. luige, W. llu 'oath', but in part  
confused with the Gmc. group for 'fate',  
OE orloge, OS orlag, OHG orlac, etc.  
(fr. \*leg- 'lie'). Walde-P. 2.415, 425.  
Frank-v. W. 477. Falk-Torp 801.

Late OE wyrre, werre, ME werre, NE  
war, fr. Northeastern OFr. werre =  
Central OFr., NFr. guerre (above, 2).  
NED s.v.

Du. krijg, NHG krieg, but MLG krich  
(> Dan., Sw. krig) mostly 'strife', MHG  
kriece mostly 'exertion, opposition, eni-  
mity', etc., less often 'war', OHG krig  
'stubbornness, defiance' (cf. vb. NHG  
kriegen 'get', orig. 'strive', 11.16), prob. :  
Ir. brig 'strength, worth', Grk. ἔβρις  
'violence', βριαρός 'firm, strong'. Walde-  
P. 1.686. Falk-Torp 579. Weigand-H.  
1.1151. Franck-v. W. 349 f.

5. Lith. karas, karė, Lett. kar's : Lith.  
karias, OPruss. kragis (= kargis) 'army',  
Goth. harjis 'army', etc. (20.15).

6. ChSl. branī (reg. for πόλεμος in  
Gospels) : brati 'fight' (20.11). Berne-  
ker 74.

'War' is a prolonged state of organized  
fighting, and the distinction from the  
single 'battle' is secondary and far from  
universal. Several of the words listed  
here were also in part more commonly  
used for 'battle', some in the same period  
(e.g. OE, OHG víg, OE gefeoht, OHG  
gifeht), some only earlier (e.g. Grk. πόλε-  
μος). One is a compound of the word  
for 'battle'. Others are from semantic  
sources similar to those for 'battle', and  
logically might equally well have de-  
noted 'battle' (cf. e.g. ChSl. branī :  
brati).

1. Grk. πόλεμος (also πόλεμος in Hom.  
and various dial.), in Hom. freq. 'battle',  
prob. : πάλλω 'shake, brandish' and in  
form esp. πέλεμιζω 'shake, cause to trem-  
ble', pass. 'tremble', Goth. us-filma  
'amazed', ON felmt 'fright', felmta 'be  
frightened, tremble'. Walde-P. 2.52.  
Boissacq 762.

2. Lat. bellum, old duellum, etym.  
dub. (not : duo 'two'; sense 'duel' only  
for MLat. duellum, the archaic form re-  
vived and consciously associated with  
duo), perh. : Hom. δατ 'in battle' (\*δατ),  
δατ-φρων 'tried in battle', δῆτος 'hostile',  
etc. Walde-P. 1.766. Walde-H. 1.100 f.  
Ernout-M. 107 ("origine inconnue").

It., Sp. guerra, Fr. guerre, fr. a Frank.  
form = OHG werra 'confusion, strife' (:  
werran 'confuse, entangle'). REW  
9524a.

Rum. războiu, older 'battle', fr. Slavic,  
cf. ChSl. razboj 'murder, robbery', bojī  
'battle', etc. (20.12). Tiktin 1313.

3. Ir. cocad, Nir. cogadh, cpd. of con-,  
co- 'together' and cath 'battle' (20.12).

W. rhyfel, cpd. of intensive rhy-  
(\*pro-) and bel (arch.) 'tumult, havoc,  
war', beside belu 'make war, bicker',  
orig. 'prick, sting', cf. belydd 'gadfly', all  
prob. : Lith. gelti 'sting', Grk. βελώνη  
'needle, point', Ir. at-baill 'dies', etc.  
(Walde-P. 1.689). The meaning is prob.  
influenced by Lat. bellum. Loth, Mots  
lat. 137. G. S. Lane, Language 7.278 f.

Br. brezel = Corn. bresel 'strife' (Ir.  
Bresal, W. Com-bresel, etc.), prob. fr. the  
root of Ir. brissim 'break'. Walde-P.  
2.206. Pedersen 2.54, 668.

4. Goth. waiþjō (dat. sg. Lk. 14.31,  
written wigā na Cod. Arg., cf. Feist 562f.)  
beside waiþjō 'battle', OE, OHG víg,  
MHG wic both 'war' and 'battle'  
(20.12).

ON styrr (gen. styrjar), lit. 'tumult',  
but also 'battle, war', in prose chiefly cpd.  
styrjöld (with öld 'time, age') : OE  
styrian 'set in motion, stir, rouse', gestyr  
'motion', etc. Falk-Torp 1194. Vig-  
fusson 601.

ON gunnr, OE gūþ, OS gūþea, in cpds.  
gūð-, OHG gund- : Grk. θείνω 'strike,  
kill', φόνος 'murder', Ir. gonim 'wound,  
kill', Skt. han- 'strike, kill', etc. Walde-  
P. 1.680.

Br. kann, back-formation to kanna  
'strike' (after Fr. bataille : battref); simi-  
larly emgann, back-formation to en em  
ganna refl. 'fight'.

4. Goth. waiþjō, ON víg, OE, OHG  
wīg, MHG wic : Goth. weihan, ON vega,  
etc. 'fight' (20.11).

ON orrosta, prob. as orig. 'unrest' cpd.  
of or- 'out' (Goth. uz-, etc.) and a form  
corresponding to OHG rasta 'rest, period  
of time', OE ræst 'rest, resting place',  
etc. Noreen, Altisland. Gram. 78.

ON bardagi, lit. 'battle-day', cpd. of  
bar- : berjask 'fight' (20.11) and -dagi :  
dagr 'day'. Vigfusson, s.v.

ON hildr, OE hild, OHG hiltia (all  
poet. or in proper names), prob. : Ir. cel-  
lach 'contention, strife', Ir., W. coll 'loss,  
injury', etc., fr. the root in Grk. κλάω  
'break', Lith. kalti 'pound, hammer,  
forge', etc. Walde-P. 1.439. Falk-  
Torp 427 f.

Dan., Sw., Du. slag, also and orig.  
'a blow' : Dan. slaa, Sw. slå, Du. slaan  
'strike' (cf. Dan. slaas, Sw. slåss 'fight',  
20.11).

OE gefeoht, ME fhite, NE fight, OHG  
gifeht, MHG gevehte, NHG gefecht : OE  
feohthan, OHG fehtan 'fight', etc. (20.11).

OE, ME camp, NHG kampff (but  
OHG campff, MHG kampff, chiefly  
'duel'), fr. Lat. campus 'field' (whence  
'battle-field' and finally 'battle'). NED  
s.v. camp sb. Weigand-H. 1.975.

ME bataille, NE battle, fr. Fr. bataille  
(above, 2).

OHG, MHG strit (NHG streit), the  
most general word for any form of  
'strife' (19.62), also including 'armed  
strife', as still in NHG streitazt 'battle-  
ax'.

NHG schlacht, fr. MHG slahte, OHG  
slahta 'killing, slaughter' : OHG slahan  
'strike', etc. (cf. Dan. slag, etc., above).

5. Lith. kova, Lett. kauja, fr. the root  
of Lith. kauti, Lett. kaut 'strike', refl.  
'fight' (20.11).

Lith. mušis : muštis 'fight' (20.11).

6. ChSl. kotora (Supr., etc.) : Ir. cath  
(above, 3). Bernerker 588.

ChSl. ratl, mostly 'war' (20.13), some-  
times 'battle'.

ChSl. bojī (late), SCr., Boh. boj, etc.  
and SCr. bitka, Boh., Russ. bitwa, Pol.  
bitwa : Slavic biti 'strike', refl. 'fight'  
(20.11). Bernerker 68, 117.

Russ. sraženie : sražal'sja 'fight'  
(20.11).

7. Skt. yuddha-, yudh- : yudh- 'fight'  
(20.11).

Skt. raṇa-, Av. rəna-, and cpds. Skt.  
samara-, samaraṇa-, Av. hamarana-  
OPers. hamarana- : Skt. r- 'rise, move',  
Grk. θρνίμι 'stir up, rouse', etc. Walde-  
P. 1.136.

Skt. prīṇā-, Av. pašana-, pašana- :  
Av. parət-, ChSl. pīrēti sē 'fight', etc.  
(20.11). Walde-P. 2.42. Barth. 896 f.

Av. araza- (arazah-, arazyā-), etym.?  
Barth. 201 f.

ChSl. ratl (Supr. freq., sometimes  
'battle' but mostly = πόλεμος), SCr. ratl  
(Russ. ratl formerly used for 'army' and  
'war') : ChSl. ratl 'strife, emulation',  
retiti 'contend' : Skt. r- 'rise, move', Grk.  
θρνίμι 'stir up, rouse', etc. Cf. Skt.  
raṇa-, etc. battle' (20.13), fr. the same  
root. Walde-P. 1.139.

SCr. Russ. vojna, Pol. wojna (Boh.  
vojna now mostly in phrases like 'call to  
war', i.e. to military service), beside  
ChSl. vojinu (pl. voji) 'soldier, warrior' :  
Lith. veju, vyti 'pursue, chase', Skt. veti  
'pursues, strives after, drives, etc.', Av.  
vayēiti 'pursues', etc. Walde-P. 1.230.  
Brückner 629.

Boh. válka (Pol. walka 'fight, combat,  
struggle', WhRuss. walka 'battle, wood-  
cutting') : Boh. váleti 'make war',  
OPruss. ulint 'fight', OE wæl 'battle-  
field, corpses of the slain', ON valr  
'bodies of the slain', OHG wuol 'defeat,  
ruin, plague', etc. Walde-P. 1.304 f.  
Otherwise Brückner 599 (: ChSl. valiti,  
Lat. volvere 'turn', etc.).

7. Skt. vighraha- 'strife', sometimes  
'war', fr. vi-grabh- 'stretch apart, sepa-  
rate, divide', and also 'fight, wage war'.  
But in general for Indo-Iran., see  
words listed under 'battle'.

20.132. 'Enemy' in war. As noted in  
19.52, most of the words for personal  
'enemy' (vs. 'friend') cover the 'enemy'  
in war, but in some languages certain  
words are preferred in the latter sense.

Thus Grk. πολέμοι vs. ἐχθροί, Lat. hostis  
(orig. 'stranger', 19.55) vs. inimicus,  
Russ. neprijatel' vs. vrag.

ChSl. ratl (Supr. freq., sometimes  
'battle' but mostly = πόλεμος), SCr. ratl  
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θρνίμι 'stir up, rouse', etc. Cf. Skt.  
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SCr. Russ. vojna, Pol. wojna (Boh.  
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## 20.14 PEACE

Grk. εἰρήνη  
NG εἰρήνη  
Lat. pax  
It. pace  
Fr. paix  
Sp. paz  
Rum. pace  
Ir. síd  
Nir. siathcháin  
W. heddwch  
Br. peoc'h

## Goth.

## Gawairpi

## ON

## friðr

## Dan.

## fred

## Sw.

## fred

## OE

## sib(b), friþ

## ME

## paiz, friþ

## NE

## peace

## Du.

## vrede

## OHG

## fridu, sibba

## MHG

## vride

## NHG

## friede

## Lith.

## taika

## miers

## ChSl.

## miru

## Sw.

## kär, armé

## Boh.

## mir

## Pol.

## pokój

## Fr.

## armée

## NE

## army

## Rum.

## oaste

## Du.

## heer, leger

## OHG

## heri

## MHG

## her(e)

## NHG

## heer, armee

Words for 'peace' are based on such  
notions as 'stable condition, quiet',  
'friendship', 'kinship' and 'agreement'.  
Brugmann, Ber. Sächs. Ges. 1916. no. 3.

1. Grk. εἰρήνη (dial. ἰπῶνα, etc.),  
etym.? Brugmann, op. cit. (fr. the root  
of ἁρπάζω 'fit, join'). Kretschmer,  
Glotta 10.238. Debrunner, Gött. Gel.  
Anz. 1916.741 (pre-Greek origin).

2. Lat. pax (> Romance words), fr.  
\*pāk- beside \*pāg- in pangere 'fasten,  
fix, join together', Grk. πηνύμι 'fix, drive  
in', etc. Walde-P. 2.2. Ernout-M. 720.

3. Ir. síd, siþ, Nir. siathcháin (cpd.  
with cáin 'law, rule'), fr. \*sēdo-, beside  
W. hedd (poet.), deriv. heddwch, Corn.  
hedh, fr. \*sed-, both prob. as orig. 'stable  
condition' fr. \*sed- 'sit'. Stokes 297 f.  
Loth, RC 36.162. Otherwise Walde-P.  
2.462 (with refs.).

W. (obs.) tanc, tangnef, tangnefeld  
(cf. Tancoriz, etc.), prob. : OE þanc  
'satisfaction, pleasure', etc. Loth, RC  
41.225.

Br. peoc'h, fr. Lat. pax. Loth, Mots  
lat. 194.

4. Goth. gawairpi, cf. OHG giwurt  
'liking', prob. fr. the root of Goth.  
wairþan 'become', with development  
through 'coming together, agreement'.  
Brugmann, op. cit. 13. Feist 209.

Otherwise (: wairþ 'value, worth')  
Schrader, Reallex. 1.650 and others (refs.  
in Feist).

ON friðr, OE friþ, OHG fridu, etc.,  
general Gmc. (Goth. only in the name

Friþa-reiks) : Goth. frijōn, OE frēon  
'love', Goth. frijōnds, OE frēond 'friend',  
Skt. pri- 'please', priya- 'dear', etc.  
Walde-P. 2.87. Falk-Torp 271 f.

OE sib(b), OHG sibba (reg. for pax in  
Tat.), properly 'kinship, kin' (2.81,  
19.23), whence 'peace' as the normal  
condition among kin.

5. Lith. taika (neolog. in place of  
pakajus, formerly the usual word, fr.  
Pol. pokój) : tikt 'fit, suit, agree', taikyti  
'mediate', taikus 'suitable, peaceful', pa-  
taika 'idleness' (Walde-P. 1.725, Leskien,  
Ablaut 287, etc.).

OLith. mieras, Lett. miers = ChSl.  
miru (below, 6).

6. ChSl. miru (also secondarily  
'world', 1.1), SCr., Russ. mir, Boh. mir  
(Pol. mir, mostly replaced by pokój),  
r-formation fr. the same root as ChSl.  
milu 'pitiful', Russ. mil 'dear', Lith.  
mielas 'dear', mylėti 'love', Lat. mitis  
'mild, gentle', etc. Walde-P. 2.244  
Bernker 2.60 f.

Pol. pokój = Boh. pokoj 'quiet, rest,  
room', Russ. pokoj 'rest' : ChSl. pokoji  
'rest', po-kajiti 'calm, put at rest', po-čiti  
'rest', etc. Bernker 538 f.

7. Skt. samāhi-, lit. 'putting together,  
union, conjunction', whence 'accord  
compact, peace' : sam-dhā- 'put to-  
gether'.

Av. āziti-, NPers. āsti-, prob. : ā-  
(z)itā- in caus. 'put in place, appoint',  
cpd. of stā- (zstā-) 'stand'. Brugmann,  
op. cit. 11. Barth. 311, 1602.

such phrases as convenire in hostem, exire  
in hostem, etc., where in hostem meant  
orig. 'against the enemy' but was easily  
construed 'into military service' and  
consequently 'into the army'. Buck,  
Cl. Ph. 14.12 f. Diez 229. REW 4201.

MLat. armata 'armed force', either  
land force or more commonly naval  
force (cf. Du Cange), fr. fem. sg. of Lat.  
armatus (pple. of armare 'provide with  
arms', fr. arma 'arms, weapons', 20.21),  
and prob. abstracted fr. armata classis  
(cf. classis, 20.16). Hence It. arma, a  
used of either 'army' or 'fleet', Sp. porta  
armada 'fleet', Fr. armée 'army' (>  
Dan., Sw. armé, NHG armee, SCr.,  
Russ. armija, etc.; Russ. > Lith. ar-  
mija); Rum. armată (neolog.). Also  
OFr. > ME armie, NE army, but the  
early use was 'armed expedition' or  
'armed force', either of sea or of land,  
sometimes 'fleet', and only later restricted  
to a land force (NED s.v. army).

4. Ir. slāg 'host, troop, army', Nir.  
sluagh (now as 'army' mostly replaced  
by arm, fr. NE army), W. llu (mostly  
'host'), OCorn. lux : ChSl. sluga 'ser-



NHG *flotte*, Pol. *flota*, fr. NHG *flotte*, Russ. *flot*, prob. (in view of Peter the Great's study of shipbuilding in Holland) fr. Du. *vloot*.  
Boh. *lod'sto*, fr. *lod* 'ship' (10.81).  
7. The interpretation of OPers. *nāvi-yā* (Bh. 1.86) as nom. sg. meaning

'fleet' is disputed and indeed in the context improbable. Cf. Kent, JAOS 62.270 f. But the form is just the one to be expected as an Indo-Iranian word for 'fleet', if there were one, that is, deriv. of the word for 'ship', Skt. *nāus*, etc.

## 20.17 SOLDIER

|      |                |       |                     |       |                      |
|------|----------------|-------|---------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | στρατιώτης     | Goth. | gadrachts           | Lith. | kareivis, žalnierius |
| NG   | στρατιώτης     | ON    | hermaðr             | Lett. | zaldāts, karenieks   |
| Lat. | miles          | Dan.  | soldat              | ChSl. | vojnik               |
| It.  | soldato        | Sw.   | soldat              | Boh.  | vojník, vojin        |
| Fr.  | soldat         | OE    | wigend, cempa       | Pol.  | żołnierz             |
| Sp.  | soldado        | ME    | soudiour, kempe     | Russ. | soldat               |
| Rum. | soldat (ostas) | NE    | soldier             | Skt.  | sainika-, sainya-    |
| Ir.  | mīl, óc, léach | Du.   | soldaat             | Av.   | raðāštar-            |
| NlR. | saighdiúir     | OHG   | wigant, cempfo      |       |                      |
| W.   | mīlur          | MHG   | wigant, kempe, sol- |       |                      |
| Br.  | soudard        |       | denære              |       |                      |

NHG *soldat*

The widespread group of Eur. words for 'soldier' comes from late Lat. derivs. of a word for 'soldiers' pay'. Others are derived from words for 'war' (NE warrior, NHG *krieger*, which are more comprehensive than 'soldier', are not included in the list; but some of the older words included are also more nearly 'warrior'), 'army', or 'fight'. A few were in origin 'young man', 'layman', or 'member of a crowd, band'.

1. Derivs. of Lat. *solidus*, the name of the gold coin which was the standard unit from the time of Constantine the Great. Hence *solidum* or *solidata* 'soldier's pay', *solidāre* 'pay the soldiers' wages', and derivs. with various suffixes for 'soldier'.

1) *Sol(i)dārius*, *sol(i)dātārius* > OFr. *soldoier*, *soudoier*, etc. ME *soudiour*, *soudier*, etc., NE *soldier*, NlR. *saighdiúir* (perh. influenced by MlR. *saigdeoir* 'sagittarius'). Fr. *soudard* (16th cent. re-formation of *soudoier*; Bloch 2.280) > Br. *soudard*.

2) *Sol(i)denārius* > OIt. *soldaniere*,

OFr. *saudenier*, MHG *soldenære* (NHG *söldner* only 'mercenary' after the introduction of *soldat*) > Pol. *żołnierz* > Lith. *žalnierius*.

3) *Sol(i)dātus* > It. *soldato* > Sp., Port. *soldado*, Fr. *soldat* > Rum. *soldat*, Du. *soldaat*, NHG *soldat* > Dan., Sw. *soldat*, Lett. *zaldāts*, SCR., Russ. *soldat*. The wider prevalence of this type is due to the influence of It. military terms in the 16th cent. wars. REW 8069. Du Cange 7.516 ff. NED s.v. *soldier*. Buck, Cl. Ph. 14.17 f.

2. Grk. *στρατιώτης*, deriv. of *στράτος*, *στράτα* 'army' (20.15).

3. Lat. *mīles*, etym. dub., but perh. orig. 'member of a crowd, band' (cf. Goth. *gadrachts*, below, 5) : Grk. *ὄμιλος* 'crowd, throng' (occasionally in military application). Walde-P. 2.491. Ernout-M. 614.

Rum. *ostas* (now poet.), deriv. of *oaste* 'army' (20.15).

4. Ir. *óc*, lit. 'young man', hence 'warrior' (cf. RIA contrib. s.v.) sb. fr. the adj. *óc* 'young' (14.14).

Ir. *léach*, fr. Lat. *laicus* 'layman'.

Hence freq. also *óclach*, cpd. with *óc* (above). Vendryes, De hib. voc. 148.

Ir. *mīl*, W. *mīlur* (cpd. with *gwr* 'man'), fr. Lat. *mīles*.

5. Goth. *gadrachts* : ON *drótt*, OE *dryht* 'people, followers', OHG *truht* 'multitude', etc., Goth. *drīugan* 'do military service', ON *drǫgja* 'commit', OE *drōgan* 'perform, endure', Lith. *draugas* 'companion', ChSl. *drugū* 'friend', etc. Military application peculiar to Gothic. Walde-P. 1.860. Feist 185 f., 179.

ON *hermaðr* (less usually also OE, MHG *hereman*), lit. 'war-man'.

OE *wigend*, OHG, MHG *wigant* (NHG *Weigand* as name), orig. pres. pple. of OE *wigan*, etc. 'fight' (20.11).

OE *cempa* (reg. for *mīles* in OE Gospels, etc., also 'champion, athlete'), ME *kempe*, OHG *cempfo*, MHG *kempe* (both esp. 'one who fights in single com-

bat', but also general; reg. for *mīles* in (above). Vendryes, De hib. voc. 148. VLat. *campio* 'champion, fighter' (fr. *campus* 'field' and 'battle-field', cf. NHG *kämpfen*, etc., 20.11). Weigand-H. 1.975. Falk-Torp 519.

6. Lith. *kareivis* (neolog. replacing the loanword *žalnierius*), also Lett. *kareivis* (but prob. fr. Lith., Mühl-Endz. 2.161), genuine Lett. *karenieks*, fr. Lith. *kariasis*, Lett. *kar's* 'army, war' (20.15).

7. ChSl. *vojina* (pl. *voji*), Boh. *vojín*, *voják* (Pol. *wojak*, Russ. *vojin* arch. or 'warrior') : *vojna* 'war', etc. (20.13).

8. Skt. *sainika-*, *sainya-*, derivs. of *senā* 'army' (20.15).

Av. *raðāštar-*, *raðāštar-*, *raðōštar-*, lit. 'standing in the chariot', cpd. of loc. sg. of *raðā* 'wagon, chariot' and derivs. of *stā-* 'stand'. Cf. Skt. *ratheśhā-* 'chariot-fighter'. Barth. 1506.

## 20.18 GENERAL

|      |                  |       |                     |        |                  |
|------|------------------|-------|---------------------|--------|------------------|
| Grk. | στρατηγός        | Goth. | (kindins)           | Lith.  | generolas        |
| NG   | στρατηγός        | ON    | (hers)              | Lett.  | ģenerālis        |
| Lat. | dūz, imperātor   |       |                     | ChSl.  | (vojnovoda)      |
| It.  | generale         | Dan.  | general             | SCR.   | general          |
| Fr.  | général          | Sw.   | general             | Boh.   | general          |
| Sp.  | general          | OE    | heretoga, lādþrow   | Pol.   | generał, jeneral |
| Rum. | general          | ME    | maršal, heretoge    | Russ.  | general          |
| Ir.  | tóiseach (catha) | NE    | general             | Skt.   | senāpati-        |
| NlR. | taoiseach        | Du.   | generaal            | OPers. | mašīsta-         |
| W.   | cadfridog        | OHG   | herizogo, leitid(o) |        |                  |
| Br.  | general          | MHG   | houbetman, herzoge  |        |                  |
|      |                  | NHG   | general             |        |                  |

'General' is understood here as the commander of an army, without regard to the more technical applications in modern military terminology. The modern international term comes from the adjective 'general', of Lat. orig., used substantively and finally specialized to military use.

The older terms are words meaning literally 'leader of an army' or simply 'leader', or 'head-man, chief'.

1. Lat. *generālis*, orig. 'related or be-

longing to a *genus* (sort)', later 'common, general', was borrowed in most of the Eur. languages in this sense. Fr. *général* as sb. came to mean esp. 'chief of a religious community (cf. MLat. *abbas generalis*, *magister generalis*), or of a group of military units' (*capitaine général*, 14th cent.), whence (in part through NHG) the common Eur. word.

2. Grk. *στρατηγός*, fr. *στράτος* 'army' and *ἄγω* 'lead'. The regular term (Archil.+), but not found in Homer,

form), partly by adoption of native suffixes (It. *ammiraglio*, OIt. also *almiraglio*, Sp. *almirante*, OFr. *amirand*, Lith. *admirolas*, etc.). NED s.v. *admiral*.

The older words, so far as quotable, were derivs. or phrases with words for

## 20.21 WEAPONS, ARMS

(pl. or coll.)

|      |              |       |                 |       |                  |
|------|--------------|-------|-----------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | ὅπλα         | Goth. | wērpa           | Lith. | ginklai          |
| NG   | ὅπλα, ἄρματα | ON    | vāpn            | Lett. | īeruoči          |
| Lat. | arma, tela   | Dan.  | vaaben          | ChSl. | oražija          |
| It.  | armi         | Sw.   | vapen           | SCR.  | oružje           |
| Fr.  | armes        | OE    | wēpnu           | Boh.  | zbraně           |
| Sp.  | armas        | ME    | wepens, armes   | Pol.  | broń, oręż       |
| Rum. | arme         | NE    | weapons, arms   | Russ. | oružje           |
| NlR. | airm         | Du.   | wapens          | Skt.  | ayudha-, astra-, |
| W.   | arfa         | OHG   | wāfan, giwāfani | Av.   | zaēna-, zaya-,   |
| Br.  | armou        | MHG   | wāfen, gewāfen  |       | snaiðis-, sōðis- |
|      |              | NHG   | waffen          |       |                  |

Generic words for 'weapons, arms' come by specialization of 'implements' to 'implements of warfare', or of 'fittings' through 'defensive armor', or by generalization from missile or cutting weapons derived from verbs for 'throw' or 'cut'. Some are from verbs for 'strike' or 'fight'.

1. Grk. *ὅπλον* 'instrument, implement, weapon', pl. *ὅπλα* 'arms, weapons' : *ἐπω* (in cpds. *ἀμφι-*, *ἐν-*, *ἐπ-*, etc.) 'be busy about, look after, etc.' : Skt. *sap-* 'care for, attend to', Av. *hap-* 'hold, support'. Walde-P. 2.487. Boisacq 270, 707 f.

NG *ἀρματα* (pl.; sg. *ἄρμα* not used), fr. Lat. *arma* (below). G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 3.11.

2. Lat. *arma* (pl.; VLat. fem. sg. *arma* > Romance forms, all in pl. 'arms, weapons'. REW 650), sometimes defensive armor (vs. *tēla*), but mostly generic : Lat. *armus* 'upper arm, shoulder', Goth. *arms*, etc. 'arm' (orig. 'joint'), Lat. *artus*, *articulus* 'joint', Grk. *ἀρμός* 'joint', *ἀρμίσκος* 'join, fit'. Walde-

'ship' or 'fleet'. Thus Grk. *ναύαρχος* (so still NG), cpd. of *ναῦς* 'ship' and the root of *ἄρχω* 'lead, rule'; late also *στολάρχης*, cpd. of *στόλος* 'fleet'; Lat. *praefectus classis* 'commander of the fleet'. So also W. *llyngesydd*, fr. *llynges* 'fleet' with suffix *-ydd* (Pedersen 2.17).

## 20.22 CLUB

Lett. *ieruocis* (sg. also 'tool, implement', pl. *ieruoci*) : *ruocis* 'handle', *ruoka*, Lith. *ranka* 'hand'. Cf. Lith. *įrankis* 'tool, means'. Trautmann 237. Mühl-Endz. 2.60.

6. ChSl. *oražija* (sg. 'sword', pl. *oražija* = *оръѣ*), SCR. *oružje*, (Boh. *oruži* arch.), Pol. *oręż*, Russ. *oružie* (sg. and coll.; cf. also *ruž'e* 'gun'), apparently fr. an otherwise unattested Slavic root *reg-*, meaning? Miklosich 281. Brückner 381.

Boh. *zbraň* (sg.; pl. *zbraně*), Pol. *broń* (sg. and coll.) : ChSl. *branī* 'war', *brati* 'fight', etc. (20.11). Berneker 74.

7. Indo-Iranian words given in stem-form.

Skt. *āyudha-* (most generic word, cf. Macdonell-Keith 1.60), deriv. of *ā-yudh-* 'make war on, attack', cpd. of *yudh-* 'fight' (20.11).

Skt. *astra-*, perh. (as orig. 'missile') : as- 'throw'. Uhlenbeck 19. Walde-P. 1.134.

## 20.22 CLUB

|      |                        |       |                        |       |                       |
|------|------------------------|-------|------------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | ρόπαλον, κορίνη, ξίλον | Goth. | (triu)                 | Lith. | kuoka, kūle           |
| NG   | ρόπαλον, ματσούκα      | ON    | klumba, klubba, kyifa, | Lett. | vāle                  |
| Lat. | clāva, fūstis          |       | rudda                  | ChSl. | drūkolt               |
| It.  | mazza                  | Dan.  | kølle                  | SCR.  | buzdovan              |
| Fr.  | massue                 | Sw.   | klubba                 | Boh.  | palice, obušek        |
| Sp.  | porra                  | OE    | sāgōl, cygēl           | Pol.  | pałka                 |
| Rum. | măciucă                | ME    | clubbe (kuggel)        | Russ. | bulava, dubyna        |
| Ir.  | lorg                   | NE    | club (cudgel)          | Skt.  | vadha-, vadhar, gadā- |
| NlR. | lorg, lorgaid          | Du.   | knods                  | Av.   | vazra-, vadar, gadā-  |
| W.   | club                   | OHG   | kolbe                  |       |                       |
| Br.  | bataraz                | MHG   | kolbe, kiule           |       |                       |
|      |                        | NHG   | keule                  |       |                       |

The 'club' was man's earliest weapon and continued to be one of the recognized weapons down into the historical period, or even to the present day among backward tribes or in rural feuds. It was mainly a striking, but in part also a hurling, weapon.

The words for 'club' are connected

Skt. *zastra-*, mostly a cutting weapon 'knife, sword, dagger', fr. *zas-* 'cut'. Av. *zaēna-*, and *zaya-*, with *zayan-* 'armed' : Skt. *heli-* 'missile', *hi-* 'urge, hurl', prob. also Ir. *gae*, OE *gār*, etc. 'spear' (20.26). Walde-P. 1.546. Barth. 1650, 1666. Walde-H. 1.576.

Av. *snaiðis-* : *snab-* 'strike', Skt. *gnath-* 'pierce'. Walde-P. 1.402. Barth. 1628.

Av. *sōðis-* : *sid-*, Skt. *chid-* 'split'. Barth. 1577.

20.22 ff. For fuller description of weapons and their names, cf. the following.

1. Schrader, Reallex. passim (Keule, Schwert, etc.). Couissin, Les armes romaines. M. L. Keller, Anglo-Saxon Weapon Names. Falk, Altnordische Waffenkunde, Vidensk. Skr. 1914, no. 6. H. Bauersfeld, Die Kriegsaltertümer im Lebor na Huidre, Z. celt. Ph. 19.294 ff. Niederle, Manuel de l'antiquité slave 2.274 ff. Zimmer, Altindisches Leben 298 ff. Macdonell-Keith, 2.591 f. with refs. Geiger, Ostiranische Kultur 441 ff.

2. Lat. *clāva* : *clāvus* usually 'nail' (9.50) but also 'excrecence' on the body or trees. Ernout-M. 194. Walde-H. 1.229.

Lat. *fūstis*, etym. dub., perh. : MHG, NHG *büsch* 'club, swelling', etc. Walde-P. 1.118, 127. Ernout-M. 405. Walde-H. 1.573.

It. *mazza* (Fr. *masse* 'mace, maul'; OFr. also *mace* > ME, NE *mace*), fr. VLat. *\*mattea*; Fr. *massue*, Rum. *măciucă* (cf. OE *matuc*, *matloc* 'mattock'), fr. VLat. *\*matteica*, beside attested Lat. *mateola* a kind of 'mallet, maul' : ChSl. *motyka* 'hoe', Skt. *matya-* 'harrow'. Walde-P. 2.229. Walde-H. 2.49. REW 5425, 5426.

Port., Sp. *porra*, formed to Port. *porro* (cf. Lat. *clāva* : *clāvus*) = Sp. *puerro*, It. *porro* 'leek', fr. Lat. *porrum* id., with reference to the shape of the stalk with its thick base (cf. It. *porro*, Fr. *poireau* also 'wart'). REW 6670.

3. Ir. *lorg* (cf. Z. celt. Ph. 19.309 f.), NlR. *lorg*, *lorgaid* = OCorn. *lorch* 'staff' : ON *lurkr* 'club, cudgel' (or this fr. Celtic?), root connection? Walde-P. 2.443. W. *clubb*, fr. NE *club*.

Br. *bataraz*, fr. Fr. *matras* (this fr. Gall. *matara*, *mataris* 'javelin, pike' in Caesar, etc.), with *b* fr. *baz* 'stick'. Henry 28. REW 5402.

Lett. *vāle* = Lith. *volė* 'cock' (of a keg, etc.) : Lith. *velt*, Lett. *velt* 'full' (cloth), Lat. *volvare* 'turn around', etc. Walde-P. 1.303. Mühl-Endz. 4.497.

6. ChSl. *drūkolt*, *drukolt* (despite the variant spelling *drī-* and OBoh. *drkolna*) a cpd. or deriv. of *drū-* in *drūva* 'wood', etc. Berneker 232 (adversely).

ChSl. *palica* (Supr. = *ράβδος* 'rod for punishment'), Boh. *palice*, Pol. *pałka* 'club' (but Russ. *palka*, SCR. *palica* 'stick, cane'; Pol., Russ. *palica* arch), root connection dub. Walde-P. 2.102. Brückner 391.

SCR. *buzdovan* (*buzdohan* obs.; Bulg. *buzdagan*, Pol. *buzdygan*, etc.), fr. Turk. *bozdogan* 'club'. Berneker 105. Lokotsch 333.

Boh. *obušek*, fr. cpd. of *bušiti* 'hammer, pound', beside *bouchati* 'bang, knock' = Russ. *buchat* 'throw with a crash, strike', etc., of imitative origin. Berneker 97.

Russ. *bulava* (the pop. word; Pol. *bulawa* esp. 'hetman's staff'), prob. : OE *būl*, NHG *beule*, etc. 'swelling, boil'. Berneker 100. Brückner 48.

Russ. *dubyna*, fr. *dub* 'oak' = ChSl. *dabū* 'tree'. Berneker 216.

7. A prob. Indo-Iranian word for 'club' (cf. Geiger, Ostiran. Kultur 444) is Skt. *vadha*, *vadhar* (weapon of striking and hurling, esp. Indra's weapon), Av. *vadar-* (striking weapon) : Skt. *vadh-* 'smite, slay', Av. *vādāya-* 'repulse', Grk. *adōw* 'thrust, push'. Walde-P. 1.254 f.

Skt. *gadā*, Av. *gaðā* (Barth. 1392) = Skt. *vazra-* (Barth. 1392) = Skt. *vajra-* 'Indra's thunderbolt' : Skt. *vāja-* 'strength', OPers. *vazarka-* 'great', etc. Walde-P. 1.246 f.

Av. *dāru* 'piece of wood, trunk of a

er', *varpa* 'ear of corn, spike', etc. Walde-P. 1.276 f. Boisacq 835 f.

Grk. *κορίνη* (Hom., Hdt.; cf. also the *κορυνη-φόρος* 'club-bearers' of Peisistratus), prob. : *κόρυμβος*, *κορυφή* 'top, head', etc. Boisacq 498.

Grk. *ξύλον* 'wood, piece of wood' (1.43), also 'club' (Hdt., so freq. *ξύλα* in NT, rendered 'staves'; cf. NG pop. *ξύλα* 'got a beating').

NG *ματσούκα*, loanword fr. some form of the Romance group, Rum. *măciucă*, Fr. *massue*, etc. (below, 2). G. Meyer, Neugr. Stud. 4.50 f.

2. Lat. *clāva* : *clāvus* usually 'nail' (9.50) but also 'excrecence' on the body or trees. Ernout-M. 194. Walde-H. 1.229.

Lat. *fūstis*, etym. dub., perh. : MHG, NHG *büsch* 'club, swelling', etc. Walde-P. 1.118, 127. Ernout-M. 405. Walde-H. 1.573.

It. *mazza* (Fr. *masse* 'mace, maul';

OFr. also *mace* > ME, NE *mace*), fr. VLat. *\*mattea*; Fr. *massue*, Rum. *măciucă* (cf. OE *matuc*, *matloc* 'mattock'), fr. VLat. *\*matteica*, beside attested Lat. *mateola* a kind of 'mallet, maul' : ChSl. *motyka* 'hoe', Skt. *matya-* 'harrow'. Walde-P. 2.229. Walde-H. 2.49. REW 5425, 5426.

Port., Sp. *porra*, formed to Port. *porro* (cf. Lat. *clāva* : *clāvus*) = Sp. *puerro*, It. *porro* 'leek', fr. Lat. *porrum* id., with reference to the shape of the stalk with its thick base (cf. It. *porro*, Fr. *poireau* also 'wart'). REW 6670.

3. Ir. *lorg* (cf. Z. celt. Ph. 19.309 f.), NlR. *lorg*, *lorgaid* = OCorn. *lorch* 'staff' : ON *lurkr* 'club, cudgel' (or this fr. Celtic?), root connection? Walde-P. 2.443. W. *clubb*, fr. NE *club*.

Br. *bataraz*, fr. Fr. *matras* (this fr. Gall. *matara*, *mataris* 'javelin, pike' in Caesar, etc.), with *b* fr. *baz* 'stick'. Henry 28. REW 5402.

5. Lith. *kuoka* ("apparently best word", Senn; see also NSB s.v.) = Lett. *kuoks* 'tree, piece of wood, stick'. Mühl-Endz. 2.342.

Lith. *kūle* ("Keule, Streitkolben", NSB s.v.), fr. MHS *kūle* 'ball' and 'club'. Alminauskis 74.

*prati, porja* 'split'. Meillet, *Études* 398. Brückner 437. Niederle, *Antiquité slave* 2.287 f.

7. Skt. *açan* 'stone' (1.44) and likewise *adri* 'stone' occur in RV as weapons of Indra (Zimmer, *Altind. Leben* 301, Macdonell-Keith), but there is no quotable word or evidence for a special instrument for throwing stones.

Av. *fradaxšānā*, evidently fr. a *fradaxš*, but no apparent relation to the known *daxš* 'teach'. Barth. 981.

## 20.24 BOW

|      |                     |       |              |       |                 |
|------|---------------------|-------|--------------|-------|-----------------|
| Grk. | τόξον               | Goth. | ...          | Lith. | <i>lankas</i>   |
| NG   | τόξο, pop. δοξάρι   | ON    | <i>bogi</i>  | Lett. | <i>stūpa</i>    |
| Lat. | <i>arcus</i>        | Dan.  | <i>bue</i>   | ChSl. | <i>lākū</i>     |
| It.  | <i>arco</i>         | Sw.   | <i>bdge</i>  | SCR.  | <i>luk</i>      |
| Fr.  | <i>arc</i>          | OE    | <i>boga</i>  | Boh.  | <i>luk</i>      |
| Sp.  | <i>arco</i>         | ME    | <i>bouwe</i> | Pol.  | <i>luk</i>      |
| Rum. | <i>arc</i>          | NE    | <i>bou</i>   | Russ. | <i>luk</i>      |
| Ir.  | <i>fidboc, boga</i> | Du.   | <i>boog</i>  | Skt.  | <i>dhanvan-</i> |
| Nlr. | <i>bogha</i>        | OHG   | <i>bogo</i>  | Av.   | <i>ðanvan-</i>  |
| W.   | <i>bwa</i>          | MHG   | <i>boge</i>  |       |                 |
| Br.  | <i>gwareg</i>       | NHG   | <i>bogen</i> |       |                 |

The derivation of words for 'bow' from verbs for 'bend' is, as to be expected, widespread. Other connections are with verbs for 'stretch, draw' or names of kinds of wood furnishing the material.

1. Grk. *τόξον* (dim. *τοξάριον*, NG pop. *δοξάρι*), in pl. also 'bow and arrows, arrows', etym. dub. The two possibilities, both involving some difficulty, are 1) connection with Lat. *taxus* 'yew', or 2) as orig. 'hewn, fashioned', deriv. fr. the root of *τέκνω* 'carpenter', Skt. *takṣ* 'hew', etc. Walde-P. 1.717. Boisacq 975.

2. Lat. *arcus* (> Romance words): Goth. *arhwazna*, ON *ør*, OE *earh*, NE *arrow* 'arrow', derivs. of a corresponding word for 'bow', all possibly connected with certain names of trees, woods, but uncertain. Walde-P. 1.81. Ernout-M. 69. Walde-H. 1.64.

3. Ir. *fidboc*, cpd. of *fid* 'wood' and *-boc*: ON *bogi*, etc. 'bow' (below). Walde-P. 2.145 f. Pedersen 1.159.

Ir. *boga*, Nlr. *bogha*, fr. ON *bogi* (below). Marstrander, *Bidrag* 59, 127.

W. *bwa*, prob. fr. ME *bowe*. Parry-Williams 35.

Br. *gwareg*, deriv. of *gwar* 'bent' (: W. *gwyr*, Ir. *fiar* id.).

4. ON *bogi*, OE *boga*, OHG *bogo*, etc., general Gmc.: Goth. *biugan*, etc. 'bend' (9.14). Walde-P. 2.146.

5. Lith. *lankas*, lit. 'bend, arch, bow', also for shooting (*šaujamas lankas*) = Lett. *luokis* 'anything bent, fellow', etc.: Lith. *lenkti*, Lett. *liekt*, ChSl. *sū-lešti* 'bend' (9.14), *lākū*, etc. 'bow'. Bernerker 739 f.

Lett. *stuops*, *stuopa*, fr. *stiept* 'stretch' (9.32). Schwes, Z. sl. Ph. 5.308.

6. ChSl. *lākū*, etc., general Slavic: Lith. *lankas*, etc. (above, 5).

7. Skt. *dhanvan*, *dhanuṣ* (Macdonell-Keith 1.388 f.), perh.: *dhanvana* 'a certain fruit-tree', OHG *tanna* 'fir', etc. Walde-P. 1.825. Uhlenbeck 134.

Av. *ðanvan*, *ðanvar* (OPers. *ðanuvāniya* 'bowman' NRB 42): *ðanf* 'draw' (9.33)? Walde-P. 1.726. Barth. 785.

Or better = Skt. *dhanvan* - with Iran. *θ* for *d* by association with *ðanf* -

## 20.25 ARROW

|      |                                   |       |                               |       |                            |
|------|-----------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|----------------------------|
| Grk. | τίξονα, βέλος (poet. ἰός, οἰστός) | Goth. | <i>arhwazna</i>               | Lith. | <i>vilyčia, strėla</i>     |
| NG   | βέλος                             | ON    | <i>ør, fleinn</i>             | Lett. | <i>bulka, šaurta</i>       |
| Lat. | <i>sagitta</i>                    | Dan.  | <i>pil</i>                    | ChSl. | <i>strěla</i>              |
| It.  | <i>freccia, saetta</i>            | Sw.   | <i>pil</i>                    | SCR.  | <i>strjelca</i>            |
| Fr.  | <i>flèche</i>                     | OE    | <i>strāl, flān, earh</i>      | Boh.  | <i>šip, střela</i>         |
| Sp.  | <i>flecha, saeta</i>              | ME    | <i>ar(c)ue, flone, strale</i> | Pol.  | <i>strzala</i>             |
| Rum. | <i>săgeală</i>                    | NE    | <i>arrow</i>                  | Russ. | <i>strěla</i>              |
| Ir.  | <i>saiget</i>                     | Du.   | <i>pilj</i>                   | Skt.  | <i>iṣu-, garu-, bāna-</i>  |
| Nlr. | <i>saighead</i>                   | OHG   | <i>strāla, pfil</i>           | Av.   | <i>iṣu-, tīryi-, ašti-</i> |
| W.   | <i>saeth</i>                      | MHG   | <i>pfil, strāle</i>           |       |                            |
| Br.  | <i>bir, saez</i>                  | NHG   | <i>pfeil</i>                  |       |                            |

A few of the words for 'arrow' are derivs. of those for 'bow', either through the medium of a verb 'shoot with the bow, shoot arrows', or directly as 'belonging with the bow'. For the association, cf. also the use of Grk. *τόξον* 'bow' in the plural for 'bow and arrows' or even 'arrows'.

But the majority are from the more generic notion of 'missile', from verbs for 'throw' or the like, or are connected with names of various sharp-pointed objects.

There is one small group common to Grk. and Indo-Iranian, besides the one for 'bow' or 'arrow' common to Lat. and Gmc. Loanwords are frequent.

1. Grk. *τός* (the oldest word, but only poet.) fr. *\*taro-*: Skt. *iṣu-*, Av. *iṣu-* 'arrow', fr. the root seen in Skt. *iṣ-* 'set in quick motion, swing, hit', etc. Walde-P. 1.107. Boisacq 378.

Grk. *οἰστός*, Hom. *οἰστός* (mostly poet.), etym. dub., perh. as *ὀ-σ-τό-ς* fr. the same root as the preceding. Walde-P. 1.107. Brugmann, IF 29.231.

Grk. *τόξονα* (the usual prose word), fr. *τοξέω* 'shoot the bow', fr. *τόξον* 'bow'.

Grk. *βέλος*, a 'missile' of any sort but esp. an 'arrow' (so freq. in Hom., and the NG word): βάλλω 'throw'. Walde-P. 1.689, 691. Boisacq 118.

2. Lat. *sagitta* (> It. *saetta*, OFr. *saete*, Sp. *saeta*, Rum. *săgeală*), prob.

loanword (Etruscan?). Ernout-M. 886. REW 7508.

Fr. *flèche* (> It. *freccia*, Sp., Port. *flecha*), fr. a Frank. form corresponding to MDu. *vleke, vlieke* 'arrow', orig. 'pinion' of a bird (cf. also OHG *flukhe* 'sagitta', Graff 3.763), orig. *\*flugika*: OHG *flugan* 'fly'. REW 9424a. Gamillscheg 423. Wartburg 3.622 f.

3. Ir. *saiget*, Nlr. *saighead*, W. *saeth*, Br. *saez*, fr. Lat. *sagitta*. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 173. Loth, Mots lat. 204. Br. *bir*, etym.? Henry 35.

4. Goth. *arhwazna*, ON *ør*, OE *earh*, ME *ar(c)ue*, NE *arrow*, derivs. of a word for 'bow': Lat. *arcus* 'bow' (20.24).

ON *fleinn* (also a 'dart, short spear'; Dan. *flen* 'tine'), OE *flā, flān*, ME *flone, flo* (Sc. *flane*, NED), etym. dub., perh. as orig. 'something split off': ON *flis* 'splinter', MLG *vlise* 'four-cornered flat stone', and (with *sp-* beside *p-*) MHG *spitzen* 'split'. Walde-P. 2.684. Falk-Torp 235.

Late ON *pila*, Dan., Sw. *pil*, Du. *pilj*, OHG, MHG *pfil*, NHG *pfeil* (OE *pil* 'dart', NE *pile*), fr. Lat. *pilum* 'heavy javelin' (20.26). Falk-Torp 825. Weigand-H. 2.407.

OE *strāl, strēle*, ME *strale*, OHG *strāl, strāla*, MHG *strāle* (NHG *strahl*, in OHG also 'flash of lightning'), ChSl. *strěla*, etc., general Slavic: Lett. *stars* 'beam' (of light), MHG *strām* 'streak of

later for other weapons), etym.? Walde-P. 1.608, 2.327. Boisacq 214.

Grk. *ἀκων* 'javelin' (Hom.+) : *ἀκανα* 'spike, goad', *ἀκίς* 'pointed object', *ἀκρος* 'topmost', Lat. *acer* 'sharp', etc. Walde-P. 1.20. Boisacq 32.

NG *kontrā*, fr. late Grk. *κοντάριον*, dim. of *κοντός* '(boat-)pole, pike, crutch, goad' (> Lat. *contus* 'pole' and 'pike' as weapon): *κοντίω* 'sting, prick', W. *gadz* 'prick, sting', ON *gadr* 'prick, point', OHG *gart* 'stimulus'. Walde-P. 1.402. Boisacq 434.

2. Lat. *hasta* (> It., Sp. *asta*), Umbr. *hostatu* 'hastatos': Ir. *gat* 'withe', Goth. *gazds* 'prick, sting', ON *gadr* 'prick, point', OHG *gart* 'stimulus'. Walde-P. 1.541. Ernout-M. 445. Walde-H. 1.636.

Lat. *lancea* (> It. *lancia* [> Hung. *lancsa* > Rum. *lance*], Fr. *lance*, Sp. *lanza*), see under Grk. *λόγχη*, above, 1.

Lat. *pilum*, the heavy javelin of the Roman infantry, orig. and earliest form much disputed. Thought by some to be the same word as *pilum* 'pestle' and first applied to a more primitive club-like weapon. Kropatchek, *Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1908 86 f. Couissin, op. cit. 22 f.

OFr. *espieu*, Fr. *épieu* (now heavy spear for hunting boars, etc.), fr. a Frank. *\*speat* = OHG *spioz* (below, 4). Rum. *suliță*, fr. Slavic, cf. ChSl. *sulica* (below, 6).

3. Ir. *gae (gāi)*, W. *gwaeu, gwayw* and (cpd. with *ffon* 'stick') *gwayuffon*, Br. *goaf*, Gall.-Lat. *gaesum*, Gallo-Grk. *γαῖσον*: ON *geirr*, OE *gār* 'spear', Grk. *χαῖος* 'shepherd's staff', prob. fr. the same root as Skt. *heti-* 'missile', Av. *zāēna* 'weapon', Skt. *hi-* 'urge, hurl'. Walde-P. 1.528, 546. Pedersen 1.96. Walde-H. 1.575 f.

Ir. *sleg*, Nlr. *sleagh*, perh.: Skt. *srj-* 'release, shoot, pour', MHG *selken* 'drip, sink' Ir. *selg* 'hunt' (fr. the releas-

ing of the hunting dogs). Walde-P. 2.508. Pederson 1.100.

Other Ir. 'spear'-names (Bauersfeld, op. cit.) *cróisech* (etym.?), *laigen* (= W. *llain* 'blade, sword', Pedersen 1.97, Walde-P. 2.381), *mānais* (etym.?).

4. ON *spjöt*, Dan. *spjød*, Sw. *spjut*, MLG *spēl*, OHG *spioz*, MHG *spiez*, NHG *spieß* (> Du. *spies, spiets*), etym. dub., perh.: Lith. *spaudžiu, spausti* 'press', Grk. *σπείδω* 'hasten, urge'. Persson, Beitr. 415. Falk-Torp 1553 (with refs.; vs. 1138 and Walde-P. 2.119).

ON *geirr*, OE *gār* (OHG *gēr* rare except in proper names like *Gérhart*, etc.): Ir. *gae*, etc. (above, 3).

ON *spjör* (poet.), OE, ME *sper*, NE *spear*, OHG, MHG *sper*, NHG, Du. *speer*: ON *sparri* 'spar, timber', *sperra* 'rafter', OHG *sparro* 'beam, rafter, pole', Lat. *sparus, sparum* 'hunting spear'. Walde-P. 2.665. Falk-Torp 1140.

ME *launce*, NE *lance*, Du. *lans*, MHG, NHG *lanze* (> Dan. *lanse*, Sw. *lans*), fr. Fr. *lance* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *ietis* (quotable from 16th cent.; Buga, *Kalba* ir Senovė 166; lit. usual word, Senn): *eti* 'go'.

Lith. *iešmas*, also 'spit' (for roasting): OPruss. *aysmis*, Lett. *iesms* 'spit', Grk. *αἰχμή* 'spear-point', *αἰχμή* *αἰ γωνία τοῦ βέλους* (Hesych.), Lat. *icere* 'hit, wound', etc. Walde-P. 1.8. Trautmann 4.

Lith. *ragotinė* (bibl., e.g. NT Jn. 19.34) : *ragas*, ChSl. *rogā* 'horn'.

Lett. *šķēps* : *šķēpele* 'splinter, piece', SCR-ChSl. *stapūš, SCR. štap* 'staff', Boh. *štěp* 'scion', *oštep* 'spear', fr. the root in Pol. *szczępać*, Russ. *ščepat'* 'split', ChSl. *skopiti* 'castrate'. Walde-P. 2.560 f. Mühl.-Endz. 4.33. Trautmann 265.

6. ChSl. *kopije*, SCR. *kopje*, Boh. *kopti*, Pol. *kopia*, Russ. *kop'e*: Lith. *kapijs*, Lett. *kapijs* 'hoe', fr. the root of ChSl. *kopati* 'dig', etc., Lith. *kapoti*

'hew, hack', Grk. *κόπρω* 'strike, hew'. Walde-P. 2.561. Bernerker 566. Trautmann 116.

ChSl., SCR. (Pol., Russ. obs.) *sulica*, Boh. *sudlice*: ChSl. *suja, sovati* 'thrust, shove', Lith. *šauti* 'shoot', etc. Walde-P. 2.553. Brückner 525.

Boh. *oštep*, cf. Lett. *šķēps* (above, 5).

Pol. *włócznia*, prob. (as 'trail', fr. the position of the spear when carried): *włóczyć*, ChSl. *vlōšti* 'drag'. Brückner 627. Miklosich 379.

Pol. *spisa, lanza*, fr. NHG. 7. Skt. *rṣti-*, Av., OPers. *arštī-*: Skt. *rṣ-* 'push, thrust, stab, kill'. Uhlenbeck 35.

## 20.27 SWORD

|      |   |       |                                |       |                         |
|------|---|-------|--------------------------------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | ἔπος, μάχαιρα                                       | Goth. | <i>hairus, mēki</i> (acc. sg.) | Lith. | <i>kalamjas, kardas</i> |
| NG   | σάβι, ἔπος (lit.)                                   | ON    | <i>sverð, makir, hjorr</i>     | Lett. | <i>zuobens</i>          |
| Lat. | <i>gladius, ensis</i> (poet.), <i>spatha</i> (late) | Dan.  | <i>sverd</i>                   | ChSl. | <i>meč, kor(ū)da</i>    |
| It.  | <i>spada</i>  | Sw.   | <i>sverd</i>                   | SCR.  | <i>mač</i>              |
| Fr.  | <i>épée</i> (glaive)                                | OE    | <i>sweord, mēce, heoru</i>     | Boh.  | <i>meč</i>              |
| Sp.  | <i>espada</i>                                       | ME    | <i>sword</i>                   | Pol.  | <i>miecz</i>            |
| Rum. | <i>sabie, spadă</i>                                 | NE    | <i>sword</i>                   | Russ. | <i>meč</i>              |
| Ir.  | <i>claidib, colg</i>                                | Du.   | <i>zwaard</i>                  | Skt.  | <i>asi-, khadga-</i>    |
| Nlr. | <i>claidheamh</i>                                   | OHG   | <i>swert</i>                   | Av.   | <i>karata-</i>          |
| W.   | <i>claddif</i>                                      | MHG   | <i>swert</i>                   |       |                         |
| Br.  | <i>kleze</i>  | NHG   | <i>schwert</i>                 |       |                         |

Some of the words for 'sword' are connected with verbs for 'cut, strike' or the like, and in one group the basic characteristic is the flat blade. But many are of obscure root connection, and loanwords are frequent.

1. Grk. *ἔπος*, prob. a loanword fr. the same source as Egypt. *sft* 'knife, sword'. Boisacq 679 with references. Myres, *Who were the Greeks?* 590.

Grk. *δορ* (poet., freq. in Hom.), the sword as hung on the belt : *δαίρω* 'raise', pass. 'be suspended'. Solmsen, *Untersuchungen* 292.

Grk. *μάχαιρα* 'knife' (9.23), also used for a kind of sword, 'dagger', and 'saber', in NT reg. word for 'sword'.

NG *σαβί* (the reg. pop. word; *ἔπος* lit., but official term in the army), fr. Grk. *σαβίον*, dim. of *σάβη* 'flat wooden blade, spattle, blade' (of an oar or sword, etc.): OE *spadu* 'spade', etc. Walde-P. 2.653.

2. Lat. *gladius* (> OIt. *ghiado*; Fr. *glaive*, now arch., by blend with a Gallic

form; REW 3773), early loanword fr. Celtic (Ir. *claidib*, etc., below, 3). Ernout-M. 423. Walde-H. 1.603 f.

Lat. *ēnsis* (old word, but only poet., in prose replaced by *gladius*): Skt. *asi-* 'sword', root connection? Ernout-M. 302. Walde-H. 1.406.

Lat. *spatha* 'spattle', also 'sword' of the auxiliaries (Tac.), later reg. word for 'sword', displacing *gladius*, loanword fr. Grk. *σάβη* (above, 1). Hence It. *spada* (> Rum. *spadă*), Fr. *épée*, Sp. *espada*. Couissin, op. cit. 489. REW 8128.

Rum. *sabie*, fr. the Slavic, cf. Bulg. *sab(i)ja*, SCR. *sabja*, Pol. *sabla*, etc. 'saber' (whence also NHG *sabel, säbel*, It. *sciabla*, Fr. *sabre* > NE *sabre*), prob. orig. fr. Hung. *szablya* (> *szab* 'cut'). Tiktin 1350. Kluge-G. 493.

3. Ir. *claidib*, Nlr., Gael. *claidheamh* (hence with *mōr* 'great', NE *claymore*), W. *claddif*, Br. *kleze*, Corn. *clethe*, beside Lat. *gladius* (fr. Celtic): Ir. *claidim*, W. *claddu* 'dig', Lat. *clādēs* 'damage, injury', Skt. *khadga* 'sword', Lith. *kalti*

'strike', Grk. *κλάω* 'break', etc. Walde-P. 1.439. Walde-H. 1.603 f. (with refs. for Celtic).

Ir. *colg* (less common than *claidib* and denoting some special type of sword, Bauersfeld, op. cit. 339 ff.; also 'beard on grain, prickle': W. *cola* 'beard (on grain)', *col* 'sting', *cala*, Br. *kal'e'h* 'penis' perh. fr. a root *\*kel-* 'prick, stick' (or ultimately identical with *\*kel-* 'strike' in above group?). Walde-P. 1.435.

4. Goth. *hairus*, ON *hjorr*, OE *heoru*, OS *heru*, prob. fr. IE *\*(s)ker-* in Grk. *κείρω* 'shear', OE *sceran* 'cut, shear', etc. (9.22). Walde-P. 2.576. Feist 235.

Goth. *mēki* (acc. sg.), ON *makir*, OE *māce* (loanword fr. ON?), OS *māki*, Crim.Goth. *mycha* 'ensis', orig. dub., perh. a loanword, but source unknown (cf. ChSl. *meč*, below, 6). Feist 352 f.

ON *sverð*, OE *sweord*, etc., general Gmc. (except Goth.), etym. dub., perh.: OHG *sveran* 'cause or suffer pain', *svero*, *sver(a)do* 'pain', Ir. *serb* 'bitter', Av. *x'ara-* 'wound' (Walde-P. 2.529), with orig. sense of root 'sting, cut'(?).

W. Krogmann, KZ 59.204. Kluge-G. 552. Otherwise Falk-Torp 1214 (cf. also 1560).

ON *brandr*, OE *brand*, OHG *brant* 'burning, brand' were used (mostly poet.) for the 'blade of a sword' and 'sword'. Hence as 'sword' It. *brando*,

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OFr. *brant*. NED s.v. *brand*, sb. 8. REW 1273.

5. Lith. *kalavijas*: OPruss. *kalabian* id., Lat. *clāva* 'club', fr. the root in Lith. *kalti* 'strike', etc. (cf. Ir. *claidib*, above 3). Trautmann, *Altpruss.* 351. (Walde-P. 1.437).

Lith. *kardas* (cf. NSB; formerly the usual word), fr. Pol. *kord*, cf. ChSl. *kor(ū)da* (below, 6).

MHG *bühse*, NHG *büchse* (as a kind of gun since 14th cent., still in local use), MLG *busse* (> Dan. *bøsse*, Sw. *bössa*), all also and orig. 'box' (as OHG *buhsa*, OE-NE *boz*), esp. one of cylindrical shape (hence 'gun'), fr. MLat. *buzis*, Grk. *πυξίς* 'box'. Weigand-H. 1.300. Falk-Torp 129.

NHG *gewehr* (> Dan. *geveer*, Sw. *gevär*, Du. *geweer*), orig. 'defense' (: NHG *wehren* 'prevent, defend', etc.), hence 'defense weapon, weapon', finally specialized to 'gun'. Weigand-H. 1.717. Falk-Torp 305.

NHG *flinte* (17th cent.+, still in local use), fr. NE *flint*, borrowed at the time when the *flint-lock* was introduced. Weigand-H. 1.544.

NHG *geschütz*, formerly only coll. 'artillery', now also of the single cannon, coll. formation to *schütz* 'shot'. Weigand-H. 1.701.

5. Lith. *šaudyklė* (formerly only 'shuttle', neolog. for 'gun'), fr. *šaudyti* 'shoot'.

Lith. *kanuolė* (NSB; not in Kurschat or Lalis), fr. NHG dial. *kanol* = *kanone*. Alminauskis 62.

Lith. *patranka* (neolog. for 'cannon',

given as preferred form by NSB s.v. *kanuolė*): *patrankyti* 'strike, hit', *trenkti* 'strike, clash', etc. (Leskien, Ablaut 352).

Lett. *bīse*, fr. MLG *büsse* = NHG *büchse*, etc. (above, 4). Mühl.-Endz. 1.300. Sehwers, Z. sl. Ph. 5.310.

Lett. *stīnte*, fr. NHG *flinte* (above, 4). Lett. *lielgabals* 'cannon', lit. 'big piece', cpd. of *liels* 'large' and *gabals* 'piece'. Cf. NE *field-piece*, NHG *stück* in *stückgiesser*, *stückkugel*, etc. (Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 527). Mühl.-Endz. 2.498.

6. SCR., Boh. *puška* 'gun' (rifle, shot-gun), Pol. *puska*, formerly 'gun' esp. 'cannon', Russ. *пушка* 'cannon', loanword fr. OHG *buhsa* (above, 4). Brückner 448 f.

SCR. *top* 'cannon', fr. Turk. *top* 'ball' and 'cannon'. Lokotsch 2089.

Boh. *dělo*, Pol. *działo* 'cannon', orig. 'work' (concrete, 'piece of work'), as ChSl. *dělo*, etc. (9.12). Berneker 194. Brückner 109.

Pol. *strzelba* 'gun', fr. *strzelić* 'shoot', fr. *strzela* 'arrow' (20.25). Brückner 522.

Russ. *ружьё* 'gun': *оружье* 'weapons' (20.21). Brückner 381.

## 20.29 GUNPOWDER

Grk. *βυστή*, *βυστή* (pūstis)  
NG *μυστή* (pūstis)  
MLat. *pūstis*  
It. *pūstis*  
Fr. *poudre*  
Du. *kruid*  
Sp. *pólvara*  
Rum. *praf*, *iarbă*  
Nir. *pūdār*  
W. *pylor*, *poudr*  
Br. *poult*

Dan. *kruid*  
Sw. *krut*  
ME *poudre*  
NE *poudre*  
Du. *kruid*  
MHG *kruid*  
NHG *pulver*

Lith. *parakas*  
Lett. *bi(s)zāles*  
SCR. *barut*, *prah*  
Boh. *prach*  
Pol. *prach*  
Russ. *poroch*

Most of the words for 'gunpowder' are the same as those for 'powder' in general, which are the same as, or derived from, those for 'dust' (1.213). While they may be made more specific by compounds or phrases, like NE *gunpowder*,

NHG *schießpulver*, Fr. *poudre à fusil*, *à canon*, they are ordinarily used alone, with reference to horses, etc.). Du. *harnas*, MHG *harnas(ch)*, NHG *harnisch*. Although these words are most commonly used of 'coat-of-mail, body-armor', they also have a wider scope, as originally.

3. Ir. *gaissced*, possibly late borrowing fr. W. *guisgad* 'clothing' (6.12). Pedersen 2.4.

Nir. *éide* (*catha*), lit. 'clothing (of war)', cf. Ir. *élach*, Nir. *éadach* 'clothes' (6.12).

W. *arfogaeth*, deriv. of *arfog* 'armed', fr. *arf* 'weapon' (20.21).

Br. *harnaz*, prob. fr. Fr. *harnais*, *harnois*, but with change of suffix. Henry 157. Otherwise Thurneysen, Keltorum. 37 f.

4. Goth. *sarva* (pl.; renders *σπλα*, *πανοπλία*), OE *searu* (also 'cunning'), OHG *saro*, *gisarawi*, MHG *sar*, *geserwe*, cf. ON *sérvi* 'necklace' (of pearls or precious stones), prob. : Lat. *serere* 'join, compose, contrive', Ir. *sreth* 'row, series', Grk. *δρμος* 'necklace', *ερω* 'fasten together in rows, string', etc. Walde-P. 2.500. Falk-Torp 960. Feist 411.

ON *herklæði*, OE *herewæd*, both lit. 'army-clothes' (cf. 20.15, 6.12).

ON *herneska*, ME *harnais*, NHG *harnisch*, etc., see under OFr. *herneis* (above, 2).

ME *armure*, NE *armor*, fr. OFr. *armure* (above, 2).

NHG *rüstung* ('equipment', esp. military; OHG *rüstunga* 'tool'), Du. *uitrusting*, derivs. of NHG *rüsten*, Du. *rusten* 'arm, equip' (MLG *rusten* > Dan. *ruste*, Sw. *rusta*, whence *rustning*, in Sw. usually cpd. *vapenrustning*), OHG *rusten* 'prepare, adorn' = OE *hyrstan* 'decorate, ornament', cf. (pples.) ON *hróðinn* 'adorned', OE *gehrōden* 'laden, adorned', prob. fr. the root in Lith. *krauti* 'pile up,

always Sp. *pólvara* vs. *polvo*, Du. *kruid* vs. *kruid*; or definite specialization to 'gunpowder', as Russ. *poroch*.

A few are words for 'plant, herb' (8.53), which included medicinal herbs and spices and were applied to gunpowder from its resemblance to ground spices or medicaments.

1. Grk. *βόραν* 'herb, plant', Byz. 'gunpowder', e.g. Ducas pp. 211, 249, 266, Critob. 1.29, 30. Chalccond., p. 231.21 f. uses *κόvus* 'dust'.

NG lit. *πυρίτις*, fr. *πύρ* 'fire'. NG *μαροῦτι*, fr. Turk. *barut*.

2. Lat. *pulvis*, gen. *pulveris* 'dust, powder' (1.213), in late MLat. 'gunpowder'. Hence It. *polvere*, OFr. *poudre*, *poudre* (> Br. *poult*), Fr. *poudre* (> ME *poudre*, NE *powder* > Nir. *pūdār*, W. *poudr*), Sp. *pólvara*, Rum. *pulbere* (not in common use), W. *pylor* (Loth, Mots lat. 196), NHG *pulver*. REW 6842.

Rum. *praf* 'dust, powder' and (*praf de*

## 20.31 ARMOR (Defensive)

Grk. *σπλα*, *τεύχεα*, *πανοπλία*  
NG *δπλα*, *τεύχεα*, *πανοπλία*  
Lat. *arma*, *armatūra*  
It. *armatura*, *arnese*  
Fr. *armure* (*harnois*)  
Sp. *armadura*, *arnés*  
Rum. *armură*  
Ir. *gaissced*  
Nir. *éide* (*catha*)  
W. *arfogaeth*  
Br. *harnaz*

Goth. *sarva*  
ON *herklæði*, *herneska*  
Dan. *rustning*, *harnisk*  
Sw. *(vapen)rustning*, *harnesk*

OE *searu*, *herewæd*  
ME *armure*, *harnais*  
NE *armor*  
Du. *uitrusting*, *harnas*  
OHG *saro*, *gisarawi*  
MHG *harnas(ch)*, *sar*, *geserwe*  
NHG *rüstung*, *harnisch*

Many of the words for 'weapons, arms' (20.21) cover both offensive and defensive arms. The latter may, of course, be expressed more specifically by the addition of 'defensive', 'of (or for) defense', e.g. Grk. *σπλα* *ἀμυντικά*, Fr. *armes défensives*, NHG *schutzwaffen*, Lett. *aissardzības ieroci*, SCR. *oružje za obranu*, Boh. *zbraně ochranné*, Pol. *broń*

*odporna*. Such obvious phrases are not entered in the list. Apart from a few repeated from 20.21, those entered are such as correspond most nearly to NE *armor* in its historical uses.

Some of them may cover the whole military equipment but are used mostly of defensive armor. Some may cover all defensive arms including the shield,

SCR. *oklop*, mostly 'breastplate' (20.32).

Boh. *brněni*, Russ. *bronja* 'coat-of-mail', also and orig. 'breastplate', fr. Gmc. (20.32).

Pol. *zbroja* (Boh. *zbroj* 'arms, armor'), etym.? Miklosich 390. Brückner 648.

7. Skt. *ayudha* 'arms' (20.21) includes defensive armor. Macdonell-Keith, 1.60.

Av. *varəθa* (Yt. 13.26, 71 clearly 'defensive armor' vs. *snaēiš-*), like *vārəθman-*, Skt. *varman-* 'body-armor, corslet' (20.32), fr. *var-* 'cover'.

## 20.32 BREASTPLATE, CORSET

Grk. *θώραξ*  
NG *θώραξ*  
Lat. *lorica*  
It. *corazza*  
Fr. *cuirasse*, *haubert*  
Sp. *coraza*  
Rum. *cuiasă*, *platoză*  
Ir. *lúrech*  
Nir. *lúreach*, *uchtphlata*  
W. *duyffronneg*, *llurig*  
Br. *hobregon*

Goth. *brunjo*  
ON *brynja*  
Dan. *kyras*, *panser*  
Sw. *kyras*, *pansar*  
OE *byrne*  
ME *brinie*, *hauberc*, *bristplate*, *curas*  
NE *breastplate*, *cuirass*, *corslet*

Lith. *ankrūtis*  
Lett. *krāšu brun'as*  
ChSl. *(brānja)*  
SCR. *oklop*, *pancijer*  
Boh. *panecf*, *kyrys*, *krunyf*  
Pol. *pancerz*, *kyrys*  
Russ. *pancyr*  
Skt. *varman-*, *kavaca-vārəθman-*  
Av. *varəθa*

Here are included the main words for armor protecting the trunk of the body, regardless of the changing material or form, ranging from the single front plate (as orig. NE *breastplate*) to the full corslet or coat-of-mail. A few of the words reflect simply the notion of 'covering, protection' and so would be equally applicable to all forms. But more are based upon either the material used or the part of the body protected, especially the breast, but in some cases originally the belly or the neck—such names being unaffected by subsequent changes of material or form.

1. Grk. *θώραξ* ('corslet' Hom.; only secondarily the part covered 'trunk, chest'), perh. : Skt. *dhāraka-* 'recep-

tacle' fr. IE *\*dher-* 'hold'. Walde-P. 1.858. Boisacq 361.

2. Lat. *lōrica*, prob. deriv. of *lōrum* 'thong, strap'. Walde-H. 1.822. Otherwise, as loanword fr. unknown source, Ernout-M. 562.

OFr. *halberz*, *hauberc* (> It. *usbergo*), *hauberc*, Fr. *haubert* (> ME *hauberc*, *haubert*), orig. protecting the neck and shoulders, then lengthened to a full coat-of-mail, fr. OHG *halsberg*, cpd. of *hals* 'neck' and *berg* : *bergan* 'cover, protect'. REW 4009. Gamillscheg 510. NED s.v. *hauberk*.

It. *corazza* (> Sp. *coraza*, Fr. *cuirasse* > Rum. *cuiasă*), deriv. of Lat. *corium* 'leather'. REW 2233. Gamillscheg 284. Rum. *platoză*, formed fr. a loanword

like MHG *platte* 'plate-armor'. Tiktin 1184.

3. Ir. *lúrech*, Nir. *lúreach*, W. *llurig*, fr. Lat. *lōrica*. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 152. Loth, Mots lat. 183.

Nir. *uchtphlata*, transl. of NE *breastplate* (*ucht* 'breast', 4.40).

W. *duyffronneg*, deriv. of *duyffron* 'breast' (4.40), after NE *breastplate*. Also direct loanword *bresblad*. Parry-Williams 82.

Br. *hobregon*, fr. Fr. *haubergeon*, dim. of OFr. *hauberc* (above, 2).

4. Goth. *brunjo*, ON *brynja* (Dan. *brynje*, Sw. *brynja* revived), OE *byrne*, ME *brunie*, *brinie*, OHG *brunna*, MHG *brünne* (NHG revived), early Gmc. loanword fr. Celtic word for 'breast', Ir. *brúinne*, etc. (4.40). Feist 107 f. Falk-Torp 110. NED s.v. *brinie*.

ME *bristplate*, NE *breastplate*, orig. single plate for the breast, but actually not so restricted in use.

ME *hauberc*, fr. OFr. *hauberc* (above, 2).

ME *curas*, NE *cuirass*, Dan., Sw. *kyras*, Du. *kuras*, MHG *küriss*, NHG *kürass*, fr. Fr. *cuirasse* (above, 2).

NE *corslet*, fr. Fr. *corselet*, dim. of *cors* 'body'. NED s.v.

MHG *panzier*, NHG *panzer* (now esp. 'armored equipment', as also Du. *panster*), MLG *panser* (> Dan. *panser*, Sw. *pansar*), fr. It. *panciera* 'belly-armor', deriv. of *pancia*, Lat. *pantex* 'paunch'. REW 6207. Falk-Torp 813. Weigand-H. 2.366.

Du. *borsiharnas*, lit. 'breast-armor' (*harnas*, 20.32).

SCR. *kaciga*, *kacida*, prob. (through an unknown intermediate source) fr. Lat. *cassis*, *-idis* (above, 2). Berneker 465.

Boh. *přilba*, cpd. of *při* 'at, on' and *leb*, gen. *lbi* 'skull'. Berneker 748.

Pol. *helm* (replacing the old *szlom*), fr. MHG, NHG *helm*.

7. Skt. *čiprās*, pl. of *čiprā* 'cheek', in RV the 'cheek-pieces of the helmet' apparently used for 'helmet'. Cf. *ayūh-*

## 20.34 SHIELD

Grk. *ἀσπίς*, *σάκος*, *θυρεός*  
NG *ἀσπίς* (*ἀσπίς*)  
Lat. *scutum*, *clipeus*  
Fr. *scudo*  
Ir. *bouchier*  
Sp. *escudo*  
Rum. *scut*  
Nir. *sciath*, *fern*, *bocóit*  
W. *scioth*  
Br. *skoed*

Goth. *skildus*  
ON *skjöldr*  
Dan. *skjoldr*  
Sw. *sköld*  
OE *scild*  
ME *scheld*  
NE *shield*  
Du. *schild*  
OHG *scilt*  
MHG *schilt*  
NHG *schild*

Besides the commonest and most generic words for 'shield', some of the most important of those used less commonly or for special types are mentioned.

A recurring connection is that with words for 'board', properly applied to the wooden shield. Some of the terms orig. denoted some part of the shield as the boss or rim. The function of 'protection' is a rare source.

1. Grk. *ἀσπίς*, etym.? Walde-P. 1.50, 2.658. Boisacq 90.

Grk. *σάκος* : Skt. *tvac-*, *-tvacas* 'skin, hide'. Walde-P. 1.747. Boisacq 849.

Grk. *θυρεός*, in Hom. 'stone placed against the door' (: *θυρα* 'door'), in late writers freq. 'oblong shield' and esp. for Lat. *scutum*, vs. *ἀσπίς* = Lat. *clipeus*.

2. Lat. *scutum* (> It. *scudo*, OFr. *escut*, Fr. *écu* now obs., Sp. *escudo*, Rum. *scut*), either fr. *\*skouto-m*, fr. the root *\*skeu-* 'cover' in Skt. *skāuti* 'covers', Grk. *σκέτρος* 'skin, hide', Lat. *ob-*

*čipra-*, *hiranya-čipra-* 'having bronze (golden) helmets'. Zimmer, Altind. Leben 298. Macdonell-Keith 2.379 f.

Av. *zaoda* in *ayō-zaoda*-adj. 'with bronze (or iron) helmet' (Yt. 13.45, 15.57), cf. OPers. *tigra-zauda* 'with pointed cap', NPers. *zūd* 'helmet', perh. fr. the root in Grk. *κεῖθα* 'hide', etc. Walde-P. 2.550. Barth. 162, 531.

Av. *sāravāra*, cpd. of *sāra*- 'head' and *var-* 'cover, protect'. Barth. 1572.

ON *targa*, OE *targa*, *targe* (> OFr. *targe* > ME, NE *targe*, whence dim. *target*) = OHG *zarga* 'border'. Fr. *targe*

also > NHG *tartsche* > Slavic forms, of which Pol. *tarca* has become the reg. word for 'shield'. Walde-P. 1.807. NED s.v. *targe*. Brückner 565.

ON *rand*, OE *rand*, *rand*, OHG *rant*, orig. 'border, edge', hence 'shield-rim' or 'shield-boss' and 'shield'. Walde-P. 2.372. Falk-Torp 876. NED s.v. *rand*.

5. Lith. *skydas* (Lett. obs. *skyde*, Z. sl. Ph. 5.315), fr. a Gmc. form, cf. OHG *scit* 'board' (above, 3). Alminauskis 116.

Lett. *vairuogs*, deriv. of *vairūt* 'ward off, protect'. Mühl.-Endz. 4.443.

6. ChSl. *štítā*, etc., general Slavic (but Pol. *szczyt* now obs. in this sense) : Ir. *sciath*, etc. (above, 3). Brückner 546.

Pol. *tarca*, see under ON *targa*, etc. (above, 4).

7. There is no reference to shields in Skt. or Av., only 'shield' in fig. sense *target*) = OHG *zarga* 'border'. Fr. *targe*

usual means of expressing 'fortress'. The city-walls, the *κλῡρά* *τείχεα* of Troy, the *μακρά* *τείχεα* of Athens, were the fortress, and *τείχος* is frequently used where the sense is not strictly 'wall', but 'fortress' e.g. Hdt. 7.59, Thuc. 3.51, 3.85, etc. To fortify a place was to 'build walls, wall it in', *τειρίζω* (*τήν πόλιν* *τειρίζω*), *ἐπείκεισθαι* Ἀγαλάνθη, Thuc. 1.93, 2.32), whence also *ἐπείκεισθαι* 'build fortifications against' and *ἐπείκεισθαι* 'frontier fortress'.

1. Grk. *τείχος* 'wall' (7.27) is also the

## 20.33 HELMET

Grk. *κόρυς*, *κράνος*  
NG *κορυμβία*, *κράνος*  
Lat. *cassis*, *galea*  
It. *elmo*, *casco*  
Fr. *casque*  
Sp. *yelmo*, *casco*  
Rum. *coif*  
Ir. *cathbarr*  
Nir. *cathbarr*  
W. *helm*  
Br. *tok-houarn*

Goth. *hilmis*  
ON *hjalmr*  
Dan. *hjelme*  
Sw. *hjälm*  
OE *helm*  
ME *helm*, *helmet*  
NE *helmet*  
Du. *helm*  
OHG *helm*  
MHG *helm*  
NHG *helm*

Lith. *šalmas*  
Lett. *k'ivere*, *brunu cepure*  
ChSl. *šlěmā*  
SCR. *kaciga*  
Boh. *přilba*  
Pol. *helm*  
Russ. *šlem*  
Skt. *čiprās* (pl.)  
Av. *zaoda-*, *sāravāra-*

Words for 'helmet' are mostly derived from nouns for 'head', 'top', 'cap', or verbs for 'cover'.

1. Grk. *κόρυς*, gen. *κορύθος* : *κάρᾱ* 'head', *κέρας* 'horn', *κορυφή* 'summit', Skt. *čiras*, Av. *sarah* 'head', etc. Walde-P. 1.406. Boisacq 499.

Grk. *κράνος*, prob. : preceding group. Walde-P. 1.405.

Grk. (late and NG) *κορυμβία*, lit. 'what is around the head' : *κεφαλή* 'head'.

2. Lat. *cassis*, gen. *-idis* ('metal helmet'), could be fr. *\*kadh-ti-s* : OE *hatt* 'hat', OHG *huot* 'hat, helmet', etc., but perh. is a loanword (Etruscan?). Walde-P.



Grk. *φρουρα* (also 'garrison') : *φρουρός* 'guard' (fr. \**φρο-φρος* : *φράω* 'watch, see', 15.51), vb. *φρουρέω* 'keep guard', etc.

Byz. *κάστρον*, NG *κάστρο*, fr. Lat. *castrum* (below, 2).

2. Lat. *castellum*, deriv. of *castrum*, rarely 'fortress', mostly in place-names or esp. pl. *castra* 'fortified camp', beside Umbr. *castruo* 'fundos', prob. as orig. a piece of land cut off, that is, laid out, fr. the same root as *castrāre* 'castrate', orig. 'cut' (3.14). Walde-P. 1.448. Ernout-M. 160. Walde-H. 1.180.

Hence the widespread Eur. words which in earlier periods denoted a fortress, as OFr. *castel*, ME *castel*, Ir. *caisel*, W. *castell*, but later a 'castle' even without fortifications, as Fr. *château*, NE *castle*. NED s.v. *castle*, sb. 3.

It. *fortezza*, Fr. *forteresse* (> ME, NE *fortress*, Rum. *fortăreață*), OFr. also *fortelece* (> Sp. *fortaleza*), in earliest use 'might', derivs. of Lat. *fortis* 'strong, mighty' (4.81), whence also in sb. use for 'fortress' Fr. (> NE) *fort*, Sp. *fuerte*. REW 3457.

3. Ir. *dūn* (Gall. *dūnum* in place names, MW *din*) : OE *tūn* 'inclosed place' (NE *toun*), OHG *zūn* 'hedge, fence', etc. (19.15). Walde-P. 1.778. Pedersen 1.50.

W. *cader* (cf. Evans s.v., not in Spurrell, now obs.?) and *caer*, prob. : Ir. *cathir* 'city' (see 19.15).

Br. *kreflec'h*, fr. *krefn* 'strong' (4.81).

4. ON *borg*, OE, OHG *burg* 'fortified

place', hence 'city' (Goth. *baurgs* reg. = *þáls*), see under 'city' (19.15).

MHG *vestenunge*, MLG *vesteninge* (> Dan. *fæstning*, Sw. *fästning*), Du. *vesting*, MHG *vestunge*, NHG *festung*, fr. MHG *vesten* 'make fast', *veste* 'firm, fast'. Weigand-H. 1.524. Falk-Torp 289.

5. Lith. *tvirtovė* : *tvirtas* 'firm', ChSL *tvirtūdi* 'firm, stable', etc., see under 'hard' (15.74).

Lett. *cietaukums*, fr. *ciets* 'hard, firm' (15.74). For suffix, cf. Leskien, Bildung d. Nom. 319.

6. ChSL (late), Bulg. *gradište*, Boh. *hradište*, Russ. *gorodište*, old Slavic word for 'fortified place' (Niederle, op. cit. 2.299 ff.; but now used mostly of a ruined city or fortress), deriv., through vb., of ChSL *graditi*, etc. 'city' (19.15).

SCR. *tvrdava*, Boh. *tvrz*, Pol. *twierdza*, fr. SCR. *tvrd*, etc. 'hard', orig. 'firm' (15.74).

Boh. *pemnost*, fr. *pemý* 'firm' = Pol. *pewny* 'sure', both as orig. 'trustworthy' : ChSL *upivati* 'trust', etc. Brückner 403.

Pol. *forteca*, fr. It. *fortezza* (above 2). Brückner 126.

Russ. *krepost'*, fr. *krephij* 'firm, solid, strong' : ChSL *krépukū* 'strong' (4.81).

7. Skt. *pur-* (nom. sg. *pūr*) 'fortified place, stronghold' (cf. Macdonell-Keith 1.538 f.) : Grk. *πύλις* 'city', in early use also 'citadel', Lith. *pilis*, Lett. *pils* 'castle', see 19.15.

OPers. *didā-* : Skt. *dehī-*, Grk. *ρεῖχος* 'wall', etc. (7.27).

## 20.36 TOWER

|      |                              |       |   |       |                            |
|------|------------------------------|-------|---|-------|----------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>πύργος</i> , <i>τόπος</i> | Goth. | <i>kēlikn</i>                               | Lith. | <i>bokštas</i>             |
| NG   | <i>pyrgos</i>                | ON    | <i>turn</i>                                 | Lett. | <i>turnis</i>              |
| Lat. | <i>turre</i>                 | Dan.  | <i>taarn</i>                                | ChSL  | <i>slūpā</i> , <i>synū</i> |
| It.  | <i>torre</i>                 | Sw.   | <i>torā</i>                                 | SCR.  | <i>toranj</i>              |
| Fr.  | <i>tour</i>                  | OE    | <i>stēpel</i> , <i>stīpel</i> , <i>torr</i> | Boh.  | <i>věž</i>                 |
| Sp.  | <i>torre</i>                 | ME    | <i>tourē</i>                                | Pol.  | <i>wieża</i>               |
| Rum. | <i>turn</i>                  | NE    | <i>tower</i>                                | Russ. | <i>bašnja</i>              |
| Ir.  | <i>tor</i> , <i>tur</i>      | Du.   | <i>toren</i>                                |       |                            |
| Nlr. | <i>tor</i> , <i>tūr</i>      | OHG   | <i>turri</i>                                |       |                            |
| W.   | <i>tur</i>                   | MHG   | <i>turn</i>                                 |       |                            |
| Br.  | <i>tour</i>                  | NHG   | <i>turm</i>                                 |       |                            |

The 'tower', which was primarily military, may conveniently be considered here. The majority of Eur. words go back, directly or indirectly, to Lat. *turre*.

1. Grk. *πύργος*, orig. dub., perh. fr. some Anatolian source. Boisacq 829. Feist 85 (with refs.).

Grk. *τύρις*, *τύρρις*, prob. of Anatolian orig., perh. the word upon which *Τυρσηνός*, *Τυρρηνός* 'Etruscan' is based.

2. Lat. *turre* (Osc. *tiurri* 'turrin'), fr. Grk. *τύρρις* or the same source. Ernout-M. 1066.

Lat. *turre* > It., Sp. *torre*, OFr. *tor*, Fr. *tour* (> ME *ture*, NE *tower*, Ir. *tor*, tur, W. *tur*, Br. *tour*; so for Celtic Pedersen 1.238, but W. *tur* prob. through ME *ture*), OE *tor*, OHG *turri*.

MHG, MLG *turn*, Du. *toren*, fr. an OFr. *turn* (cf. Fr. *tournele* 'small place, stronghold' (cf. Macdonell-Keith 1.538 f.) : Grk. *πύλις* 'city', in early use also 'citadel', Lith. *pilis*, Lett. *pils* 'castle', see 19.15.

OPers. *didā-* : Skt. *dehī-*, Grk. *ρεῖχος* 'wall', etc. (7.27).

3. Goth. *kēlikn* (renders *πύργος*, also *ἀνώγειον* 'upper room'), fr. Gall *celicnon* 'tower', orig. and course of transmission dub. Feist 310 f. (full refs.).

OE *stēpel*, *stīpel* (freq. for *turre*, as in Gospels, WSax. versions vs. *torr* Lindisf.; NE *steepel* now only of a church) : *stēap* 'high, lofty' (NE *steep*), *stūprian* 'bow', etc. Walde-P. 2.619. NED s.v. *steepel*.

4. Lith. *bokštas* (NSB, etc.), fr. Wh-Russ, Ukr. *bakšta* (Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 73), this: Boh. *bašta*, etc. 'bastion', Russ. *bašnja* 'tower', fr. It. *bastia* 'bastion'. Berneker 45.

Lith. *kuoras* (NSB, and the word used in the NT versions), prob. fr. NHG *chor* 'choir' in its special application to the 'choir-loft' (Paul, Deutsches Wtb. s.v.), Kurschat s.v. *koras*.

5. ChSL *slūpū* (= *πύργος* Gospels, etc.; also 'column, pillar', as SCR. *slup*, Boh. *sloup*, Russ. *stolp*, *stolb*) : ON *stolpi*, etc. 'post', fr. *p-* and *b-* extensions of *stel-* 'set, place'. Walde-P. 2.646. Falk-Torp 1173.

ChSL *synū* (freq. for *πύργος* in Supr.; also late *sunū*), fr. the root of *sūpa*, *suti*, iter. *syptati* 'strew, pour', whence such derivs. as ChSL *sūpū* 'heap', Russ. *nasyp* 'heaped up earth, mound, dam', Pol. *wysyp* 'mound, terrace, etc.' Miklosich 334, 335. Brückner 524.

## 20.42 DEFEAT (sb.)

|      |                                     |       |                   |       |                                      |
|------|-------------------------------------|-------|-------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>ἡσασ</i> , <i>ἡρρα</i>           | Goth. | <i>aisig</i>      | Lith. | <i>pralaimėjimas</i>                 |
| NG   | <i>hēras</i>                        | ON    | <i>aisig</i>      | Lett. | <i>kaviens</i>                       |
| Lat. | <i>clādēs</i>                       | Dan.  | <i>nederlag</i>   | ChSL  | <i>poraz</i>                         |
| It.  | <i>sconfitta</i>                    | Sw.   | <i>nederlag</i>   | Boh.  | <i>porážka</i>                       |
| Fr.  | <i>défaite</i>                      | OE    | <i>cuīd(?)</i>    | Pol.  | <i>porażka</i>                       |
| Sp.  | <i>derrota</i>                      | ME    | <i>losse</i>      | Russ. | <i>porazhenie</i>                    |
| Rum. | <i>înfrîngere</i>                   | NE    | <i>defeat</i>     | Skt.  | <i>parājaya-</i> , <i>parābhāva-</i> |
| Ir.  | <i>maidm</i>                        | Du.   | <i>nederlaag</i>  |       |                                      |
| Nlr. | <i>diombuaidh</i> , <i>briseadh</i> | OHG   | <i>vuol(?)</i>    |       |                                      |
| W.   | <i>gorchfygiad</i>                  | MHG   | <i>(unsig)</i>    |       |                                      |
| Br.  | <i>faezidigez</i>                   | NHG   | <i>niederlage</i> |       |                                      |

The verbal notion 'to defeat' is virtually equivalent to 'be victorious over, conquer', and is generally expressed by the verbs mentioned in 20.41 (e.g. Grk. *νικάω*, Lat. *vincere*, in pass. regularly 'be defeated'), the nouns corresponding to which mean 'victory'. Such verbal expressions of defeat are more common than the use of a noun for 'defeat' vs. 'victory', and in some cases such a distinctive noun seems to be lacking or at least has not been found quotable.

Most of the nouns for 'defeat' are based on such notions as 'inferiority, destruction, disaster, loss, breaking, blow'.

1. Grk. *ἡσασ*, Att. *ἡρρα* (also NG lit.), back-formation to *ἡσώσμαι* 'be inferior, be defeated', fr. *ἡσάω* 'inferior, weaker', comp. to adv. *ἡκα* 'slightly, gently',

7. Skt. *jaya-* : *ji-* 'conquer', Grk. *βία* 'power', etc. Walde-P. 1.666.

Av. *varəθra-ya-*, cpd. of *varəθra-* 'attack' and a form of *jan-* 'smite, slay' (4.76). Barth. 1421.

Av. *vanati-*, *ni-vāti-* (also *vanya-* in cpds.), fr. *van-* 'overcome, conquer' : Skt. *van-* 'gain, acquire', OE *winnan* 'strive, conquer, win', etc. Walde-P. 1.258 ff. Barth. 1085, 1350, etc.

Curiously, there is no quotable OPers. word for 'victory', though victories are constantly described, 'Auramazda bore me aid, by the grace of Auramazda I smote the army of . . .'.  
 8. Skt. *parābhāva-* 'disappearance, humiliation' and 'defeat' (quotable in military sense?), fr. *parā-bhū-* 'disappear, perish', cf. *parābhūta-* 'defeated'.

VLat. \**dis-facere*, cpd. of *dis-* 'apart' and *facere* 'do, make'. Gamillscheg 298.

Sp. *derrota*, substantivized fem. pp. of OSp. *derrromper*, fr. Lat. *dis-rumpere* 'break to pieces'.

Rum. *înfrîngere*, substantivized old infin. of *înfrînge* 'defeat' = It. *infrangere* 'break, crush', fr. VLat. \**in-frangere* (= Lat. *in-fringere*), cpd. of *frangere* 'break'. REW 4412. Tiktin 809.

3. Ir. *maidm*, lit. 'a breaking', vbl. n. of *maidim* 'break', intr. (9.26), and reg. for 'defeat' (cf. RIA Contrib. s.v.). Pedersen 2.574.

Nlr. *diombuaidh*, cpd. of neg. *diom-* and *buaidh* 'victory'.

Nlr. *briseadh* 'breaking', also 'defeat' (Dinneen) : *brisim* 'break' (9.26).

W. *gorchfygiad*, fr. *gorchfygu* 'conquer, defeat', cpd. (\**uor-ko-*) of *mygu* in *dir-mygu* 'despise', *ed-mygu* 'admire', orig. sense 'look' (Pedersen 2.576, without inclusion of *gorchfygu*). J. Lloyd-Jones, BBCS 2.104 f.

Br. *faezidigez*, cpd. of *faez* 'conquered, beaten' (*faeza* 'conquer' = Corn. *felhe* id., outside root connection?) and *digouez* 'happening, encounter'.

4. ON *úsigr*, neg. cpd. of *sigr* 'victory'. So rarely MHG *unsig*.

OE *cwīd* (: *cweallan* 'kill') glosses Lat. *clādēs*, but is quotable only as 'disaster, disease', etc.

ME *losse* 'loss' (11.74), sometimes 'loss of a battle, defeat'. NED s.v. *loss*.

NE *defeat*, fr. vb. *defeat* after Fr. *défaite* (above, 2).

OHG *wuol* glosses Lat. *clādēs* but is mostly 'destruction', beside *wal* : OE *wōl* 'pestilence', *wal* 'the dead in battle', also 'slaughter, destruction', Ir. *fuil* 'blood', etc. Walde-P. 1.304 f. Falk-Torp 1344.

NHG *niederlage*, quotable as 'defeat' in 15th cent. (> Dan., Sw. *nederlag*), Du. *nederlaag* (sense 'defeat' prob. fr. NHG), in earlier use (MHG *niederlage*, etc.) 'laying down, place of rest'. Development of 'defeat' fr. the 'laying-down of arms. Weigand-H. 2.298.

5. Lith. *pralaimėjimas*, fr. *pra-* in its sense of 'away, failing' and *laimėjimas* 'victory'.

Lett. *kaviens* 'a blow' and (Drawneek) 'defeat' : *kaut* 'strike'. But generally expressed verbally by *sakaut* 'beat' (the enemy), *sakauts* 'beaten, defeated'.

6. SCR. *poraz*, Boh. *poražka*, Pol. *poražka*, Russ. *poraženie*, fr. vb. ChSL (SCR., etc.) *poraziti* 'strike, smite, beat', deriv. of SCR., Boh., Pol., Russ. *raz* 'blow'. Miklosich 273. Brückner 454.

7. Skt. *parājaya-*, fr. *parā-ji-* 'conquer, overcome', in pass. *lose*, be defeated', cpd. of *ji-* 'conquer'. Cf. *jaya* 'victory' (20.41).

Skt. *parābhāva-* 'disappearance, humiliation' and 'defeat' (quotable in military sense?), fr. *parā-bhū-* 'disappear, perish', cf. *parābhūta-* 'defeated'.

## 20.43 ATTACK (sb.)

|      |                                    |       |  |       |                    |
|------|------------------------------------|-------|--|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | <i>προσβολή</i> , <i>ἐφόδος</i>    | Goth. | <i>...</i>                               | Lith. | <i>užpuolimas</i>  |
| NG   | <i>prosbolē(s)</i>                 | ON    | <i>...</i>                               | Lett. | <i>uzbrukums</i>   |
| Lat. | <i>impetus</i>                     | Dan.  | <i>angreb</i>                            | ChSL  | <i>napadenije</i>  |
| It.  | <i>attacco</i>                     | Sw.   | <i>anfall</i>                            | SCR.  | <i>navala</i>      |
| Fr.  | <i>attaque</i>                     | OE    | <i>ræ</i>                                | Boh.  | <i>útok</i>        |
| Sp.  | <i>ataque</i>                      | ME    | <i>rese</i> , <i>asaut</i> , <i>saut</i> | Pol.  | <i>atak</i>        |
| Rum. | <i>atac</i>                        | NE    | <i>ataque</i>                            | Russ. | <i>ataka</i>       |
| Ir.  | <i>fóbart</i>                      | Du.   | <i>aanval</i>                            | Skt.  | <i>(abhiyoga-)</i> |
| Nlr. | <i>ionnsaighe</i> , <i>fóbairt</i> | OHG   | <i>anaging</i>                           | Av.   | <i>draaman-</i>    |
| W.   | <i>ymosodiad</i>                   | MHG   | <i>anval</i>                             |       |                    |
| Br.  | <i>stourm</i>                      | NHG   | <i>angriff</i>                           |       |                    |

Words for 'attack' are based on such notions as 'go after, fall upon, rush upon, strike against, seize upon, apply oneself to'.

1. Grk. *προσβολή* : *προσβάλλω* 'strike against'.

Grk. *ἐφόδος* 'approach, access' and often military 'advance, attack', cpd. of *ἐπι* 'upon' and *ὁδός* 'way, road'.

Grk. *ἐπίθεσις* (in NG the usual term), fr. *ἐπιτίθεμαι* 'apply oneself to' and 'attack'.

2. Lat. *impetus*, fr. vb. *impetere* 'attack' (less common than sb.), cpd. of *petere* 'fall upon, attack' (also commonly 'seek', 11.31). Ernout-M. 763 f. Walde-H. 1.684.

It. *attacco* (> Fr. *attaque*, Sp. *ataque*, Rum. *atac*), fr. vb. *ataccare* 'make fast, attach' (= Fr. *attacher*), hence, in phrases 'join battle' or 'apply oneself to', 'attack' (in this sense > Fr. *attaquer*, etc.), cpd. deriv. of word seen in OFr. *estache* 'stake', orig. Gmc. (OE *staca*, MLG *stake*, etc.). REW 8218. Gamillscheg 56, 828. NED s.v. *attack* and *atach*.

3. Ir. *fóbart*, Nlr. *fóbairt*, vbl. n. of *fuabar* 'attacks', fr. \**fo-od-ber-*, cpd. of *berim* 'carry'. Pedersen 2.469. Windisch 554 f.

Nlr. *ionnsaighe*, fr. *ionnsaighim*, Ir. *ionsaigim*, cpd. of *saigim* 'go after'. Pedersen 2.608.

W. *ymosodiad*, fr. vb. *ymosod* 'set upon, attack', cpd. of refl. prefix *ym-* and *gosod* 'put, place' (12.12), hence orig. 'set oneself to'.

Br. *stourm*, loanword fr. Gmc. (OE-NE *storm*, etc.). Henry 254.

4. ON *asökön*, fr. *sækja* 'seek' (11.31), esp. 'go after, pursue, attack'.  
 OE *ræ*s, *on-ræ*s (also 'rush, onrush'), ME *rese* = ON *rās* 'running, race' (> NE *race*) : Grk. *ἐρως* 'quick motion, rush', prob. also Skt. *rasa-* 'sap, juice', etc. Walde-P. 1.149 f. Falk-Torp 881. NED s.v. *rese*, sb.

ME *asaut*, *saut* (NE *assault*), fr. OFr. *asaut*, VLat. \**ad-sultus*, recombination of Lat. *ad-sultus*, like vb. \**ad-salire* (> OFr. *asalir*, ME, NE *assail*) for *ad-salire* 'leap upon', cpd. of *salire* 'leap'.

NE *attack*, fr. Fr. *attaque* or fr. vb. *attaquer*, this fr. Fr. *attaquer* (above, 2).

OHG *anaging* (Otr.; other more common words?), lit. 'a seeking after' : *gingen* 'long for', etc.

MHG *anval*, NHG *anfall* (> Sw. *anfall*), Du. *aanval*, fr. vb. MHG *anvalen*, etc. 'fall upon, attack'.

NHG *angriff*, fr. MHG *angrif*, OHG *anagrif* 'handling, seizure, undertaking', fr. vb. OHG *ana-grifan* 'lay hands on', NHG *angreifen* 'handle, seize' and 'attack'. Hence semantically Dan. *angreb*, with vb. *angribe* 'attack'.

Boh. *věž*, Pol. *wieża* : ORuss. *вежа* 'tower, hut, tent', late ChSL *veža* 'cell, tent'(?), Slov. *veza* 'hall', fr. the root of ChSL *veza*, *vesti* 'carry'(?). 'Tower'

## 20.41 VICTORY

|      |  |       |                            |       |  |
|------|--|-------|----------------------------|-------|--|
| Grk. | <i>νίκη</i>  | Goth. | <i>sigis</i>               | Lith. | <i>laimėjimas</i>                                    |
| NG   | <i>nieq</i>  | ON    | <i>sigr</i>                | Lett. | <i>uzvara</i>  |
| Lat. | <i>victōria</i>                                    | Dan.  | <i>sejr</i>                | ChSL  | <i>pobēda</i>  |
| It.  | <i>vittoria</i>                                    | Sw.   | <i>seger</i>               | SCR.  | <i>pobjeda</i>                                       |
| Fr.  | <i>victoire</i>                                    | OE    | <i>sige</i> , <i>sigor</i> | Boh.  | <i>vítězství</i>                                     |
| Sp.  | <i>victoria</i>                                    | ME    | <i>victorie</i>            | Pol.  | <i> zwycięstwo</i>                                   |
| Rum. | <i>victorie</i> , <i>bîruință</i> , <i>izbîndă</i> | NE    | <i>victory</i>             | Russ. | <i>pobeda</i>  |
| Ir.  | <i>búaid</i>                                       | Du.   | <i>zege</i>                | Skt.  | <i>jaya-</i>   |
| Nlr. | <i>buaith</i>                                      | OHG   | <i>sigi</i> , <i>sigu</i>  | Av.   | <i>varəθra-ya-</i> , <i>vanati-</i> , <i>nivāti-</i> |
| W.   | <i>buddugoliaeth</i>                               | MHG   | <i>sige</i> , <i>sic</i>   |       |  |
| Br.  | <i>gounid</i> , <i>trech</i>                       | NHG   | <i>sieg</i>                |       |  |

The majority of the words for 'victory' are derived from verbs for 'conquer, win', and these are cognate with others for 'strive, gain', 'compel', 'have power, be able', 'put down' (prob.). In some cases the nouns are earlier (so in Gmc., where verbs like NHG *siegen* are secondary), and these may be based on notions like 'power' or 'profit'.

Most of the common verbs for 'conquer' belong with nouns for 'victory' and are mentioned in the following. Among others may be noted ME *conquerre*, NE *conquer*,

| 20.45 RETREAT (sb.)    |                  |                     |  |
|------------------------|------------------|---------------------|--|
| Grk. ἀνα-(ano-)χώρησις | Goth. (plauhs)   | Lith. atsitraukimas |  |
| NG ἀναχώρησις(s)       | ON flōtti        | Let. atkāpšanas     |  |
| Lat. receptus          | Dan. reträte     | ChSl. ūzmat         |  |
| It. ritirata           | Sw. reträtt      | SCr. uzmat          |  |
| Fr. retraite           | OE (flēam)       | Pol. rejtura        |  |
| Sp. retirada           | ME (fīht) retret | Boh. rejtura        |  |
| Rum. retragere         | NE retreat       | Russ. otstuplenie   |  |
| It. (teched)           | Du. terugtocht   | Skt. (palāyana-)    |  |
| Nlr. cūl               | OHG (fucht)      |                     |  |
| W. cil, encil          | MHG (luclit)     |                     |  |
| Br. kizadenn, kizadeg  | NHG rückzug      |                     |  |

The nouns for 'retreat' are from verbs denoting 'draw back, step back, turn aside'. In the widespread Eur. group to which NE *retreat* belongs, the orig. literal sense 'withdrawal' is forgotten, and NE *withdraual* is now a euphemistic substitute.

Prior to the rise of distinctive military terms for 'retreat' the notion was covered by words for 'flight', parallel with the verbs for 'flee' (10.51). So Hom. φύγαδε 'in flight', and in the older Gmc. languages and some others, there seem to have been no more distinctive terms.

1. Grk. ἀναχώρησις and ἀναχώρησις, fr. ἀνα-, ἀπο-χώρα 'go back, draw back', cpds. of χώρα 'make room for, draw back', deriv. of χώρα 'place'.

2. Lat. *receptus*, fr. *se recipere* 'draw back, retreat', refl. of *recipere* 'take back', cpd. of *capere* 'take'.

Fr. *retraite* (Ofr. also *retret*), Rum. *retragere*, fr. vbs. Ofr. *retraire*, Rum. *retrage* (Rum. cpd. forms after Fr.), fr. Lat. *retrahere* 'draw back', cpd. of *trahere* 'draw' (9.33).

It. *ritirata*, Sp. *retirada*, fr. vbs. *retirare*, *retirar* 'withdraw, retire' (Fr. *retirer*), cpds. of *tirare*, *tirar* 'draw' (9.33).

3. Ir. *teched* 'flight' (: *techim* 'flee') is virtually 'retreat', e.g. in M1.44a, 18, 19 ('in flight before their enemies').

Nlr. *cūl*, W. *cil* 'back' (4.19), and 'retreat' through phrases like 'turn one's back'. So cpd. W. *encil*.

| 20.47 CAPTIVE, PRISONER         |                      |                          |  |
|---------------------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|--|
| Grk. αἰχμάλωτος                 | Goth. frahunjans     | Lith. kalinys            |  |
| NG αἰχμάλωτος                   | ON hapt, fangi       | Let. gūsteknis           |  |
| Lat. captivus                   | Dan. fange           | ChSl. plēnīnik           |  |
| It. prigioniero                 | Sw. fänge            | SCr. zarobljenik, suzanj |  |
| Fr. captif, prisonnier          | OE haft, hafsting    | Boh. zajatec             |  |
| Sp. cautivo, prisionero         | ME captive, prisoner | Pol. jeniec              |  |
| Rum. captiv, prizonier          | NE captive, prisoner | Russ. plennyj (plennik)  |  |
| Ir. cimbid, brage               | Du. gevangene        | Skt. baddhaka-           |  |
| Nlr. brāighe (geimhleach, cime) | OHG haft             | Av., OPers. basta-       |  |
| W. carcharor                    | MHG haft             |                          |  |
| Br. prizoniad                   | NHG gefangener       |                          |  |

Most of the words for 'captive, prisoner' (of war) are either from verbs for 'take, seize' (in Greek 'taken by the spear'), or are derivs. of nouns for 'prison' (21.39), in which the sense 'prisoner' as inmate of a prison has been extended to 'prisoner' as one captured in war.

In the case of NE *captive*, *prisoner*, the former, though given in first place, is now used with reference to earlier times or to those taken by brigands or savages, while in present-day warfare so many *prisoners* are taken. Similarly in the Fr., Sp., Rum. groups listed.

1. Grk. αἰχμάλωτος, lit. 'taken by the spear', cpd. of αἰχμή 'spear' (20.26) and vbl. adj. of ἀλίσκομαι, aor. ἤλω 'be taken, seized'.

2. Lat. *captivus* (> Ofr. *chetif*, now only in secondary sense and as 'captive' replaced by *captif* > Rum. *captiv*; Sp. *cautivo*), deriv. of *captus*, pple. of *capere* 'take' (11.13).

It. *prigioniero* (or -e), Fr. *prisonnier* (> Rum. *prizonier*), Sp. *prisionero*, deriv. of It. *prigione*, Fr. *prison*, Sp. *prisión* 'prison' (21.39).

3. Ir. *cimbid*, Nlr. *cime* : Ir. *cimb* 'tribute', Gallo-Lat. *cambiāre* 'exchange' (12.93). Pedersen 1.45.

Ir. *brage* (K. Meyer, Contrib. 243 f.), Nlr. *brāighe* (also *brāighe*, as if fr. *brāgha* 'neck'), beside Ir. *braig* 'chain', prob. : Grk. βρόχος 'noose', etc. Walde-P. 2.272 f. Stokes 181.

Br. *kizadenn*, *kizadeg*, derivs. of *kiz* 'backward movement'.

4. Goth. *plauhs*, ON *flōtti*, OE *flēam*, OHG *fucht* 'flight' (: vbs. for 'flee', 10.51) would cover military 'retreat'.

ME *retrete*, NE *retreat*, fr. Ofr. *retret*; Dan. *reträte*, Sw. *reträtt*, fr. Fr. *retraite* (above, 2).

Du. *terugtocht*, NHG *rückzug*, cpds. of words for 'back' (Du. *terug* = NHG *zurück*), and 'march'.

5. Lith. *atsitraukimas*, fr. *at-si-traukti* 'draw back, withdraw', refl. cpd. of *traukti* 'draw' (9.33).

Let. *atkāpšanas* (Drawneek; not in Mühl.-Endz.), fr. *at-kāpt* 'draw back', cpd. of *kāpt* 'mount'.

6. ChSl. *běstvo* (quotable only as 'flight'), fr. the root of *bězati*, *běgati* 'flee'. SCr. *uzmak* : *uzmati* 'draw back', cpd. of *uz-* 'back' and *maci* 'touch, move' (: Boh. *macati* 'touch, handle', etc., Bernecker 2.1).

Boh. *ústup*, Russ. *otstuplenie* : vbs. Boh. *ustoupiti*, Russ. *otstupit* 'step back, withdraw', cpds. of *stoupiti*, *stupit* 'step'.

Pol. *rejtura* (Russ. *retirada* formerly in use), fr. It. *ritirata* (above, 2).

Pol. *odwrót* 'turn', also used for 'retreat' : *odwrócić* 'turn aside', cpd. of *wrócić* 'return' (: Lat. *vertere* 'turn', etc.).

Nlr. *cūl*, W. *cil* 'back' (4.19), and 'retreat' through phrases like 'turn one's back'. So cpd. W. *encil*.

7. Skt. *palāyana-* 'flight', fr. cpd. of *palā* = *parā* 'away' and *i-* 'go'.

| 20.46 SURRENDER (vb.) |                         |               |  |
|-----------------------|-------------------------|---------------|--|
| Grk. παραδίδωμι       | Goth. atgiban           | Lith. paduoti |  |
| NG παραδίδω           | ON gefa upp             | Let. paduot   |  |
| Lat. dādere, trādere  | Dan. overgive           | ChSl. predati |  |
| It. arrendere         | Sw. överlämna (uppgiva) | SCr. predati  |  |
| Fr. rendre, livrer    | OE āgīfan               | Boh. vzdati   |  |
| Sp. rendir            | ME yelde                | Pol. poddać   |  |
| Rum. predă            | NE surrender            | Russ. sdai    |  |
| It. giallaim          | Du. overgeven           | Skt. parādā-  |  |
| Nlr. gēllim           | OHG irgeben             |               |  |
| W. rhoddi i fyny      | MHG ergeben             |               |  |
| Br. daskori           | NHG übergeben           |               |  |

Under 'surrender' preference is given here to the verbal expressions as more generally quotable than nouns. Most of these verbs are compounds of verbs for 'give' (11.21), meaning lit. 'give up, give over', etc., and of which the military use is only one of many and in fact for some of the languages (e.g. Goth., ChSl.) is not strictly quotable. A few are from 'yield' or through 'deliver' from 'set free'.

The nouns are mostly corresponding forms, but in some cases the usual verbs and nouns, though of the same semantic source, are not parallel, e.g. It. vb. *arrendere* (intr. *arrenderesi*) but sbs. *dedizione* or *resa*, Fr. vbs. (*se*) *rendre* or (*se*) *livrer*, but sb. only *reddition*, not *livraison*.

1. Grk. παραδίδωμι, NG παραδίδω 'give over, transmit', also 'surrender', cpd. of δίδωμι 'give'. So sb. παραδοσις 'transmission, tradition', also 'surrender' (παράδοσις πόλεως, Thuc.).

2. Lat. *dādere* (sb. *deditio* > It. *dedizione*), and less commonly in military sense *trādere*, *reddere* (VLat. \**rendere* > It. *rendere*, now mostly *arrendere*, Fr. *rendre*, Sp. *rendir*; sbs. It. *resa*, Sp. *rendición*; Fr. *reddition* re-formed fr. Lat. *redditiō*), cpds. of *dare* 'give'. Ernout-M. 277.

Rum. *predă* (sb. *predare*, old infin.), fr. Slavic, ChSl. *predati*, SCr. *predati* 'give over' (below, 6). Tiktin 1240.

3. Ir. *giallaim*, Nlr. *gēllim* 'obey' (19.46), also 'yield, surrender'.

W. *rhoddi i fyny*, vb. for 'give' (11.21) with *i fyny* 'up'.

Br. *daskori* (sb. *daskor*), cpd. of prefix *das-* and vb. cognate with Ir. *cuirim* 'put, place', etc. Pedersen 2.501. Henry 89.

4. Goth. *atgiban*, ON *gefa upp*, OE *āgīfan*, OHG *irgeban*, MHG *ergeben*, NHG *übergeben*, Du. *overgeven*, Dan. *overgive* (semantic borrowing fr. NHG or LG), Sw. *uppgiva*, all cpds. of Gmc. word for 'give', but older forms not quotable in military sense.

Sw. *överlämna*, cpd. of *lämna* 'leave, deliver' : ON *līfna*, Goth. *afliþnan* 'be left over', ON *leifna*, OE *læfjan*, etc. 'leave' (12.18).

ME *yelde* (NE *yield*), fr. OE *gieldan* 'pay, give back', etc. (11.65). NED s.v. *yield* vb. 14-16.

NE *surrender* (vb. and sb.), fr. Ofr. *surrendre* (Anglo-Fr. *surrender*), cpd. of *rendre* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *paduoti*, refl. *pasiduoti* (NSB s.v.), Lett. *paduot*, refl. *paduoties*, cpd. of vb. for 'give'.

6. ChSl. *predati* (reg. for *paraδιδωμι*, though not quotable in strictly military sense), SCr. *predati*, Boh. *vzdati*, Pol. *poddać*, Russ. *sdai* (all with corresponding sbs.), cpds. of vb. for 'give'.

7. Skt. *parādā-* 'give up' (quotable in military sense?), cpd. of *dā-* 'give'.

'fetter(ed)' : Lith. *kalti*, *kalinėti* 'beat, hammer, forge'.

Let. *gūsteknis*, fr. *gūstīt* 'seize, bind'. Mühl.-Endz. 1.686.

Let. *cietumnieks* (only 'prisoner' as inmate of prison?), fr. *cietums* 'prison' (21.39).

6. ChSl. *plēnīnikū* (> Russ. *plennik*, now more commonly *plennyj*), through *plēniti* 'take captive', fr. *plēnū* 'booty' (20.48).

SCr. *zarobljenik*, fr. *zarobiti* 'take captive', cpd. of *robiti* 'enslave, plunder', fr. *rob* 'slave' (19.42).

SCr. *suzanj*, etym.?

Boh. *zajatec*, Pol. *jeniec*, fr. vb. seen in hammer, forge'.

Let. *gūsteknis*, fr. *gūstīt* 'seize, bind'. Mühl.-Endz. 1.686.

Let. *cietumnieks* (only 'prisoner' as inmate of prison?), fr. *cietums* 'prison' (21.39).

6. ChSl. *plēnīnikū* (> Russ. *plennik*, now more commonly *plennyj*), through *plēniti* 'take captive', fr. *plēnū* 'booty' (20.48).

SCr. *zarobljenik*, fr. *zarobiti* 'take captive', cpd. of *robiti* 'enslave, plunder', fr. *rob* 'slave' (19.42).

SCr. *suzanj*, etym.?

| 20.48 BOOTY, SPOILS         |                           |                     |  |
|-----------------------------|---------------------------|---------------------|--|
| Grk. λεία, λάφυρα, σκόλα    | Goth. . . . .             | Lith. grobis        |  |
| NG λάφυρα, πλάσκα           | ON herfang                | Let. laupījums      |  |
| Lat. praeda, spolia         | Dan. bytte, rov           | ChSl. korist, plēnā |  |
| It. preda, bottino, spoglie | Sw. bytte, rov            | SCr. plijen         |  |
| Fr. butin                   | OE rēaf, fang, (here-)hūþ | Boh. korist (plen)  |  |
| Sp. botín                   | ME botye, spoyte(s), prey | Pol. łup (zdobyć)   |  |
| Rum. pradă                  | NE booty, spoli(s)        | Russ. dobyča        |  |
| Ir. brat                    | Du. buit                  | Skt. loptra-        |  |
| Nlr. creach                 | OHG roub, herehunda       |                     |  |
| W. ysglyfaeth, ysbail       | MHG roup, biude           |                     |  |
| Br. preiz                   | NHG beute                 |                     |  |

Many of the words for 'booty' are from verbs for 'seize' or 'obtain', or are cognate with words for 'advantage, profit'. Several, denoting originally the arms (or clothing) stripped from the slain foe, are cognate with nouns for 'skin, hide' (or 'cloak') or verbs for 'strip off, tear off, flay, peel'.

1. Grk. λεία (Ion. λῆη, Dor. λεία, Hom. λῆϊς), fr. root of ἀπολαύω 'enjoy, take advantage of', Lat. *lucrum* 'gain, profit', Goth. *laun* 'reward, pay', ChSl. *loviti* 'hunt'. Walde-P. 2.379. Walde-H. 1.826.

Grk. λάφυρα (pl.; sg. rare), fr. a by-form of root of λαμβάνω 'take' (11.13; cf. Skt. *labh-* 'seize, take'). Walde-P. 2.385. Boisacq 561.

Grk. σκόλα (pl.; sg. less frequent), esp.

'arms stripped off the slain foe' : σκόλος, σκῶτος 'hide', OE *hȝd* 'skin, hide', etc. (4.12). Walde-P. 2.547. Boisacq 880.

NG pop. πλάσκα (pl.), fr. a Balkan word seen in Bulg., SCr. *pljačka*, Alb. *plaqkë*, Turk. *plačka*, Rum. *pleacă* 'booty', this group itself of Grk. origin, derivs. of NG πλάκωω 'flatten out, crush, overwhelm'. G. Meyer, Alb. Etym. Wtb. 344. P. Skok, Revue intern. des études balkaniques 2.31 ff.

2. Lat. *praeda* (> It. *preda*, Rum. *pradă*; Ofr. *preie*, Fr. *proie* now only 'prey'), fr. \**prai-heda* : *prae-hendere* 'seize, take'. Walde-P. 1.589. Ernout-M. 802. REW 6714.

Lat. *spolia* (pl., but VLat. sg. > It. *spogliā*, pl. *spoglie*, Ofr. *espoille*, etc.), orig. 'arms stripped off the slain foe'

(like Grk. σκόλα) : Grk. σπόλια 'pieces of wool stripped from the legs of sheep' (Hesych.), fr. the root of OHG *spallan* 'split', etc. Walde-P. 2.678. Ernout-M. 966 f. REW 8168.

Ofr. *esch(i)ec* (reg. for 'booty' in Chanson de Roland, etc.), fr. a Frank. form of OHG *scāh*, MHG *schāch* 'robbery, booty'. REW 7969. Weigand-H. 2.663.

Fr. *butin* (> It. *bottino*, Sp. *botin*), fr. Gmc., cf. MLG *büte*, etc. (below, 4). REW 1422b. Gamillscheg 162. Wartburg 1.654 f.

3. Ir. *brat* (K. Meyer, Contrib. 246), prob. same word as *brat* 'cloak', with similar interchange of sense (but shift in opposite direction) to that in OE *rēaf* 'booty, garment' and Fr. *robe*, fr. OHG *rouba* (below, 4, and 6.12, 6.42).

Nlr. *creach*, fr. Ir. *crech* 'plundering, raid', etym.? Macbain 105.

W. *ysglyfaeth*, fr. *ysglyf* (arch.), etym.? Morris Jones 159.

W. *ysbail*, fr. Lat. *spolia*. Pedersen 1.194, 219. Loth, Mots lat. 216.

Br. *preiz*, fr. Lat. *praeda*. Loth, Mots lat. 198.

4. Goth. ? (Lk. 11.22 missing). OE *fang*, ON *herfang* (with *herr* 'army') : Goth. *fahan*, ON *fā*, OE *fōn* (pple. *fangen*), etc. 'seize, grasp' (11.14).

OE *rēaf* (also 'clothing'), OHG *roub*, *rouba*, MHG *roup* (NHG *raub* 'robbery'), MLG *rōf* (> Dan., Sw. *rov*) : OE *rēofan* 'break, tear up', Lat. *rumpere* 'break', etc. Walde-P. 2.354 f. Falk-Torp 913 f.

OE *hūþ* and (with words for 'army') OE *here-hūþ*, OHG *here-hunda* : Goth. *fra-hinþan* 'take captive', *hunþs* 'captivity', etc. (20.47).

MLG *büte* (> Dan. *bytte*, Sw. *byte*, MHG *biute*, NHG *beute*), Du. *buit*, ME *botye*, *boty*, *buty* (immediate source uncertain), NE *booty* : MLG *büten* 'di-

vide, exchange' (12.93), root connection dub. Walde-P. 2.186. Falk-Torp 122. Weigand-H. 1.226. NED s.v. *booty*. ME *spoyle*, NE *spoil* (now most commonly in pl.), fr. Ofr. *espoille*, Lat. *spolia* (above, 2).

ME *preye* (often 'booty', also like NE *prey*), fr. Ofr. *preie* (above, 2). NED s.v. *prey*, sb.

5. Lith. *grobis* (NSB, Lalis, etc.; now best word, Senn) : *grobti* 'seize', *grėbti* 'rake', etc. Leskien, Ablaut 362 (where *grobė*).

Lith. *išplėša* (NSB, Lalis) : *išplėšti* 'tear out, rob', cpd. of *plėsti* 'tear' (9.28), whence also *plėsimas* used for 'spoils' in NT, Lk. 11.22 (pl. Trowsitsch, sg. Kutschat).

Lith. *išvarža* (NSB, Lalis), fr. *isveržti* 'unwind, snatch away', cpd. of *veržti* 'draw tight, squeeze' (: ChSl. *po-vrěti*, -vrězq 'bind', 9.16).

Lett. *laupījums*, fr. *laupīt* 'flay, peel, rob, plunder' : *lupit*, Lith. *lupiti* 'flay, peel', Russ. *lupit* 'peel', etc. (cf. Pol. *łup*, below, 6). Mühl.-Endz. 2.429.

6. ChSl. *koristi*, Boh. *korist* = SCr. *korist*, Pol. *korzyść*, Russ. *koryst* 'advantage, gain', root connection dub. Berneker 571. Brückner 258.

ChSl. *plēnā* (Supr.), SCr. *plijen* (Boh. *plen* less common, Pol. *plon* now mostly 'profit, harvest') : Lith. *pelnas* 'profit, gain', etc. (11.73). Walde-P. 2.51. Brückner 418.

Pol. *łup* (Boh. *łup* now obs. in this sense) : *lupić* 'flay, peel, rob' = Russ. *lupit* 'peel', etc. : Lith. *lupiti*, Lett. *lupit* 'flay, peel', Skt. *łup-* 'break, rob', etc. Walde-P. 2.417. Berneker 315.

Russ. *dobyča*, fr. *dobyť* 'get, obtain' (11.16). Pol. (less common) *zdobyć*, fr. *zdobyć* 'conquer', cpd. of *dobyć* = Russ. *dobyť*. Berneker 114 f.

7. Skt. *loptra-*, fr. *łup-* 'break, rob' (cf. Pol. *łup*, above, 6).

*zasieda*, Pol. *zasadka*, fr. *za* 'behind' and derivs. of verb for 'sit', ChSl. *sěditi*, etc. (12.13).

Boh. *zdlaha*, fr. *za* 'behind' and deriv. of *ležeti* 'lie' (12.14).

7. Skt. *sattrā-* (lit. a 'seating, session',

fr. *sad-* 'sit') most commonly used for the 'soma-festival', also 'house, asylum', and 'assumed form, disguise', and now attested for 'ambush' in Kaut. Arth. 7.17, 10.2-4 (cf. translation of J. J. Meyer, p. 14, note 6).

| 20.49 AMBUSH (sb.) |                              |       |                          |       |                           |
|--------------------|------------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|---------------------------|
| Grk.               | <i>ἐνέδρα</i>                | Goth. | . . . . .                | Lith. | <i>slaptynė, slėpykla</i> |
| NG                 | <i>ἐνέδρα, καπήρι</i>        | ON    | <i>launsāt</i>           | Let.  | <i>slēptuve, glūnēve</i>  |
| Lat.               | <i>inēdiūa</i>               | Dan.  | <i>baghold</i>           | ChSl. | <i>zasada</i>             |
| It.                | <i>imboscata, agguato</i>    | Sw.   | <i>bakhöll</i>           | SCr.  | <i>zasada</i>             |
| Fr.                | <i>embuscade, guet-apens</i> | OE    | <i>searu</i>             | Boh.  | <i>zdlaha</i>             |
| Sp.                | <i>emboscada</i>             | ME    | <i>embushe</i>           | Pol.  | <i>zasadzka</i>           |
| Rum.               | <i>pîndă</i>                 | NE    | <i>ambush, ambuscade</i> | Russ. | <i>zasada</i>             |
| Ir.                | <i>inlled</i>                | Du.   | <i>hinderlaag</i>        | Skt.  | <i>sattra-</i>            |
| NlR.               | <i>luighēachdñ</i>           | OHG   | <i>laga</i>              |       |                           |
| W.                 | <i>cynllwyn</i>              | MHG   | <i>lage</i>              |       |                           |
| Br.                | <i>spi-brezel</i>            | NHG   | <i>hinterhall</i>        |       |                           |

sg. νομική or neut. pl. νομικά (σπουδάζει νομικά 'studies law'), fr. adj. νομικός 'pertaining to the law, legal'.

2. Lat. *iūs* (OLat. *iōus*), orig. a term of religious cult, perh. 'sacred formula' (cf. *iūrāre* 'swear'): Ved. *yās* 'health', Av. *yaōz-dā-* 'make ritually pure', Ir. *huisse* ('*iūs-tios*' 'just'). Walde-P. 1.203. Ernout-M. 506 ff. Walde-H. 1.733.

As a legal term this is peculiar to Latin, not general Italic. The Oscan-Umbrian term is \**medos*, seen in Umbr. *meſs*, mers 'ius', Osc. *meddiss*, an official title (formed like Lat. *iūdex*), *medicim* 'magistracy' (in form like Lat. *iūdicium*), etc.: Lat. *meditārī* 'think, reflect', Grk. μέδομαι 'give heed to', Ir. *midíur* 'judge', etc. Walde-P. 2.259. Ernout-M. 509. Walde-H. 2.56.

It. *diritto*, Fr. *droit*, Sp. *derecho*, Rum. *drept*, fr. Lat. *dirēctus*, VLat. \**dērēctus* 'straight' (12.73), whence through 'right' as sb. 'right way, law'. REW 2648. Wartburg 2.87 ff.

3. Ir. *dliged*, Nlr. *dlighe*(*adh*), also 'right, duty': *dligim* 'have a right to, claim upon', Br. *dle*, W. *dyled* 'debt', etc. (11.64).

Ir. *cert*, sb. use of *cert* 'right' (16.73).

Ir. *recht*, Nlr. *recht* (in the older language chiefly, if not exclusively, in the sense of 'lex', but now limited largely to 'iūs'), W. *rhaith* now arch. or obs., replaced by cpd. *cyf-raith* used for both 'iūs' and 'lex', Br. *reiz* ('law' in both

senses, but less common than *gwir* and *lezenn*, respectively), ON *rēttir*, OE *riht*, etc., general Gmc. for 'iūs'; all: Lat. *rectus* 'straight, right' (12.73, 16.73). Walde-P. 2.362 ff. Pedersen 1.123. Falk-Torp 892.

Br. *gwir*, sb. use of *gwir* 'true' (16.66; cf. *gwirion* 'right, just' 16.73).

4. ON *rēttir*, OE *riht*, OHG *reht*, etc., general Gmc., above, 3.

OE *lagu* ('iūs' in earliest use), ME *lawe*, NE *law*, see 21.12.

5. Lith. *teisė* (revival of a rare *teisė* 'truth'; Leskien, *Bildung d. Nom.* 283; *teisybė* 'truth, justice' formerly used in this sense): *teisus* 'right' (16.73).

Lett. *likumi*, pl. of *likums* 'lex' (21.12).

6. SCR. *pravo*, etc., general Slavic, neut. sb. fr. adj. ChSl. *pravŭ* 'straight', but general Slavic 'right' (16.73).

7. Skt. *dharma-*, the most common word in both senses, lit. 'right, justice, usage, established order': *dhr-* 'hold, support' (11.15).

Skt. *smṛti-*, esp. '(traditional) law-book, code', orig. 'memory': *smṛ-* 'remember' (17.31).

Av. *aša-*, esp. 'divine law', OPers. *arta-* (now attested as personified in Daiva-inscr. 41 ff., formerly only in proper names like *Artaxšaša* 'Artaxerxes'): Skt. *ṛta-* 'fitting, right', etc. (16.73). Walde-P. 1.70. Barth. 229 ff.

|      |                       |
|------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | νόμος (θεσμός, δόγμα) |
| NG   | νόμος                 |
| Lat. | lex                   |
| It.  | legge                 |
| Fr.  | loi                   |
| Sp.  | ley                   |
| Rum. | lege                  |
| Ir.  | recht, dlíghe, cáin   |
| Nlr. | dlighe(adh), recht    |
| W.   | cyfraith, deddf       |
| Br.  | lezenn                |

21.12 LAW (Special = Lat. *lex*)

|       |                          |             |                    |
|-------|--------------------------|-------------|--------------------|
| Goth. | wilōþ                    | Lith.       | įstatymas, įstatai |
| ON    | lög (pl.)                | Let.        | likums             |
| Dan.  | lov                      | ChSl.       | zakonŭ             |
| Sw.   | lag                      | SCR.        | zakon              |
| OE    | lāg                      | Boh.        | zákón              |
| ME    | lawe, dōm                | Pol.        | ustawa             |
| NE    | law                      | Russ.       | zakón              |
| Du.   | wet                      | Skt.        | dharma-, vidhi-    |
| OHG   | ēwa, wizzōd, gisatzida   | Av., OPers. | dāta-              |
| MHG   | ēwe, gesetze(de), wizzōt |             |                    |
| NHG   | gesetz                   |             |                    |

Words for a 'law' (Lat. *lex*), so far as they are not the same as those discussed in 21.11, are most commonly derived from verbs for 'put, place, set, lay' (12.12), hence orig. what is 'laid down, established'. Other semantic sources are 'knowledge', 'collection'(?), and 'beginning, foundation'.

1. Grk. *νόμος*, see 12.11.

Grk. *θεσμός*, Dcr. *τεθμός* (dial. also *θεθμός*, *τεθμός*, etc.), an old word, applied to the laws of Draco and Solon and usual in archaic inscriptions of several dialects, fr. *τίθημι* 'put, place' (12.12) and esp. 'lay down (a law), establish'.

Grk. *δῆγμα* (dial. *δῆγμα*, *φάρμα*, *φάρμα*) 'covenant, treaty', also sometimes simply 'law', orig. a 'declaration', fr. the root of *ἐπαί* 'will speak, say', etc. (18.21).

2. Lat. *lex* (> Romance forms), general Italic term (cf. Osc. *ligud* 'lege', etc.), prob. *legere* 'collect', but precise semantic development ('collection' or 'selection'?) uncertain. Ernout-M. 542 f. Walde-H. 1.789 f.

3. Ir. *recht*, *dliged*, W. *cyfraith*, see 12.11.

Ir. *cáin*, etym. dub. Pedersen 1.333 (after Zimmer, fr. Lat. *canōn* 'rule'). Stokes, KZ 37.255 (: Skt. *śās-* 'command, rule', 19.45). Vendryes, *De hib. voc.* 119.

W. *deddf*, fr. MW *deðdyf* 'custom, usage': Grk. *θεσμός*, Dor. *τεθμός* (above, 1). Pedersen 1.333. Thurneysen, IF 51.57.

Br. *lezenn*, fr. OFr. *leis* (Lat. *lex*, above, 2). Henry 185.

4. Goth. *wilōþ* (reg. for *vémos*, mostly 'lex', but also 'iūs'), OHG *wizzōd*, MHG *wizzōt*, Du. *wet*: Goth. *wilam*, OHG *wizzan*, etc. 'know' (17.17). Feist 570. Franck-v. W. 790.

ON *lög*, pl. of *lag* 'laying, good order', etc. (with many special senses, but not 'law' in sg.): *leggja* 'lay, put, place'. Here also Dan. *lov*, Sw. *lag*. ON \**lagu* pl. (ancestor of *lög*) > late OE *lagu* fem. sg., in earliest use coll. 'iūs' (and so in Aelfric's Gram.), then (at first only in pl.) 'lex', ME *lawe*, NE *law*. Falk-Torp 655 f. Hellquist 555. NED s.v. *law*, sb. 1.

OE *æ*, *aw*, OHG *ēwa*, MHG *ēwe*, *ē*, OS *ēo*, OFris. *ēwa* (all also 'marriage', as NHG *ehe*), prob.: Skt. *eva-* 'course, way, manner, custom', fr. IE \**ei-* 'go', with semantic development 'custom' > 'law'. Walde-P. 1.104. Kluge-G. 121, 141. Weigand-H. 1.405 f.

OE *dōm*, ME *dome* 'judgment' (21.17), also freq. 'law'.

OHG *gisatzida*, MHG *gesetzedē*, *gesetze*, NHG *gesetz*: OHG *setzen*, NHG *setzen* 'put, place, set' (12.12).

5. Lith. *įstatymas, įstatai*: *įstatyti* 'set up, establish', cpd. of *statyti* 'cause to stand, set'.

Lett. *likums* 'what is laid down, command, law': *likt* 'leave, let, put, place'

(: Lith. *likti* 'be left, remain', Grk. *λείπω* 'leave', etc. 12.28), but also 'determine, command'. Mühl-Endz. 2.467 ff., 470.

6. ChSl. *zakonŭ*, etc. general Slavic (but Pol. *zakon* now arch. or eccl., or 'order' of monks, knights), cpd. of Slavic *konŭ* (in Russ. *kon-* 'beginning, series, order', Boh. *do-kona* 'to the end', etc.; cf. ChSl. *koněči* 'end' 12.35, 14.26, *načēti* 'begin' 14.25, etc.), hence orig. 'starting-point, original determination' or the like. Berneker 560. Brückner 643 f.

Pol. *ustawa*: *ustawić* 'set in order, arrange', *ustać* 'stop, stand', cpd. of *stać* 'stand'.

7. Skt. *dharma-*, see 12.11.

Skt. *vidhi-* properly 'injunction, command', fr. *vi-dhā-* 'determine, ordain, bestow, distribute', cpd. of *dhā-* 'put, place' (12.12).

Av., OPers. *dāta-* fr. *dā-* 'put, place' (= Skt. *dhā-*, above). Barth. 726 f.

## 21.13 LAWSUIT

|      |                              |       |                             |       |                      |
|------|------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | δίκη                         | Goth. | slawa                       | Lith. | byla, prowa          |
| NG   | δίκη                         | ON    | mál, sōk, deild             | Let.  | práva                |
| Lat. | līs, causa, actiō, rēs       | Dan.  | proces, retssag (søgsmaál)  | ChSl. | (sǫdŭ)               |
| It.  | processo, causa, lite        | Sw.   | process, rättegång          | SCR.  | parnica, parba, pro- |
| Fr.  | procès                       | OE    | sacu                        | Boh.  | pře, soud, proces    |
| Sp.  | proceso, pleito              | NE    | seute, process              | Pol.  | proces               |
| Rum. | proces                       | ME    | (law)suit                   | Russ. | process (tjažba)     |
| Ir.  | acraidecht, loiched, cáingen | Du.   | process, rechtsgeding       | Skt.  | vyavahāra-, viddā-   |
| Nlr. | cūis                         | OHG   | sakha, krieic, strit        | Av.   | arāya-               |
| W.   | cynawus                      | MHG   | sache, krieic, strit        |       |                      |
| Br.  | prosez, breud                | NHG   | prozess, rechtshandel, etc. |       |                      |

Terms for 'lawsuit' are mostly legal specializations of notions like 'strife', 'cause, case', 'affair', 'pursuit', 'procedure', sometimes made more specific by compounding with words for 'law' (as in NE *lawsuit*). Some of the words for 'law, iūs' or 'judgment' or 'court' come also, through phrases like 'bring to judgment or court', to be used for 'lawsuit'.

1. Grk. *δίκη*, in Hom. 'way, custom, usage' (: *δίκην*, Skt. *diç-*, etc. 'point out, show', Skt. sb. *diç-* 'direction, region'), also 'order, right, judgment', hence in Attic and likewise in the other dialects the regular technical word for 'lawsuit'. Walde-P. 1.776. Boisacq 170.

Grk. *γραφή* 'writing', hence as law-term 'written indictment', in Attic law

applied (as distinct from *δίκη*) to certain kinds of public suits.

Grk. *κρίσις, κρίμα* 'judgment' (21.17) are sometimes used for its subject, the 'lawsuit' (e.g. *κρίσις* in Thuc., Plato, etc., *κρίμα* in LXX, NT).

2. Lat. *līs, litis* 'strife, quarrel' (19.62), esp. 'legal strife, lawsuit' (> lit. It., Sp. *lite*; Sp. *lid* 'contest, fight').

Lat. *causa* 'cause' (17.42), hence esp. 'cause for legal action, lawsuit'. Ernout-M. 166 f. Walde-H. 1.190.

Lat. *actiō*, lit. 'action', fr. *agere* 'drive, act, perform', etc., and in particular 'bring a suit, plead' a case, and the like.

Lat. *rēs* 'thing, affair' (9.90), but also 'legal matter, suit'.

It. *processo*, Fr. *procès* (> Rum. *proces*), Sp. *proceso*, fr. Lat. *prōcessus* 'advance, progress' (fr. *prō-cedere* 'go for-

ward, advance'), MLat. 'lis, causa' (Du Cange), whence also, through OFr., the vb. ME *seuen*, NE *sue*, with gradual specialization of 'pursuit' through legal 'prosecution'. NED s.v. *suit*, sb.

OHG, MHG *strit* 'strife, quarrel' (19.62), and MHG *krieic* 'battle, war' (20.12, 20.13), both used also for 'legal strife'.

Sw. *rättegång*, Dan. *rettergang* 'legal procedure', also esp. Sw. 'lawsuit', formed after MLG *rechtgang* = NHG *rechtsgang*, lit. 'the course of law'. Hellquist 870.

Dan. *søgsmaal* (not in common use now), fr. *søge* 'seek, sue' and *maal* 'speech'.

Du. *rechtsgeding*, cpd. of *recht* 'law' and *-geding*, coll. to *ding* 'thing, affair' = OHG *ding*, etc. 'assembly, court' (21.15).

NHG *rechtshandel, gerichtshandel*, cpds. of *handel* 'business, affair' with *recht* 'law' (21.11) and *gericht* 'court' (21.15).

Dan., Du. *proces*, Sw. *process*, NHG *prozess* (now more common than native terms), also ME *process* (NED s.v., 7), fr. Fr. *procès* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *byla* 'talk, conversation' and 'lawsuit' (cf. NSB s.v.): *byloti* 'litigate, sue', OLith. 'speak' (18.21).

Lith. *prowa*, Lett. *práva*, fr. Slavic *pravo* 'law' (21.11). Mühl-Endz. 3.383.

6. ChSl. *sǫdŭ* 'judgment' (21.17) in Mt. 5.40 *sǫdŭ prjēti*, lit. 'take judgment' for *κρίθηναι* 'be judged', hence 'take legal action, bring suit'. So Boh. *soud* 'judgment, court' and also 'lawsuit'.

SCR. *parnica, parba*, Boh. *pře*: ChSl. *sŭ-prēti se* 'strive, contend', *přija* 'strife', etc. (19.62).

Russ. *tjažba* (formerly common, now unusual) = late ChSl. *težiba* 'strife': ChSl. *težiti, teŭnati*, Russ. *ťjanut'* 'draw' (9.33). Miklosich 351.

5. Lith. *byla* 'talk, conversation' and 'lawsuit' (cf. NSB s.v.): *byloti* 'litigate, sue', OLith. 'speak' (18.21).

Lith. *prowa*, Lett. *práva*, fr. Slavic *pravo* 'law' (21.11). Mühl-Endz. 3.383.

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Russ. *tjažba* (formerly common, now unusual) = late ChSl. *težiba* 'strife': ChSl. *težiti, teŭnati*, Russ. *ťjanut'* 'draw' (9.33). Miklosich 351.

SCR., Boh., Pol. *proces*, Russ. *process* (in part more common than the native terms), fr. Fr. *procès* (above, 2).

7. Skt. *vyavahāra-* 'conduct, action, business', also used for 'legal action', fr. *vi-ava-hr-* 'have intercourse with, be-

have, fight, etc.', cpd. of *hr-* 'carry, bring' (10.61).

Skt. *viśāda-* 'strife' (19.62), also 'legal strife'.

Av. *arāya-*, *arāra-*: *arāša-* 'matter, affair', Skt. *artha-* 'business, cause, aim, thing, etc.'. Barth. 196.

## 21.14 LAWYER

|      |                          |       |                               |       |                               |
|------|--------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|
| Grk. | (δῆτωρ, συνήγορος, etc.) | Goth. | (wiūdajasteis)                | Lith. | advokatas                     |
| NG   | δίκηγορος (συνήγορος)    | ON    | legmaðr, etc.                 | Let.  | advokats                      |
| Lat. | iuriscōnsultus           | Dan.  | sagfører, advokat             | ChSl. | (zakonníkŭ)                   |
| It.  | avvocato                 | Sw.   | advocat, jurist               | SCR.  | advokat, odjetnik             |
| Fr.  | avocat                   | OE    | æglæw, lageslæw, rīhtscrifend | Boh.  | advokát, právník              |
| Rum. | avocat, avocat           | ME    | lawyer, leyst(er), avocat     | Pol.  | advokat, prawnik              |
| Ir.  | aigne, fechem            | NE    | lawyer, attorney              | Russ. | advokat, prijažnŭj poverennyj |
| Nlr. | dligheadōir, fear dlighe | Du.   | advocaat, rechtgeleerde       |       |                               |
| W.   | cyfreithiur, turnai      | OHG   | ēwa gilerter, furispreho      |       |                               |
| Br.  | breutaer, advocad        | MHG   | vürspreche(r), rehtwiser      |       |                               |
|      |                          | NHG   | rechtsanwalt, advokat         |       |                               |

Words for 'lawyer' are commonly de-rivs or cpds. of those for 'law'. But the most widespread modern Eur. term was in origin 'one summoned' (to assist). A few are based on 'answerer' (denoting at first the defending lawyer), 'one who speaks for', 'one who is sworn' (as agent), 'one who cares for, attends to'.

Some of the terms included in the list from older periods were applied to persons learned in the law, but only distantly corresponding to the modern lawyers.

1. Grk. *δῆτωρ* 'speaker, orator' (: *ἐπαί*, *ἐπρήθην*, etc. 'speak', 18.21) was the term always used of the great pleaders like Lysias and Demosthenes, who were, if also politicians, the nearest thing to professional lawyers in fact, though not in name.

Grk. *νομικός*, adj. 'pertaining to the law' (deriv. of *νόμος* 11.11), is also used as sb., often rendered 'lawyer', but mostly denoting one learned in the law (in

NT 'one learned in the Mosaic law') rather than a practicing 'lawyer'.

Grk. *νομοθέτης* 'establisher of laws, lawgiver' was the term applied to the early founders of legal codes, like Zaleucus, Charondas, Lycurgus, Draco, etc.

Grk. *συνήγορος* (-ήγορος : *ἀγορεύω* 'speak in the assembly', 18.21) and *σύνδικος* (: *δίκη* 'lawsuit'), both orig. adjs. and with *συν-* denoting assistance, were terms for public advocates and also those who assisted a private individual in litigation. Cf. Bonner and Smith, *Administration of Justice* 2.8.

Late Grk. *δικηγόρος*, quotable fr. 6th cent. and the regular NG term, cpd. of *δίκη* 'lawsuit' (18.13), second part as in *συνήγορος* (above), but accent as in *δημηγόρος*.

2. Lat. *iuriscōnsultus*, phrase cpd. with gen. sg. of *iūs* 'law' (21.11) and *cōnsultus* 'experienced, skilled' (also used

NT 'one learned in the Mosaic law') rather than a practicing 'lawyer'.

Grk. *νομικός*, adj. 'pertaining to the law' (deriv. of *νόμος* 11.11), is also used as sb., often rendered 'lawyer', but mostly denoting one learned in the law (in

NT 'one learned in the Mosaic law') rather than a practicing 'lawyer'.

Grk. *νομικός*, adj. 'pertaining to the law' (deriv. of *νόμος* 11.11), is also used as sb., often rendered 'lawyer', but mostly denoting one learned in the law (in

*prawnik* (SCR. mostly 'one learned in the law, jurist'), fr. *pravo* 'law' (21.11).

SCR. *prawni zastupnik*, Boh. *právní zastupce*, lit. 'law-agent', phrases with *zastupnik, zastupce* 'agent, deputy' (: SCR. *zastupiti* 'represent', Boh. *zastupovati* 'take one's place, act as a substitute').

SCR. *odjetnik*, fr. *odjet* = ChSl. *otŭ-věti* 'answer' (18.32).

Russ. *prisjažnyj poverennyj*, lit. 'sworn agent or trustee', fr. past pples. of *pris-*

*jagat* 'swear, take oath' (21.24) and *poveriti* 'believe, trust'.



| 21.16 JUDGE (vb.)                    |                                  |                                  |  |
|--------------------------------------|----------------------------------|----------------------------------|--|
| Grk. <i>δικάζω, κρίνω</i>            | Goth. <i>dōmjan, stōjan</i>      | Lith. <i>teisiti, spręsti</i>    |  |
| NG <i>δικάζω, κρίνω</i>              | ON <i>dōma</i>                   | Lett. <i>tiesāti, spriest</i>    |  |
| Lat. <i>iudicare</i>                 | Dan. <i>dēma</i>                 | ChSl. <i>squiti</i>              |  |
| It. <i>giudicare</i>                 | Sw. <i>dōma</i>                  | ScR. <i>squiti</i>               |  |
| Fr. <i>juger</i>                     | OE <i>dēman</i>                  | Boh. <i>souditi</i>              |  |
| Sp. <i>juzgar</i>                    | ME <i>dēme, iuge</i>             | Pol. <i>souditi</i>              |  |
| Rum. <i>judeca</i>                   | NE <i>judge</i>                  | Russ. <i>suditi</i>              |  |
| Nr. <i>midair, berim brith ar</i>    | Du. <i>oordeelen</i>             | Skt. <i>nirṇayaṃ vad-</i> , etc. |  |
| Ir. <i>beirim (tugaim) breith ar</i> | OHG <i>rihten, irteilēn, su-</i> | Av. <i>(vi-či-)</i>              |  |
| W. <i>barnu</i>                      | MHG <i>rihten, erteilen, ur-</i> |                                  |  |
| Br. <i>barn</i>                      | NHG <i>urteilen, richten</i>     |                                  |  |

The words for 'judge' (vb.), 'judge' (sb.), and 'judgment' are in large measure parallel forms in a given language, but not always so. Thus, beside Grk. *δικάζω* and *κρίνω*, the former more exclusively legal, only *δικαστής* (not *κρίτης*) is the legal term for the 'judge', and only *κρίσις* for 'judgment'. Cf. also NHG *urteilen*, *urteil*, but still *richter* (not *urteiler*) for the 'judge'.

Most of the verbs for 'judge' are derived from words for 'judge' (sb.), 'judgment', 'law', or 'lawsuit'. Some come through 'decide' from 'separate, divide', 'reflect', 'draw out', or the like.

Besides Grk. *κρίνω*, others of the usual verbs for 'decide' (cf. 21.162), like Lat. *decernere*, NHG *entscheiden*, though less distinctively legal terms, may, beside their more general applications, refer to the decision of a magistrate or official body.

Instead of 'judge', the judge may 'declare', 'pronounce', 'rule', etc.

1. Grk. *δικάζω*, fr. *δικη* 'right, justice, lawsuit' (21.13).

Both *δικάζω* and *κρίνω* 'decide' (21.162) are common legal terms, with a distinction not always maintained but especially clear in the Gortyn law-code, the former being used where the judge pronounces formal judgment according to the law and the evidence, the

latter where he acts directly as arbiter in case of conflicting evidence.

2. Lat. *iudicare* (> Romance words), fr. *iudex* 'judge' (21.18).

3. Ir. *midair* : W. *meddu* 'possess, be able', Lat. *mediāri* 'think, reflect', Grk. *μέδομαι* 'give heed to', Umbr. *mers* 'ius' (21.11), etc. Walde-P. 2.259. Pedersen 2.580.

Ir. *breith*, *brith*, Nlr. *breith* 'judgment' (21.17), in phrases Ir. *berim brith ar*, Nlr. *beirim* (or *tugaim*) *breith ar* 'put judgment on'; also Nlr. denom. *breath-nighim*.

W. *barnu*, Br. *barn* : W. *barn*, Br. *barn* 'judgment' (21.17).

4. Goth. *dōmjan*, ON *dōma*, OE *dēman*, etc., the older Gmc. words (OHG *tuomen* not the common term), fr. Goth. *dōms* 'judgment', etc. (21.17).

Goth. *stōjan* : *staua* 'judgment, lawsuit' (21.17).

ME *iuge*, NE *judge*, fr. Fr. *juger*, above, 2.

OHG *irteilen* (also *uberteilen*), MHG *erteilen*, with sbs. OHG *urteil(i)*, OS *urdēli*, MDu. *ordeel*, Du. *oordeel*, whence vbs. MHG, NHG *urteilen*, Du. *oordeelen*, cpds. of *teilen*, etc. 'divide' : *teil*, etc. 'part' (13.23). Kluge-G. 646. Franck-v. W. 477.

OHG-NHG *rihten*, *richten*, fr. *reht*, *recht*, 'law' (21.11).

OHG *suonen* (NHG *sühnen* 'expiate,

atone'), fr. *suona* 'judgment, court, atonement' (21.17).

5. Lith. *teisiti* (neolog. for *sudyti*) : *teisus* 'right' (16.73), *teisė* 'law' (21.11).

Lett. *tiesāt* : *tiesa* 'truth, right, judgment, court' (21.15). Mühl.-Endz. 4.214.

Lith. *spęsti*, Lett. *spriest*, both orig. 'span, stretch, measure' : Lith. *sprindys*, Lett. *spriids* 'span', with development through 'draw' (a conclusion). Mühl.-Endz. 3.1022 f.

Lith. *sudyti* (old; now replaced by the native words), Lett. *suodīt*, fr. Russ. *sudit* (below, 6). Mühl.-Endz. 3.1135.

6. ChSl. *squiti*, etc., general Slavic, fr. *squā*, etc. 'judgment' (21.17), 'court' (21.15).

7. Skt. *nirṇi-* 'lead out, take away' (cpd. of *nī-* 'lead', 10.64), hence 'find out, decide'. Hence sb. *nirṇaya-* 'judgment', and *nirṇaya-* with *vad-* 'speak, say' or the like, prob. more common legal expression for vb. 'judge' than *nirṇi-*.

Av. *vi-či-* 'distinguish, decide' (but not quotable in strictly legal sense) = Skt. *vi-či-* 'distinguish, investigate', cpd. of *ci-* 'notice, observe'. Barth. 441.

21.162. 'Decide'. Some of the verbs listed under 'judge' are used also for 'decide' in general. Conversely, the usual verbs for 'decide', while generally not legal terms, may, more or less frequently, refer to a legal decision. Hence some of these (not a full list) are noted here.

1. The most common development is through 'distinguish', fr. 'separate', this in part fr. 'cut' or 'split'.

Grk. *κρίνω, διακρίνω*, Lat. *discernere* : Grk. *κείρω*, OE *sceran* 'cut off, shear', Ir. *scaraim*, Lith. *skirti* 'separate', etc. Walde-P. 2.584. Ernout-M. 178 f. Walde-H. 1.205.

Lat. *decidere* (> Romance words and, through Fr., NE *decide*), cpd. of *caedere* 'cut' (9.22).

NHG *entscheiden*, in MHG 'separate, distinguish', cpd. of *scheiden* 'separate' (12.23).

ScR. *odlučiti*, cpd. of *lučiti* 'separate' (12.23).

2. NG *ἀποφασίζω*, fr. *ἀπόφασις* 'decision', this fr. *ἀποφαίνω* 'make known, declare', cpd. of *φαίνω* 'show'.

3. NHG *bestimmen*, MLG *bestimmen* (> Dan. *bestemme*, Sw. *bestämma*), in earliest use 'vocally designate', hence best : *stimme* 'voice'. Weigand-H. 1.219. Paul, Deutsches Wtb. 77. Franck-v. W. 55. Otherwise (: OE *stefnan* 'regulate, fix') Falk-Torp 1157.

4. NHG *beschliessen*, *entschliessen*, Du. *beslissen*, Dan. *beslutte*, Sw. *besluta*, cpds. of vbs. for 'shut' (12.25), hence 'bring to a conclusion, decision'.

5. ScR. *riješiti*, Russ. *rešit* 'solve' (17.39), also 'decide'. Cf. NE *resolve* beside *solve*.

6. Cpds. of vbs. for 'do, make' (9.11) may be used for 'decide' through the notion 'dispose of', as Dan. *afgøre*, Sw. *afgöra*, Du. *uitmaken*, NHG *ausmachen*.

| 21.17 JUDGMENT              |                                      |                            |  |
|-----------------------------|--------------------------------------|----------------------------|--|
| Grk. <i>κρίσις</i>          | Goth. <i>staua (dōma)</i>            | Lith. <i>sprendimas</i>    |  |
| NG <i>κρίσις</i>            | ON <i>dōmr</i>                       | Lett. <i>sprīdums</i>      |  |
| Lat. <i>iudicium</i>        | Dan. <i>dōm, kendelse</i>            | ChSl. <i>sqdū</i>          |  |
| It. <i>giudizio</i>         | Sw. <i>dōm</i>                       | ScR. <i>presuda, osuda</i> |  |
| Fr. <i>jugement</i>         | OE <i>dōm</i>                        | Boh. <i>rozsudok</i>       |  |
| Sp. <i>juicio</i>           | ME <i>dōm, iugement</i>              | Pol. <i>wyrook</i>         |  |
| Rum. <i>judecald</i>        | NE <i>judgment</i>                   | Russ. <i>prigovor</i>      |  |
| Nr. <i>breith, mess</i>     | Du. <i>oordeel</i>                   | Skt. <i>nirṇaya-</i>       |  |
| Ir. <i>breith</i>           | OHG <i>urteil, reht, suona, tuom</i> | Av. <i>ratu-</i>           |  |
| W. <i>barn, braud</i>       | MHG <i>urteil(e), reht, gerichte</i> |                            |  |
| Br. <i>barn, barnedigez</i> | NHG <i>urteil</i>                    |                            |  |

Several of the words for 'judgment' are derived from the verbs for 'judge', while in others the converse relation holds. For those not derived from the verbs for 'judge', the sources are such as 'what is brought', 'what is set down, established', 'agreement', 'pronouncement', and 'law'.

1. Grk. *κρίσις* : *κρίνω* 'decide, judge' (21.162).

2. Lat. *iudicium*, fr. *iudex* 'judge' (21.18). Hence It. *giudizio*, Sp. *juicio*; Fr. *jugement*, Rum. *judecald*, fr. the vbs. Fr. *juger*, Rum. *judeca* (21.16).

3. Ir. *breith* (also *brith* 'doom'), Nlr. *breith*, W. *barn, braud*, Br. *barn, barnedigez*, all derivs. of the root of Ir. *berim*, Grk. *φέρω*, etc. 'bear, carry, bring', with specialization of 'bringing, what is brought'. Walde-P. 2.155. Pedersen 1.42, 51, 52.

Ir. *mess* (less common), vbl. n. to *midair* 'judge' (21.16).

4. Goth. *staua* (reg. word for *κρίσις*; cf. also OHG *stāa-tago* 'day of judgment') : OE *stōw* 'place', etc. (12.11), with development through specialized 'place of judgment, court' > 'judgment'. Cf. MHG *stuhl* 'seat, chair' in specializations including 'seat of the judge'. Walde-P. 2.608. Feist 451.

Goth. *dōms* (but only in Skeireins and here prob. with secondary sense 'fame, glory'), ON *dōmr*, Dan., Sw. *dōm*, OE

*dōm*, ME *dōm* (NE *doom*), OHG *tuom* (usual word in Lat.), fr. the root of OE *dōm*, OHG *tuom* 'do', Grk. *τίθημι*, Skt. *dhā-* 'put, place', with semantic development through 'what is set down, established'. Walde-P. 1.828. Feist 122 f.

Dan. *kendelse*, fr. *kende* 'know' (17.17), in its use = *dōmme* 'judge' (this use fr. that of MLG *kennen*). Falk-Torp 516.

ME *iugement*, NE *judgment*, fr. OFr. *jugement*.

ME *verdit*, NE *verdict* (as legal term properly the 'decision of a jury', but in U.S. sometimes used also of the judge's decision), fr. OFr. *verdit*, MLat. *veredictum* (whence later English spelling), lit. 'what is truly said' (Lat. *verē dictum*). The legal use arose in England, hence Fr. *verdict*, It. *verdetto*, Russ. *verdict*. NED s.v. *verdict*. Gamillscheg 884.

OHG *urteil(i)*, *urteil*, MHG *urteil(e)*, NHG *urteil*, Du. *oordeel* : OHG *irteilen*, etc. 'judge'. See 21.16. Here OE *ordal* in its sense, revived in NE *ordeal* (NED s.v.).

OHG *gerichte* 'court' (21.15), also 'judgment'. So NHG *gericht* in *das jüngste gericht*, but generally obs. in this sense.

OHG *suona*, also 'atonement' (MHG *suone*, *siene*, NHG *sühne* in this sense only) : ON *sōn* 'atonement' (in cpds.), MLG *swōne*, *sōn*, etc., outside connec-

tions dub. Walde-P. 2.452. Kluge-G. 606. Franck-v. W. 824.

5. Lith. *sprendimas*, Lett. *sprīdums* : *spresti*, *spriest* 'judge' (21.16).

6. ChSl. *squā*, i.e. *sq-dū*, cpd. of *sq-* 'together', second part fr. weak grade of root in *dēti*, Grk. *τίθημι*, Skt. *dhā-*, etc. 'put, place' (12.12). Cf. Skt. *sam-dhā-*, *sam-dhi-* 'union, agreement, compact', etc.

The corresponding modern Slavic words (still used in phrases like 'day of judgment') are terms for the 'court' (21.15), but 'judgment' is expressed by

the cpds. ScR. *presuda*, *osuda*, Boh. *rozsudok*. Walde-P. 1.827. Bernker 123. Brückner 483.

Pol. *wyrook* = Boh. *wyrook* 'declaration' (also sometimes 'judgment'), cpds. (like *prorok* 'prophet', etc.) of root in ChSl. *rešti*, *reka*, etc. 'say' (18.22).

Russ. *prigovor* : *govorit* 'speak' (18.21).

7. Skt. *nirṇaya-*, fr. *nir-ṇi-* 'decide'. See 21.16.

Av. *ratu-* 'judge' (21.18), also sometimes 'judgment'. Barth. 1502.

## 21.18 JUDGE (sb.)

|                            |                                    |                                  |
|----------------------------|------------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>δικαστής</i>       | Goth. <i>staua</i>                 | Lith. <i>teisėjas</i>            |
| NG <i>δικαστής</i>         | ON <i>dōmāri, dōmandi</i>          | Lett. <i>tiesnesis</i>           |
| Lat. <i>iudex</i>          | Dan. <i>dommer</i>                 | ChSl. <i>squiti</i>              |
| It. <i>giudice</i>         | Sw. <i>domare</i>                  | ScR. <i>squiti</i>               |
| Fr. <i>juge</i>            | OE <i>dōma, dōmere</i>             | Boh. <i>soudca</i>               |
| Sp. <i>juez</i>            | ME <i>demere, iuge</i>             | Pol. <i>sędzia</i>               |
| Rum. <i>judecător</i>      | NE <i>judge</i>                    | Russ. <i>sud'ya</i>              |
| Ir. <i>breithemh</i>       | Du. <i>rechter</i>                 | Skt. <i>sabhya-, prādhivāka-</i> |
| Nr. <i>breithemh</i>       | OHG <i>rihtāri, irteilāri, su-</i> | Av. <i>ratu-</i>                 |
| W. <i>barnur, bravudur</i> | MHG <i>rihtāre, urteilāre</i>      |                                  |
| Br. <i>barnur</i>          | NHG <i>richter</i>                 |                                  |

*barnur, bravudur*, Br. *barnur*, fr. verbs for 'judge'.

4. Goth. *staua* (masc. *n*-stem), fr. *staua* (fem. *ō*-stem) 'judgment'. Feist 451.

ON *dōmāri, dōmandi*, Dan. *dommer*, Sw. *domare*, OE *dēma, dōmere*, ME *demere* : ON *dōmr* 'judgment', *dama* 'judge', etc.

ME *iuge*, NE *judge*, fr. Fr. *juge* (above, 2).

OHG *rihtāri*, MHG *rihtāre*, NHG *richter*, fr. OHG *rihten*, etc. 'judge'.

OHG *irteilāri*, MHG *urteilāre*, fr. OHG *irteilen* 'judge', etc.

5. Lith. *teisėjas*, Lett. *tiesnesis* : Lith. *teisiti*, Lett. *tiesāt* 'judge'.

Lith. *sūdža*, Lett. *suog'is* (but now replaced by native words), fr. Russ. *sud'ja*

(below, 6). Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 139. Mühl.-Endz. 3.1136.

6. ChSl. *squiti*, ScR. *sudiya, sudac*, etc., general Slavic, fr. ChSl. *squā*, etc. 'judgment, court'.

7. In ancient India the king exercised judicial functions, and the following terms denoted in the first instance the king's advisers in judicial matters. But they are generally rendered 'judge'. Cf. Jolly, Recht und Sitte 132 ff., where still other terms besides those noted here are mentioned.

Skt. *sabhya-* and *sabhā-sad-* (both common in Manu, Yājñ., etc.) deriv. and cpd. (with *sad-* 'sitting') of *sabhā-* 'assembly, court'.

## 21.21 PLAINTIFF

|                                       |                                 |                                    |
|---------------------------------------|---------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>δ δίκων, δ ἐάγων</i>          | Goth. <i>...</i>                | Lith. <i>ieskovas</i>              |
| NG <i>δ δίκων</i>                     | ON <i>sōknari</i> , etc.        | Lett. <i>apsūdzētājs</i>           |
| Lat. <i>petitor, accusator, actor</i> | Dan. <i>sagsøger, klager</i>    | ChSl. <i>...</i>                   |
| It. <i>attore, querelante</i>         | Sw. <i>kārande</i>              | ScR. <i>tužītēļ</i>                |
| Fr. <i>demandeur, plaignant</i>       | OE <i>tēond</i>                 | Boh. <i>žalobce</i>                |
| Sp. <i>demandante</i>                 | ME <i>askere, pleintif</i>      | Pol. <i>skarżący, powód</i>        |
| Rum. <i>acuzator</i>                  | NE <i>plaintiff</i>             | Russ. <i>istec</i>                 |
| Ir. <i>lith, fechem</i>               | Du. <i>(aan)klager, eischer</i> | Skt. <i>arthin-, vādin-, abhi-</i> |
| Nr. <i>ēlighthēor, agarthōir</i>      | OHG <i>sakhu(?)</i>             | yoklar-                            |
| W. <i>hawlblaid, achwynur</i>         | MHG <i>klager</i>               | Av. <i>...</i>                     |
| Br. <i>klemmer</i>                    | NHG <i>(an)klāger</i>           |                                    |

Most of the terms for 'plaintiff' are derivs. (act. pples. used as sbs., or agent nouns) of the usual verbs for 'accuse' (21.31) or others meaning 'seek, demand, pursue, summon, complain, bring in', most of these also used as legal terms.

Some Irish terms for 'plaintiff' and 'defendant' involve the notion of 'debt'. In certain civil suits the 'debtor' and 'creditor' would be the 'defendant' and 'plaintiff' respectively. Cf. Lat. *reus* 'defendant', also 'debtor'.

1. Grk. *δ δίκων*, pres. act. pple. of *δίκω* 'pursue' (10.53), as legal term 'prosecute, bring suit against'.

Skt. *prādhivāka-* (Manu, etc.; cf. Jolly, op. cit. 133), cpd. of *prāḥ-* 'asking' (: *praç-*, *pracch-* 'ask', 18.31) and *vivāka-*, general Slavic, fr. ChSl. *squā*, etc. 'announcement, explain', cpd. of *vac-* 'speak, say', 18.21), thus combining the notions of investigation and judgment. Jolly, op. cit. 133.

Skt. *dharmadhikārin-*, *dharmadhikāraṇika-*, etc. (BR 3.894, but less common than the preceding), cpds. of *dharma-* 'law' and derivs. of *adhi-kr-* 'place at the head, appoint'.

Skt. *draṣtar-* 'one who sees', also 'judge', fr. *drç-* 'see'.

Av. *ratu-* : Av. *aša-*, OPers. *arta-* 'law' (21.11).

Grk. *δ ἐάγων* (late and NG), pres. act. pple. of *ἐάγω* 'bring in' in its late legal use for 'bring into court, accuse'.

Grk. *ἀντίδικος* 'opponent in a suit', cpd. of *ἀντι* 'against' and *-δικος* : *δικη* 'lawsuit' (21.13), occurs with special reference to the plaintiff and also to the defendant.

In the Gortyn law-code the plaintiff is called *μεμφομένος* (pple. of *μύφομαι* 'blame, censure') or *ἀρχων τῆς δίκας* 'initiator of the suit'.

2. Lat. *petitor*, lit. 'seeker', fr. *petere* 'seek'.

Lat. *accusator* 'accuser', fr. *accusare* 'accuse'.

Skt. *vādin-* 'speaking' (fr. *vad-* 'speak', 18.21), hence 'one who speaks for, represents', as 'plaintiff', with *prativādin-* 'defendant', e.g. Yājñ. 2.73.

## 21.22 DEFENDANT

|                                      |                         |                                     |
|--------------------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------------------|
| Grk. <i>δ φεύγων</i>                 | Goth. <i>...</i>        | Lith. <i>atsakytojas, atsakovas</i> |
| NG <i>ἐναγόμενος, κατηγορούμενος</i> | ON <i>varnamaðr</i>     | Lett. <i>apsūdzētājs</i>            |
| Lat. <i>reus</i>                     | Dan. <i>indstævnte</i>  | ChSl. <i>...</i>                    |
| It. <i>imputato, accusato</i>        | Sw. <i>svarande</i>     | ScR. <i>(op)tuženik</i>             |
| Fr. <i>défendeur</i>                 | OE <i>betigen</i>       | Boh. <i>(ob)žalovaný</i>            |
| Sp. <i>demandado</i>                 | ME <i>defendant</i>     | Pol. <i>oskarżony</i>               |
| Rum. <i>acuzat</i>                   | NE <i>defendant</i>     | Russ. <i>otvetčik</i>               |
| Ir. <i>bibdu, cintach, fechem</i>    | Du. <i>beschuldigde</i> | Skt. <i>pratyarthin-, prati</i>     |

mony' came to be used also, and then mainly, for the personal 'witness', as Fr. *témoin*, NE *witness*.

1. Derivatives of IE \*weid- 'see' (15.51) and 'know' (17.17). Walde-P. 1.236 f. Feist 560.

Ir. *fiadu*, acc. *fiadna* (Laws, Gloss. 356), Nlr. *fiadhnéidh*; Goth. *weitwōþs* (perf. act. pple.), ON *vitni*, Dan. *vidne*, Sw. *vittne*, OE *gewita*, (ge)wines, ME *witnesse*, NE *witness* (ON, OE also and orig. 'testimony' and so still NE, esp. bear witness), OHG *giwizzo*; ChSl. *sūvēd-ětelŭ* (prefix *sū-*), Russ. *svidetel'*, SCR. *svjedok*, Boh. *svědek*, Pol. *świadek*.

2. Grk. *μάρτυς*, gen. *-υπος* (nom. also *μάρτυρ*, Hom. *μάρτυρος*), NG *μάρτυρας* : *μέμνημα* 'care', Lat. *memor* 'mindful of', Skt. *smr-* 'remember', etc. Prob. based on \**map-rv-* (IE *-tu-* suffix in abstracts, etc.) orig. 'testimony'. Walde-P. 2.689. Boisacq 612.

3. Lat. *testis*, lit. 'the third' (= Ir. *triss* 'third'), fr. \**tristi-* : *trēs* 'three'. Cf. Osc. *tratus* 'testēs' (fr. \**tris-lo-*), *tristamentud* 'testāmentōs'. Hence *testimōnium* 'testimony' > It. (learned) *testimonio*, Fr. *témoin* (both with shift fr. 'testimony' > 'witness'), and vb. *testificāri* 'testify', VLat. *-āre* > OSp. *testiguar* with deriv. Sp. *testigo* 'witness'. Walde-P. 1.755. Ernout-M. 1036 f. REW 8684-85.

Rum. *martor*, loanword fr. Grk. (above, 2). Tiktin 956.

4. W. *tyst*, Br. *test*, fr. Lat. *testis* (above, 3). Loth, Mots lat. 214.  
5. ON *váttir*, prob. (Gmc. \**wahltaz*) : OHG *giwahanen* 'mention, remember', *giwath* 'mention, fame', Lat. *vōz* 'voice', Grk. *ἔπος* 'word', etc. Walde-P. 1.245. Falk-Torp 1376.

MHG *geziuc*, *geziuge*, late *ziuc*, NHG *zeuge* (in MHG also 'testimony', for which NHG *zeugnis*), Du. *getuige* (MDu. *getūgh* 'testimony') : OHG *geziugōn* 'explain, declare' (orig. 'bring out'), OHG *ziohan* 'pull, draw, bring' (9.33). Formation and early usage indicate the development 'testimony' > 'witness'. Weigand-H. 2.1321. Kluge-G. 709. Franck-v. W. 192.

OHG *wrcundo* (reg. for *testis* in Tat.), beside *wrcundt* 'testimonium' (NHG *wkunde* 'document' and in some phrases 'evidence') : OHG *ircennen*, NHG *erkennen* 'recognize, perceive', etc. Kluge-G. 645 (without *wrcundo*).

6. Lith. *liudininkas* (also *liuditojas*), beside *liudyti* 'bear witness, testify', based on a loanword fr. Russ. *ljudi* 'people' quotable in ORuss. as 'witnesses'. Brückner, KZ 46.223.

Lett. *liciniekš*, lit. 'one who is superfluous, an outsider, a hireling' : *lieks* 'superfluous, extra' and 'false'. Mühl.-Endz. 2.492, 496.

7. Skt. *sākṣin-* : *sākṣāt* 'with the eye, clearly', fr. *sa-* 'with' and *akṣa-*, reg. at end of cpds. for *akṣi-* 'eye'.

Av. *vikaya-*, fr. *vi-či-* 'distinguish, decide' (21.16). Barth. 1436.

21.24 SWEAR

|      |                   |       |          |       |                         |
|------|-------------------|-------|----------|-------|-------------------------|
| Grk. | ὀρκίζω            | Goth. | swaran   | Lith. | prisiekti               |
| NG   | ὀρκίζομαι (ὀρκίω) | ON    | swerja   | Lett. | svērt                   |
| Lat. | iūrāre            | Dan.  | swerge   | ChSl. | kletŭ sę                |
| It.  | giurare           | Sw.   | swärja   | Boh.  | zakletŭ se, priseci     |
| Fr.  | jurer             | OE    | swerian  | Pol.  | przysięgać              |
| Sp.  | jurar             | ME    | suere    | Russ. | prisyjagat', kljast'sja |
| Rum. | jura              | NE    | swear    | Skt.  | gap-                    |
| Ir.  | longu             | Du.   | zueren   |       |                         |
| Nlr. | beirīm mionna     | OHG   | sweren   |       |                         |
| W.   | tyngu             | MHG   | swern    |       |                         |
| Br.  | loui              | NHG   | schwören |       |                         |

Verbs for 'swear' include a deriv. of the word for 'law', words for 'speak' which have been specialized in legal sense, 'touch' (through practice of touching an object in taking the oath), and 'curse' (through 'curse oneself' if the statement be not true; cf. NE colloq. *I'll be damned if it isn't so*). Some are of obscure origin.

'Swear' may also be expressed by phrases with words for 'oath' (21.25), like NE *take oath*, Fr. *prêter serment*, NHG *eid ablegen* (*leisten*), NG *κατανοω ὅρκω*.

1. Grk. *ὀρκίζω*, NG lit. *ὀρκίω* : Skt. *am-* 'swear' in imperat. *amīṣva*, etc. (Aufrecht, Rh. Mus. 40.160), but further identity of this *am-* with *am-* 'injure', etc. dub. Walde-P. 1.178. Boisacq 701.

Grk. *ὀρκίζω* 'administer an oath', whence rare *ὀρκίζόμενος* 'the one sworn', but NG *ὀρκίζομαι* usual word for 'swear'.

2. Lat. *iūrāre* (> Romance forms), fr. *iūs* 'law' (21.11). Ernout-M. 506 f. Walde-H. 1.733. REW 4630.

3. Ir. *longu*, W. *tyngu*, Br. *loui*, Corn. *toy*, outside connections dub. Pedersen 1.106, 2.652 f.

Nlr. *beirīm* (or *tugaim*) *mionna* 'bring oath', cf. *mionna* 'oath' (21.25).

4. Goth. *swaran*, OE *swerian*, etc., general Gmc. : Lat. *sermō* 'talk, conversation', Osc. *sverruneī* (dat.) 'spokesman', etc. Walde-P. 2.527. Feist 463. Falk-Torp 1214 f. Kluge-G. 553.

5. Lith. *prisiekti*, cpd. of *siekti* 'reach with the hand, swear' (Leskien, Ablaut 282), with the same semantic development as in, and perh. influenced by, Slavic (Pol. *przysięgać*, etc., below). Trautmann 252.

Lett. *zvērēt*, fr. MLG *sweren*. Mühl.-Endz. 4.772.

6. ChSl. *kletŭ sę*, SCR. *zakletŭ se*, Pol. *kląć się*, Russ. *kljast'sja*, refl. forms of ChSl. *kletŭ*, etc. 'curse' (22.24), with development through 'curse oneself' (if the statement be not true). Berneker 525 f. Otherwise Brückner 232.

SCR. *priseci*, Boh. *přisahati*, Pol. *przysięgać*, Russ. *prisyjagat'* : ChSl. *prisęga*, *prisęsti* 'touch' (15.71). 'Swear' from touching the object on which the oath was taken. Miklosich 291. Brückner 490. Trautmann 252.

7. Skt. *gap-* 'curse' (22.24), usually mid. 'swear', with development as in ChSl. *kletŭ sę*, etc. (above, 6).

ON *kara* (with or without *ā* and acc., also with acc. 'plead a case', *kara māl*), with sb. *kara* 'plaint, dispute' : ON *kpr* 'sick-bed', Goth. *kara*, OE *cearu* 'care, sorrow', OHG *kara* 'lamentation', etc. (16.14). Falk-Torp 520. Hellquist 547.

OE *lēon*, *beleon* (reg. words in the Laws, not *wreġan*), OHG *zihan*, MHG *zihen* (NHG *zeihen*) = Goth. *gateihan* 'announce, make known' : Grk. *ἀεικνύω* 'point out', Lat. *dicere* 'say', etc. (18.22). OE *onsprecan*, cpd. of *sprecan* 'speak' (18.21).

ME, NE *accuse*, fr. Fr. *accuser* (OFr. *acusor*, ME earliest spelling *acuse*), Lat. *accūsāre* (above, 2).

Du. *aanklagen*, NHG *anklagen* (> Dan. *anklage*, Sw. *anklaga*), cpds. of Du., NHG *klagen* 'complain, lament'.

OHG *sculdigōn*, MHG (*be*)*schuldigen*, NHG *beschuldigen*, Du. *beschuldigen* (hence semantically Dan. *beskyldte*, Sw. *beskylla*), derivs., through OHG *sculdīg*, NHG *schuldīg*, etc. 'guilty, culpable', of OHG *sculd*, etc. 'fault, guilt' (16.76).

5. Lith. (*ap*)*kaltinti* : *kaltė* 'guilt, blame' (16.76).

Lith. (*ap*)*skusti* (so in the NT versions, and still in use; NSB), with *skund-* 'complaint, accusation' : *skauda* 'it hurts', *skaudus* 'painful', Grk. *συνδυαίνω*, *akīzōmai* 'be angry'. Walde-P. 2.554. Leskien, Ablaut 308.

Lett. (*ap*)*sūdzēt*, perh. : Lith. *suġti* 'howl, whine', *saugti* 'sound'. Mühl.-Endz. 3.1130 f.

6. ChSl. (*vāz*)*glagolati* (*na*), less commonly *rešti* (*na*), both vbs. for 'speak, say' (18.21, 18.22) with prep. *na* 'on, at, against', and so literal translations of *κατηγορέω* (Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 325).

ChSl. *vaditi* (*na*) : Skt. *vad-* 'speak', Lith. *vađinti* 'call, name', etc. (18.21).

SCR. (*op*)*tužiti*, also and orig. 'complain' : *tuga* 'complaint, sorrow', ChSl. *taga* 'distress', *tūžiti* 'be in distress', etc. (16.32). Miklosich 350.

Boh. *obžalovati* (Russ. *obžalovat'* 'complain', in legal use 'complain of, protest' a judgment) : ChSl. *žalovati* 'grieve, mourn', Boh. *žal* 'grief', etc. (16.32).

Boh. *obviniti*, Pol. *obwinić*, Russ. *obvinit'* : ChSl., Boh., Russ. *vina*, Pol. *wina* 'fault, guilt' (16.76).

Pol. *oskarzyć*, fr. *skarga* 'complaint, accusation' : ChSl. *skržgati* 'gnash' (the teeth), *skržetŭ* 'gnashing' (Walde-P. 1.416). Brückner 493, 652. Miklosich 298, 303.

7. Skt. *abhiṣāns*- cpd. of *ṣaṇs*- 'recite, announce' (and still in use; NSB), with *skund-* 'complaint, accusation' : *skauda* 'it hurts', *skaudus* 'painful', Grk. *συνδυαίνω*, *akīzōmai* 'be angry'. Walde-P. 2.554. Leskien, Ablaut 308.

Skt. *abhiyuj-* 'attack' and sometimes 'accuse', cpd. of *yuj-* 'yoke, join' (12.22).

21.32 CONDEMN

|      |                           |       |                      |       |                       |
|------|---------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | καταδικάζω, κατακρίνω     | Goth. | afādmōjan, gawargjan | Lith. | nuteisti, nusmerkti   |
| NG   | καταδικάζω                | ON    | dama                 | Lett. | nuotiesāti, nuosuodīt |
| Lat. | damnāre, condemnāre       | Dan.  | dämme                | ChSl. | osuditi               |
| It.  | condannare                | Sw.   | dōma                 | SCR.  | osuditi               |
| Fr.  | condamner                 | OE    | fordēman             | Boh.  | odsuditi              |
| Sp.  | condenar                  | ME    | condem(p)ne          | Pol.  | skazać, osadzić       |
| Rum. | condamna                  | NE    | condemn, dam(p)ne    | Russ. | osudit'               |
| Ir.  | com-ness-beirīm breith ar | Du.   | veroordeelen         | Skt.  | nind-                 |
| Nlr. | condemnisio               | OHG   | verurteilen          | Av.   | par-                  |
| W.   | condemnisio               | MHG   | verurteilen          |       |                       |
| Br.  | barn                      | NHG   | verurteilen          |       |                       |

|      |                           |       |                      |       |                       |
|------|---------------------------|-------|----------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | καταδικάζω, κατακρίνω     | Goth. | afādmōjan, gawargjan | Lith. | nuteisti, nusmerkti   |
| NG   | καταδικάζω                | ON    | dama                 | Lett. | nuotiesāti, nuosuodīt |
| Lat. | damnāre, condemnāre       | Dan.  | dämme                | ChSl. | osuditi               |
| It.  | condannare                | Sw.   | dōma                 | SCR.  | osuditi               |
| Fr.  | condamner                 | OE    | fordēman             | Boh.  | odsuditi              |
| Sp.  | condenar                  | ME    | condem(p)ne          | Pol.  | skazać, osadzić       |
| Rum. | condamna                  | NE    | condemn, dam(p)ne    | Russ. | osudit'               |
| Ir.  | com-ness-beirīm breith ar | Du.   | veroordeelen         | Skt.  | nind-                 |
| Nlr. | condemnisio               | OHG   | verurteilen          | Av.   | par-                  |
| W.   | condemnisio               | MHG   | verurteilen          |       |                       |
| Br.  | barn                      | NHG   | verurteilen          |       |                       |

21.33 CONVICT (vb.)

|      |                        |       |                    |       |                  |
|------|------------------------|-------|--------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | αἰκνέω (ἐλέγχω)        | Goth. | gasakan            | Lith. | apreikiti kalti  |
| NG   | ἀποδεδεικνένος ὄνομα   | ON    | dama sekan         | Lett. | atŭ par vainigu  |
| Lat. | convincere             | Dan.  | overbevise         | ChSl. | obličiti         |
| It.  | convincere, condannare | Sw.   | överbevisa         | SCR.  | dokazati         |
| Fr.  | convaincre, condamner  | OE    | oferstēlan         | Boh.  | usvěditi         |
| Sp.  | convencer, condenar    | ME    | convict(e)         | Pol.  | przekonać        |
| Rum. | găsi vinovat           | NE    | convict            | Russ. | priznat' vinoonm |
| Ir.  | cinlaich + vb. (?)     | Du.   | schuldig verklaren | Skt.  | vibhāvaya-       |
| Nlr. | daoraim                | OHG   | gwiwinan, ihwigan  |       |                  |
| W.   | euogfarnu, euogbrofi   | MHG   | gewinnen           |       |                  |
| Br.  | kavout kablus          | NHG   | überführen         |       |                  |

Verbs for 'convict' are based on such notions as 'take, catch' (a natural and frequent nontechnical expression, but only in Greek the reg. legal term), 'conquer, prevail, overcome', 'prove', 'bear witness', 'confront', etc. Some words for 'condemn' or 'accuse' are also used for 'convict'. The use of the Lat. *convincere*, mainly 'convict' but also 'prove' and later 'convince', has fostered some interchange of 'convince' and 'convict' elsewhere.

'Convict' is also frequently expressed by phrases made up of words for 'prove', 'declare, pronounce', 'judge', or 'find' with those for 'guilty' (21.35), e.g. Fr. *déclarer coupable*, Rum. *găsi vinovat* (*găsi* 'find', both words fr. Slavic), Br. *kavout kablus*, ON *dama sekan*, NE *find guilty*, NHG *für schuldig erklären*, Lith. *apreikšti kalti*, Russ. *priznat' vinoonm*, etc. W. *euogfarnu* and *euogbrofi* are similar phrase cpds. of *euog* 'guilty' with *barnu* 'judge' and *profi* 'prove'.

Such phrases are the usual expressions in several languages, and in some others may perhaps be more common than the simple verbs entered in the list. They require no further comment.

1. Grk. *αἰκνέω* 'seize, take, catch' (11.13) is the reg. legal term for 'convict', not only in Attic, but elsewhere, e.g. in the Gortyn law-code at *κα αἰκνέῃ* 'if one is caught', i.e. 'convicted'.

Grk. *ἐλέγχω*, in Hom. 'treat with contempt', later 'examine', 'prove', also 'convict' (Hdt.+ and so in part in the NT), perh. : Lett. *langāt* 'treat with contempt, call names', further connections? Walde-P. 2.436. Boisacq 240. Mühl.-Endz. 2.420.

2. Lat. *convincere*, cpd. of *vincere* 'conquer, prevail' (20.41). Cf. Osc. *eizeic* (loc. sg.) *vincter* = Lat. *eius* (or *in eo*) *vincitur*. The Romance derivs. mean 'convince' in common use, but are also used for 'convict', esp. in the pples. It. *convinto*, Fr. *convaincu*, Sp. *convicto* 'convicted, guilty'.

Lat. *arguere* 'declare, assert', but esp. 'censure, accuse', late also 'convict', orig. 'make clear' : Grk. *ἀργός*, Skt. *arjuna-* 'shining, white', Grk. *ἀργυρος*, Lat. *argentum* 'silver', etc. Walde-P. 1.82 f. Ernout-M. 71 f. Walde-H. 1.66 f. This verb is the Vulgate rendering of *ἐλέγχω* including the passages where the meaning is 'convict', and this has affected other versions, e.g. in Jn. 8.46 OE *āscūnian* (mostly 'shun, detest'), NE *argue* in a version of 1582 (cf. NED s.v.).

It. *condannare*, Fr. *condamner*, Sp. *condenar* 'condemn' (21.32) are also sometimes used where the sense is 'convict'.

3. Ir. *cinlaich* 'guilty' with vb., used for 'convict' (quotable?).

Nlr. *daoraim*, fr. *daor* 'enslaved,

'Condemn' is most commonly expressed by compounds of the verbs for 'judge' with an adversative or perfective prefix, or by the simple verbs, the context ('against' or mention of the penalty) showing that the judgment is adverse. The Lat. word, which is the source of the Romance terms and our *condemn*, is derived from a noun for 'damage', with development through 'make pay damages'.

Other semantic sources are 'blame', 'trample on', 'submerge', and simply 'point out, declare'.

1. Grk. *καταδικάζω*, *κατακρίνω*, cpds. of *κατά* 'against' and *δικάζω* and *κρίνω* 'judge' (21.16).

2. Lat. *damnāre* and cpd. *condemnāre* (hence, or fr. re-formed \**con-damnāre*, the Romance words), deriv. of *damnum* 'damage, loss' (11.74) and in legal language 'damages', hence the vb. orig. 'inflict loss upon, make one pay damages'.

Ernout-M. 252. Walde-H. 1.322.

3. Ir. *com-ness-* 'trample on', and 'condemn', cpd. of *ness-* as in *ad-ness-*, *to-ad-ness-* 'accuse', etc. (21.31).

Nlr. usually simply *beirīm breith ar* 'judge' (21.16), e.g. *beirīm breith chum báis air* 'I condemn him to death'.

W. *condemnio*, fr. NE *condemn*.

Br. *barn* 'judge' (21.16) used also for 'condemn', e.g. *barn d'ar maro* 'condemn to death' (cf. Vallée s.v. *condemner*).

4. Goth. *afdmōjan*, OE *fordēman*, OHG *firtuomen*, MHG *vertuemen*, cpds. of Goth. *dōmjan*, OE *dēman*, OHG *tuomen* 'judge' (21.16) and partly also (esp. OE) 'condemn'; ON *dama*, Dan. *dømme*,

Sw. *dōma* both 'judge' and 'condemn' (ON *fyrirdama* mostly 'curse, damn'). Goth. *ga-wargjan* (with sb. *wargja* 'condemnation') : OE *wiergan* 'curse', etc. (22.24).

ME *condempne*, *condemne*, NE *condemn*, ME *damne*, *dampne* (NE *damn*), fr. OFr. *condem(p)ner* (beside *condam(p)ner*), *dam(p)ner*, Lat. *condemnāre*, *damnāre* (above, 2). NED s.vv.

MHG *verteilen* (with dat. of pers. and acc. of penalty, or absolute with acc. of person), lit. 'distribute, share', cpd. of *teilen* 'divide'.

MHG (late), NHG *verurteilen*, Du. *veroordeelen*, cpd. of *urteilen*, *oordeelen* 'judge' (21.16).

5. Lith. *nuteisti*, Lett. *nuotiesāt*, Lith. *nusudyti* (Kurschat, Lalis; not in NSB), Lett. *nuosuodīt*, perfect. cpds. of verbs for 'judge' (21.16).

Lith. *nusmerkti* (NSB), *pasmerkti*, cpds. of *smerti* 'submerge, plunge'.

6. ChSl. *osaditi*, etc., general Slavic (but Pol. *osadzić* less usual than *skazać*), perfect. cpds. of ChSl. *saditi*, etc. 'judge' (21.16).

Pol. *skazać* = Russ. *skazat'* 'say', etc., orig. 'point out' (18.22).

7. Skt. *nind-* 'blame' (16.18), used also as legal term 'condemn' (e.g. Manu 8.19).

Av. *par-* (cf. also *parata-*, *pāša-* in cpds. 'condemned, forfeit', *pāra-* 'fault, guilt'), prob. the same root as in *par-*, *aipi-par-* 'pay off' (a penalty), this : Lat. *pār*, *paris* 'equal', or : *par-*, IE \**pel-* 'fill'? Walde-P. 2.40. Barth. 849, 850.

21.25 OATH

|      |              |       |                  |       |                    |
|------|--------------|-------|------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | ὅρκος        | Goth. | aiþs             | Lith. | priesaika          |
| NG   | ὅρκος        | ON    | eidr             | Lett. | zvēri, zvērējums   |
| Lat. | iūs iurandum | ChSl. | kletva (prisęga) | ChSl. | kletva (prisęga)   |
| It.  | giuramento   | Sw.   | ed               | SCR.  | prisęga, zakletva  |
| Fr.  | serment      | OE    | ap               | Boh.  | přisaha            |
| Sp.  | juramento    | ME    | oth              | Pol.  | przysięga          |
| Rum. | juramint     | NE    | oath             | Russ. | kljajata, prizjaga |
| Ir.  | luge, óeth   | Du.   | eed              | Skt.  | gapatha-           |
| Nlr. | mionn        | OHG   | eid              |       |                    |
| W.   | llw          | MHG   | eid              |       |                    |
| Br.  | le           | NHG   | eid (schwur)     |       |                    |

Many of the words for 'oath' are derivs. of the verbs for 'swear' (21.24). But the Grk., Celtic, and Gmc. groups are quite unrelated to the verbs. These words are mostly of uncertain semantic origin, but the case of Nlr. *mionn* in which 'oath' is based on the 'relics' upon which the oath is taken shows that some special place or object in connection with taking the oath must be taken into account as a source (cf. also 'touch' > 'swear' in the Slavic verbs).

1. Grk. *ὅρκος* (sometimes also the object by which one swears) : *ἔρκος* 'inclosure, wall, fence', etc., with development through '

## 21.34 ACQUIT

|      |                     |
|------|---------------------|
| Grk. | ἀπολῶ               |
| NG   | ἀπολῶ, ἀπαλλάσσω    |
| Lat. | absolvere           |
| It.  | assolvere           |
| Fr.  | acquitter, absoudre |
| Sp.  | absolver            |
| Rum. | achita              |
| Ir.  | léicim(?)           |
| Nlr. | saoraim             |
| W.   | dieuogi             |
| Br.  | didamall            |

Most of the words for 'acquit' in a legal sense are the same as, or cpds. of, those for 'release' (11.34). Some are based on words for 'free', or 'justify', or the notion may be expressed by phrases 'pronounce innocent'. In several cases words for 'release' have been entered in the list, inclosed in parentheses, by which is meant that quotable examples for the legal 'acquit' have not been found.

1. Grk. ἀπολῶ 'release' (11.34) and 'acquit'.
- NG ἀπολῶ, fr. ἀδός 'innocent' (21.36).
- NG ἀπαλλάσσω 'release' (as in class. Grk., 11.34) and 'acquit'.
2. Lat. *absolvere* (> It. *assolvere*, Fr. *absoudre*, Sp. *absolver*), cpd. of *solvere* 'untie, release, set free' (11.34).
- Fr. *acquitter* (> Rum. *achita*), fr. *quitter*, OFr. *quittier* 'free of a debt or obligation, leave', deriv. of *quille* 'free from debt or obligation', fr. Lat. *quilius* 'at rest, quiet'. REW 6958. Gamillscheg 10,732.
3. Ir. *léicim* 'leave, let, let go, release' (11.34), prob. used also for 'acquit'.
- Nlr. *saoraim*, lit. 'free, deliver', fr. *saor* 'free' (19.44).
- W. *dieuogi*, fr. *dieuog* 'innocent' (21.36).
- Br. *didamall* (Vallée), cpd. of neg. *di-* and *tamall* 'blame', as vb. 'accuse' (21.31).
4. Goth. *fra-lētan*, *af-lētan*, usual for ἀπολῶ 'release, dismiss, set free' (11.34)

and presumably 'acquit', though not quotable in this sense.

ON *dæma syknan*, lit. 'judge innocent' (*sykn* 'innocent', 21.36).

Dan. *frikende*, Sw. *frikänna*, cpds. of *fri* 'free' and *kende*, *känna* 'know, feel, deem'.

Dan. *frifinde*, cpd. of *fri* 'free' and *finde* 'find'.

OE *forlitan* 'release' (11.34), 'forgive' (crimes, sins, etc.), also 'acquit'(?).

ME *acwite*, *aqwyte*, NE *acquit*, fr. OFr. *acquiter* (above, 2). For history of uses, cf. NED s.v.

ME *assoille*, NE *assoil* (now arch.), fr. OFr. *assoill*, pres. stem of *assoldre* (Fr. *absoudre*, above, 2). NED s.v. *assoil*.

NE *absolve*, fr. Lat. *absolvere*. Now unusual as legal term. NED s.v. *absolve* 4.

OHG *lösen* esp. with *ar-*, *zi-* (common for Lat. *solvere*, *absolvere*), MHG *lösen* 'release' (11.34), used for 'acquit'?

NHG *freisprechen*, Du. *vrijspreken*, cpds. of *frei*, *frij* 'free' and *sprechen*, *spreken* 'speak'.

5. Lith. *išteisinti*, cpd. of *teisinti* 'justify' : *teisė* 'right, law' (21.11).

Lett. *atlaismuot*, cpd. of *taismuot* 'make straight, justify', fr. *taisns* 'straight, right' (12.73).

6. ChSl. *pustiti*, *otūpustiti* 'release' (11.34), also 'acquit'(?).

SCR. *rješiti* 'solve, dispose of' and

'acquit' = ChSl. *rěšiti* 'loose, release' (11.34), Russ. *rešat* 'solve, decide'.  
Pol. *uznać niewinnym*, Russ. *priznat' nevinotnym* 'pronounce not guilty, innocent' (21.36).

## 21.35 GUILTY

|      |                               |
|------|-------------------------------|
| Grk. | αἰσῶς, ἔνοχος                 |
| NG   | ἔνοχος                        |
| Lat. | <i>sōns</i> , <i>noxius</i>   |
| It.  | <i>colpevole</i> , <i>reo</i> |
| Fr.  | <i>culpable</i> , <i>reo</i>  |
| Rum. | <i>vinovat</i>                |
| Ir.  | <i>cinnlach</i>               |
| Nlr. | <i>cinnlach</i>               |
| W.   | <i>euog</i>                   |
| Br.  | <i>kablus</i>                 |

Most of the words for 'guilty' are obvious derivs. of those for 'guilt', which are among those discussed with 'fault' (16.76). Only the few others require further comment.

1. Grk. *ἔνοχος*, orig. 'held in, bound by' (: *ἐνέχω* 'hold in'), hence as legal term 'liable to' the laws, etc., whence also 'liable to' a certain penalty or to the penalty for a certain crime, and so 'guilty', becoming the usual word (rather than *αἰσῶς*) from Hellenistic times (e.g. NT) to the present.

2. Lat. *sōns*, *sontis* (most commonly sb. 'guilty person', but also adj.), orig. pres. pple. of *esse* 'be', hence 'actual', like Skt. *satya* 'true', etc. (16.66). Cf. esp. the cognate ON *sannr* 'true' and sometimes 'guilty'. Walde-P. 1.160 f. Ernout-M. 957.

Lat. *reus* 'defendant' (21.22) was used more often than not of the guilty party and eventually restricted to this sense. Hence It., Sp. *reo* sb. and adj.

3. W. *euog*, fr. MW *geuawc* 'false', this fr. *geu*, *gau* 'false' : Ir. *gāu*, etc. 'lie' (16.67). Lewis-Pedersen 130. Morris Jones 188.

Br. *kablus*, fr. a late Lat. *cavillōsus*, deriv. of *cavilla* 'jeering, railing'. For sense cf. Corn. *cably* 'calumniate, incriminate'. Loth, Mots lat. 141.

4. Goth. *skula* (also 'debtor'), though not fr. the noun, like OE *scyldig*, etc., is fr. the same underlying verb, Goth. *skulan* 'owe'.

ON *sannr* 'true' and 'guilty' : Lat. *sōns* (above, 2).

a popular word for 'punishment' in general and in late use 'suffering, pain'. Hence the double sense, 'penalty' vs. 'pain' or 'grief', in its derivatives, It., Sp. *pena*, Fr. *peine*, Ir. *pian*, W. *poen*, Br. *poan*, ME *peine* (fr. Fr.); NE *pain* in older sense now only in phrases like *on pain of death*, MHG *pin*, *pine* (both senses, that of 'penalty' reintroduced; OHG *pina* only 'affliction, distress'), Russ. *penja* 'fine'. From Lat. adj. *poenālis* 'penal' was formed MLat. *poenālitās*, whence NE *penalty*.

Hence also the vb. *pūnīre* 'punish' (> It. *punire*, Fr. *punir*, the latter through the puniss- forms > ME *punisse*, *punisse*, etc., NE *punish*) and new derivs. like late Lat. *pūnitō* (> It. *punizione*, Fr. *punition*), OFr. *puni(s)sement* (> ME *ponissement*, *punysshement*, NE *punishment*, this group being used mostly for 'punishment' in the broader, non-legal, sense).

Lat. *damnum* 'damage, loss' (11.74) is also used for 'penalty'.

Lat. *noxa* 'injury, guilt' (16.76) is also in late use 'penalty'.

Rum. *pedeapsă*, in earliest use also 'education', fr. Grk. *παίδευσις* (in late pronunciation = *-ēvis*) 'education', NG *παῖδεσι* 'punishment', which shared in the development attested for the vb. *παῖδεω*, namely 'educate' > 'correct, discipline' > 'chastise, punish' (LXX, NT, e.g. Lk. 23.16).

4. Ir. *smacht* 'authority, control', also a kind of 'penalty' or 'fine' (Laws, Gloss. 665 f.), etym.? Cf. Nlr. *cuirim smacht ar* 'punish' (lit. 'put control on').

Ir. *dígal* 'vengeance, retribution, punishment' (cf. e.g. Thes. 1.55.26, 29, 31), vbl.n. to *dofichim* 'avenge, punish' (cpd. of *fichim* 'fight'), but in form : Ir. *gal* 'bravery' (16.52). Pedersen 1.101, 2.25, 521.

Nlr. *pionds* (given by McKenna for 'penalty', and so Gael. *peanas*; in Din-

neen 'penance, worry'), fr. *pian*, formerly 'penalty' (above, 3) now only 'pain'.

Nlr. *smachtbann* ('penalty' Dinneen), cpd. of *smacht* (above) with *bann* 'bond'.

W. *cosb* = Ir. *cosc* 'correcting, chastising', vbl. n. of *cosaim* 'check, correct', cpd. (*con-sech-*) of the root in Grk. *ἔνσεω*, Lat. *insequere* 'relate, tell', OE *secan* 'say', etc., IE \**sek-* (18.22). Walde-P. 2.478. Pedersen 2.619 ff.

5. Goth. *balweins* 'punishment, torment' (but not legal 'penalty', for which nothing is quotable) : *balwa-wesei* 'wickedness', OE *bealo* 'evil, wickedness', etc. Feist 79.

ON *refsing*, fr. *refsa* 'punish' (Dan. *revse* 'chastise, punish') = OE *refsan*, *repsan*, OHG *refsen*, etc. 'improve, blame' : Lat. *rapere* 'seize, carry off', Skt. *rapas-* 'bodily defect, injury', etc. Walde-P. 2.369 f. Falk-Torp 894 f.

ON *viti*, OE *wite* (ME, NE dial. *wite*, *wyle* 'blame, reproach', NED s.v.), OHG *wīzi*, fr. the root \**wēid-* in words for 'see' and 'know'. Cf. OE *witan*, OHG (*far-*) *wīzan* 'impute the guilt, blame', Goth. *fra-weitan* 'avenge', and the parallel semantic development in Lat. *animadvertere*.

MHG *strāfe*, NHG *strafe*, MLG *straffe* (> Dan. *straf*, Sw. *straff*), Du. *straf*, beside vb. MHG *strāfen*, etc. 'blame, censure, punish', prob. as orig. 'treat severely' (physically, verbally, or both?) : MHG *straf*, NHG *straff* 'tense, severe'.

Falk-Torp 1176. Franck-v. W. 673.

6. Lith. *bauda*, *bausmė*, fr. *bausti* 'punish' (but refl. *baustis* 'prepare oneself, intend') : *budėti* 'be awake', Skt. *budh-* 'be awake, notice', etc., with development as in Lat. *animadvertere*, etc.

Lett. *suods*, fr. ORuss. *sud* 'legal condemnation', orig. 'court' and 'judgment' (21.15, 21.17). Mühl-Endz. 3.1136.

7. ChSl. (*po*) *kaznī*, SCR. *kazan*, Russ.

*nakazanie*, fr. ChSl. *kazati*, etc. 'point out, show' (cf. SCR. *kazati*, Russ. *skazat'* 'say', 18.22). Cf. ChSl. *pokazati* rendering *παῖδεω* 'chastise' Lk. 23.16, 22, *nakazaniye* 'admonition' (Supr.), etc. Berneker 496 f.

Boh. *trest* (masc.) : *trest* (fem.) 'reed, cane' (whence also 'juice pressed out, extract, essence', etc.), Pol. *tręść* 'pith, essence, contents', ChSl. *trŭstŭ* 'reed'.

Cf. OPol. *tres(i)kač* 'chastise, torment, punish' (Linde s.v.). Development through the 'rod' of punishment, as in Skt. *daṇḍa-*. Prob. through vb. *trestiti* ('use the rod' >) 'punish', whence back-formation *trest*. Brückner 576.

Boh. *pokuta* = Pol. *pokuta* 'penance', formerly 'guilt' and 'punishment' : ChSl. *sŭ-kŭlati* (Supr.) rendering *κατα-στέλλω* 'restrain, appease, quiet' (Russ.

*kutai* 'wrap up, envelop', etc.), with development through 'appeasement'. Berneker 601 f. Brückner 428.

Pol., Russ. *kara* = SCR. *kar* 'scolding', Boh. *kara* 'censure' : ChSl. *u-korŭ* 'insult', SCR. *u-kor*, *prije-kor*, *po-kor* 'blame', vbs. ChSl. (*u*) *koriti* 'insult, slander', SCR. *koriti* 'blame', etc. (16.78). Berneker 487 f., 578 f.

8. Skt. *daṇḍa* 'rod, staff' (etym.? Walde-P. 1.810), hence in various symbolic uses (e.g. 'power'), but esp. as the reg. legal term for 'penalty' of any kind.

Av. *čīdā-*, *kaēdā-*, above, 1.

In OPers. the regular verb for 'punish' is *pars-*, *fras-* (e.g. *parsāmiy* 'I punish', *avam ifrasatam aparsam* 'him well punished I punished', i.e. 'punished severely') = Av. *parəs-*, *fras-*, Skt. *prach-*, *pracch-* 'ask' (18.31).

## 21.38 FINE

|      |                               |
|------|-------------------------------|
| Grk. | ἡμια (θωά, ἡπορίμων)          |
| NG   | ἡπορίμων                      |
| Lat. | <i>multa</i>                  |
| It.  | <i>ammenda</i> , <i>multa</i> |
| Fr.  | <i>amende</i>                 |
| Sp.  | <i>multa</i>                  |
| Rum. | <i>amendă</i> , <i>gloabă</i> |
| Ir.  | <i>dire</i> , <i>éric</i>     |
| Nlr. | <i>cāin</i>                   |
| W.   | <i>flin</i> , <i>dirwy</i>    |
| Br.  | <i>tell-gastiz</i>            |

The words listed under 'penalty' (21.37) are comprehensive, covering the 'fine' in money or other property. Most of them are in fact, for the earlier periods, those commonly employed when the reference is to a 'fine', e.g. Grk. *ἡμια* (Lat. *poena* in XII Tables, but not commonly), OE *wite*, Skt. *daṇḍa*, Av. *čīdā-*. Or they may be made more specific by the addition of words for 'money', like NHG *geldstrafe*, *strafgeld*, Lith. *piniginė* *bausmė*, Pol. *kara pieniężna*, etc. Such

words are repeated in this list, but need no further comment.

But there are also special words for 'fine', as follows.

1. Grk. Att. *θωά* (IG 1<sup>2</sup>.114.42; but unknown in Att. authors, where reg. *ἡμια*), Hom. *θωή*, Ion. *θωή*, *θωή*, fr. the root of *τίθημι* 'place, put' (with the *ō*-grade as in *θωμός* 'heap', OE *dōms* 'judgment'), and so orig. the 'set' amount. Hence the more widely quotable vbs. for 'pay a fine', pass. 'be fined',

## 21.36 INNOCENT

|      |                                   |
|------|-----------------------------------|
| Grk. | ἀδός                              |
| NG   | ἀδός                              |
| Lat. | <i>innocens</i>                   |
| It.  | <i>innocente</i>                  |
| Fr.  | <i>innocent</i>                   |
| Sp.  | <i>inocente</i>                   |
| Rum. | <i>inocent</i> , <i>nevinovat</i> |
| Ir.  | <i>in cinnlach</i> (?)            |
| Nlr. | <i>neamhchionntach</i>            |
| W.   | <i>dieuog</i> , <i>diniwed</i>    |
| Br.  | <i>dikabius</i>                   |

Most of the words for 'innocent' are simply neg. cpds. of those for 'guilty' (21.35). Only the few others need comment. It is a widespread phenomenon that the words for 'innocent', apart from their legal use, develop, through 'harmless, guileless', a disparaging sense 'credulous, naive, simple, foolish'.

1. Grk. ἀδός, neg. cpd., second part : *θωά*, Ion. *θω(ι)ή* 'penalty', fine (21.38).

## 21.37 PENALTY, PUNISHMENT

|      |  |
|------|--|
| Grk. | ἡμια, τιμωρία (ποινή, ῥιμή)                  |
| NG   | ποινή, τιμωρία                               |
| Lat. | <i>poena</i> ( <i>damnum</i> , <i>noxa</i> ) |
| It.  | <i>pena</i>                                  |
| Fr.  | <i>peine</i>                                 |
| Sp.  | <i>pena</i>                                  |
| Rum. | <i>pedeapsă</i>                              |
| Ir.  | <i>pian</i> , <i>dígal</i>                   |
| Nlr. | <i>pionds</i> , <i>smachtbann</i>            |
| W.   | <i>cosb</i> , <i>poen</i>                    |
| Br.  | <i>poan</i>                                  |

Among the words for 'penalty' or legal 'punishment' an important group is based on a root the primary sense of which was probably 'repay, requite' (either good or evil), whence the derivs. denoted, on the one hand, the 'penalty', and on the other 'reward, price, honor'. Cf. the double force, according to the context, of words like NE *requital* and *retribution* (the latter now felt as return

for evil, but formerly also return for good, 'reward'; NED s.v.).

Just as Lat. *animadvertere* 'turn the mind to, observe, notice' came to be used in a pregnant sense 'censure, punish', so several of the words for 'penalty' come from verbs meaning 'point out, show'.

A recurring relationship between 'education' and 'punishment' is illustrated,

with all the stages quotable, by Grk. *παῖδεω* 'rear a child' (: *παῖς*, *παῖός* 'child'), 'educate', 'correct, discipline', and finally 'chastise, punish', whence, through the noun *παῖδευσις*, the reg. Rum. word for 'penalty'. Cf. also NHG *zucht* 'rearing, breeding' (of cattle, plants, etc.), 'education', 'discipline', and esp. *züchtigen* 'censure' and 'chastise, punish'; Skt. *śās-* 'teach' (17.23) and 'censure, punish' (cf. NE colloq. threatening *I'll teach you*).

A shift from 'ask, question' through 'examine, investigate' to a resulting 'punish' is seen in the OPers. verb for 'punish' (below, 8).

A word for the 'rod' may, as the symbol, be used for 'punishment', not merely parental but covering any legal 'penalty' (Boh. *trest*, Skt. *daṇḍa*, below, 7, 8). In the Avesta the most common penalty is so many 'blows with the horse-goad', etc.

In words reflecting the 'rod', the primary application was obviously to corporal punishment. In some others the verbal 'censure, blame' seems to be earlier. Still others (ON *refsing*, NHG *strafe*) may, on the basis of their cognates, have developed in either of these two ways or both together.

In one case the development has been from 'judgment' through 'legal condemnation'.

Verbs for 'punish' are mostly parallel with the nouns listed, either derived from them, as Lat. *pūnīre*, fr. *poena*, or conversely. But there are also others unrelated, as Lat. *animadvertere* (cf. above), OPers. *pars-* (below, 8), Grk. *κόλαω* (orig. 'check' : *κόλος* 'docked', hence *κόλασις* late 'punishment, damnation, hell'), Lat. *castigare* (fr. *castus* 'pure') 'correct, blame, chastise, punish' (> Fr. *châtier*, Sp. *castigar*, with

back-formation *castigo* 'punishment' but not a legal term), Skt. *śās-* (cf. above).

1. Derivs. of \**kēi-*, seen in Grk. *τίρω* (fut. *τείσω*, aor. *τέισα*) 'pay (a debt, esp. a penalty), atone for', Skt. *ci-* (pres. mid. *cayate*) 'avenge, punish', Av. *čī-* (redupl. pres. subj. *čikayai*; *kāy-* Barth.) 'pay, atone for' (perh. ultimately the same root as in Skt. *ci-* 'notice, observe, honor', ChSl. *čayati* 'expect, hope', with development like that in Lat. *animadvertere*). From the sense of 'pay for, requite' (in good or bad sense) was derived a group of nouns denoting either 'penalty' or 'reward, honor, price'. Walde-P. 1.508 f.

Grk. *ποινή* (> Lat. *poena*, etc., see below), *τίμη* (see below); Av. *čīdā-* and *kaēdā-*; cf. Lith. *kaina*, ChSl. *cěna* 'price' (11.88).

2. Grk. *ποινή* (above, 1), occurring mainly in poetry, is sometimes simply 'return, recompense' including 'reward', but mostly 'penalty', esp. recompense for the slain, either 'wergeld' or 'vengeance'. The word plays no role in Attic legal writings or in the legal inscriptions of the dialects. Yet the Doric *ποινή* must have been current in Magna Graecia when the Lat. *poena* was borrowed. It has been revived in NG as the main legal term.

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Grk. *ἡμια* 'loss, damage' (11.74) is also the usual Attic term for 'penalty, fine', whence *ἡμια* 'penalize, fine', these being also the most widespread terms in the dialects (mostly with reference to fines).

3. Lat. *poena*, an early loanword fr. Grk. *ποινή*, was, in contrast to its Grk. source, the persistent legal term and also

*θωά* (early Att., Locr., Delph.), Cret. *θωαία*, El. *θωάδω*. Walde-P. 1.829. Boisacq 360.

Grk. *πρόριμον* ('penalty' Hipp.), freq. as 'fine' from 3d cent. a.c. and the usual NG word : *τίμη* (21.37).

2. Lat. *multa* (early *molla*, Osc. acc. sg. *mollam*, Umbr. gen. sg. *molar*), etym. dub., perh. fr. \**molkā* either as orig. 'appeasement' : *mulcere* 'stroke, soothe, appease', or as orig. 'injury' : *mulcere* 'beat, injure', Skt. *mrc-* 'hurt, injure', pple. *mṛktā* 'hurt', etc. Hence (learned words) It., Sp. *multa*, OFr. *multe* (> NE *mult*), and, through a medieval spelling *muleta*, OFr. *mulete*, NE *mulet*, Dan. *mulkt*. Walde-P. 2.297. Ernout-M. 638 f.

It. *ammenda*, Fr. *amende* (> Rum. *amendă*), back-formation fr. obs. OIt. *amendare*, Fr. *amender*, these fr. Lat. *emendare* 'free from fault (mendum)', correct, emend'.

Rum. *gloabă*, fr. SCR., Bulg.



5. Lith. *kalėjimas*, see under *kaliny* 'prisoner' (20.47).

Lett. *cietums*, fr. *ciets* 'hard' (15.74). Cf. Lith. *kietimas* 'hardness' and 'hard situation' (NSB). Mühl-Endz. 1.397.

6. ChSl. *temnica*, Russ. *temnica*: ChSl. *tima*, etc. 'darkness' (1.62).

SCR. *zatvor* : *zatvoriti* 'shut' (12.25).

Boh. *vězení*, Pol. *więzienie* : ChSl. *vezati*, Boh. *vazati*, Pol. *wiązać*, etc. 'bind' (9.16).

Boh. *žalář*, fr. *žal* 'grief, sorrow' (16.32).

Russ. *tjur'ma*, fr. NHG *turm* 'tower' or more precisely in form fr. the verb *tür-men* once used for 'put in prison' (cf.

## 21.41 CRIME

|      |                                |       |                               |       |                      |
|------|--------------------------------|-------|-------------------------------|-------|----------------------|
| Grk. | ἀδικία, ἀδικημα                | Goth. | ( <i>inwindaþa</i> )          | Lith. | <i>nusikaltimas</i>  |
| NG   | ἄδικημα                        | ON    | <i>glapr, sok, afbrigð</i>    | Lett. | <i>nuosiegums</i>    |
| Lat. | <i>facinus, scelus, crimen</i> | Dan.  | <i>forbrydelse</i>            | ChSl. | ( <i>nepravida</i> ) |
| It.  | <i>delitto, crimine</i>        | Sw.   | <i>brott, förbrytelse</i>     | Boh.  | <i>zločin(stvo)</i>  |
| Fr.  | <i>délit, crime</i>            | OE    | <i>crīm, misdæde</i>          | Pol.  | <i>zbrodnia</i>      |
| Sp.  | <i>crimen, delito</i>          | NE    | <i>crīm, misdæde</i>          | Russ. | <i>prestuplenie</i>  |
| Rum. | <i>crimă, vină</i>             | Du.   | <i>misdad</i>                 | Skt.  | see 16.75            |
| Ir.  | <i>cín</i>                     | OHG   | <i>firina, mein, missitāt</i> | Av.   | see 16.75            |
| Nl.  | <i>cion, coir</i>              | MHG   | <i>missitāt, meintāt</i>      |       |                      |
| W.   | <i>trosedd</i>                 | NHG   | <i>verbrechen</i>             |       |                      |
| Br.  | <i>torfed</i>                  |       |                               |       |                      |

'Crime' is intended to cover the usual generic words for a serious offense against the law, without regard to such technical legal distinctions as those in NE felony vs. misdemeanor, Fr. *délit* (or *crime*) vs. *contravention*, NHG *verbrechen* vs. *vergehen*, etc.

Most of the words are based on such notions as 'injustice, wrong', 'evil deed' (in part from simple 'deed'), 'crookedness', 'transgression', 'breaking, breach', 'fault, guilt, flaw'. These were originally, and in part remained, more comprehensive than 'crime', applying equally to offenses against religion and against morals. The Goth. and ChSl. words listed are not actually quotable in the

legal sense, but render the Grk. word which does also include 'crime'. In Indo-Iranian, where the law was mainly one of religion, there is no real distinction between 'crime' and 'sin'.

In a few cases a legal word for 'accusation, charge' (in part from 'judgment') has come to denote the subject of the charge, the 'crime' itself.

1. Grk. *ἀδικία, ἀδικημα*, both lit. 'injustice, wrong', fr. *ἀδικος* 'unjust, wrongdoing'; *δίκη* 'right, justice, lawsuit' (21.13).

Grk. *ἐγκλημα* 'accusation, charge' (fr. *ἐγκλέω* 'bring a charge, accuse', 21.31), hence the subject of the charge, 'crime'

## 21.42 MURDER

pl. 'something shocking, abomination', Goth. *fairina* 'guilt, blame', all prob. orig. 'transgression'. See Goth. *fairina*, 16.76.

ME, NE *crime*, fr. Fr. *crime* (above, 2). NHG *verbrechen*, substantivized infin. = MHG *verbrechen* 'break to pieces, destroy'. Kluge-G. 648.

5. Lith. *nusikaltimas* (NSB, etc.), fr. *nusikalsti* 'commit an offense or crime': *kaltinti* 'accuse' (21.31), *kaltas* 'guilty' (21.35), *kaltė* 'guilt, blame' (16.76).

Lett. *noziegums* : *noziegties* 'commit a sin, crime', Lith. *nusięngti* 'make a mistake', cpd. of *žengti* 'step' (Lith. *ziegt* = *noziegties* but not now popular), with development through 'transgress'. Mühl-Endz. 4.471.

6. ChSl. *nepravida* (Gospels, Supr. for *ἀδικία, ἀδικημα*), neg. cpd. of *pravida* 'right, righteousness': *pravu* 'straight', hence 'right', *pravo* 'law' (21.11).

|      |                                |       |                                 |       |                        |
|------|--------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|------------------------|
| Grk. | φόνος, φονεύω                  | Goth. | <i>maurþr</i>                   | Lith. | <i>žmogžudystė</i>     |
| NG   | φόνος, φονεύω                  | ON    | <i>morð</i> (vīg, manndrāp)     | Lett. | <i>slēpkautība</i>     |
| Lat. | <i>caedēs, nex, homicidium</i> | Dan.  | <i>mord</i>                     | ChSl. | <i>ubijstvo, uboj</i>  |
| It.  | <i>omicidio</i>                | Sw.   | <i>mord</i>                     | Boh.  | <i>vražda</i>          |
| Fr.  | <i>meurtre</i>                 | OE    | <i>morþor, morþ</i> (mann-siht) | Pol.  | <i>zabójstwo, mord</i> |
| Sp.  | <i>homicidio</i>               | ME    | <i>mordre</i>                   | Russ. | <i>ubijstvo</i>        |
| Rum. | <i>omor</i>                    | NE    | <i>murder</i>                   | Skt.  | <i>vadha-</i>          |
| Ir.  | <i>marbad</i>                  | Du.   | <i>mord</i>                     | Av.   | ( <i>jānārd-</i> )     |
| Nl.  | <i>dünmarbhadh</i>             | OHG   | <i>mord</i> (manslaht)          |       |                        |
| W.   | <i>llofruddiaeth</i>           | MHG   | <i>mord</i> (manslaht)          |       |                        |
| Br.  | ( <i>drouk-laz, munt</i> )     | NHG   | <i>mord</i>                     |       |                        |

'Murder' in primitive society was not a public 'crime' but an offense for which vengeance or blood-money was exacted by the victim's kinsmen. Such was still the situation in Homeric times and among all the peoples of IE speech in the earliest period. Only later did 'murder' come to be recognized as a public matter to be dealt with in the laws (even in the Gortyn code and the fragments of the Roman XII Tables there is nothing

about murder), and it was still generally not distinguished verbally from justifiable 'killing'.

That is, with few exceptions, the words are derived from verbs for 'kill' and generally denoted simply 'killing', whether in battle or accident or criminal 'murder'. But the Gmc. group (NE *murder*, NHG *mord*, etc.), though etymologically 'death', denoted from the earliest times some sort of highly rep-

(this sense perh. in some pap. passages, but could still be 'charge'), so reg. in NG.

2. Lat. *facinus* 'deed' (good or bad?), but esp. 'evil deed, crime': *facere* 'do, make'. Ernout-M. 323.

Lat. *scelus* 'evil deed, crime', prob. : Grk. *σκολός* 'crooked' (12.74), also in moral sense 'unjust'. Walde-P. 2.598. Ernout-M. 904 ('sans correspondant').

Lat. *crimen*, prob. orig. 'decision' (like Grk. *κρίμα*), but in actual use 'charge, accusation', later (Cic.) 'crime': *cernere* 'separate, distinguish, discern', *dēcernere* 'decide', Grk. *κρίνω* 'judge, decide' (21.16). Ernout-M. 179. Otherwise (as orig. 'charge': OHG *scrian* 'cry', etc.). Walde-H. 1.291. Hence It. *crimine*, Fr. *crime* (> ME, NE *crime*), Sp. *crimen*, Rum. *crimă* (neolog. fr. Fr.).

Lat. *delictum* 'fault, offense, transgression', fr. *dēlinquere* 'commit a fault', orig. 'leave undone', cpd. of *linquere* 'leave' (12.18). Hence the much stronger It. *delitto*, Fr. *délit*, Sp. *delito*. These are, in fact, more commonly employed as the generic words for 'crime' than those of the preceding group (Fr. *crime*, etc., or both indiscriminately by some writers), e.g. in discussions of the history of law or Greek or Roman law. But in the technical language of the penal codes there may be a distinction. Thus It. *reato* (fr. *reo* 'culprit, criminal') is the comprehensive term for any breach of the law, the reati being classified, formerly as *crimini*, *delitti*, *contraventioni*, now as *delitti* vs. *contraventioni*. Fr. *délit* may also denote an offense intermediate between *crime* and *contravention*.

Rum. *vină* 'fault, guilt' (16.76), also 'crime'. Tikin 1742.

3. Ir. *cín*, Nl. *cion* (also *cionnta*) 'fault, guilt' (16.76), also 'crime'. W. *trosedd*, lit. 'transgression', fr. *tros* 'over, across' (= Lat. *trans*). Cf. *traws* 'adverse, perverse, wicked'.

OE *fīren*, OHG, OS *fīrina* : ON *fīrn*

rehensible (in ON often esp. secret) killing.

A few of the words are of quite different origin, namely, derived from those for 'murderer' and this from 'red-handed' (W.), 'secret' (Lett.), 'enemy' (Boh.), and, if one includes Fr. *assassin*, etc., 'hashish-eater'.

1. Grk. *φόνος*, fr. the root of *ἐπεφονεύω* 'kill', *θίνω* 'strike', Skt. *han-* 'strike, kill', etc. (4.76). The word covered any 'killing' (in battle, etc.) but was the regular term for 'murder', in Attic classified as *φόνος ἐκούσιος* vs. *φόνος ἀκούσιος* 'voluntary' vs. 'involuntary murder'. NG pop. also *τὸ φονεῖν*, neut. of *φονεύω* 'murderous'.

2. Lat. *caedēs*, most frequently 'slaughter' in battle, but also 'murder', fr. *caedere* 'strike, beat, kill' (4.76).

Lat. *neq* 'violent death' (4.75), used also for 'murder'.

Lat. *parricida* (early nom. -as), generally defined as 'murderer of a near relative' (and so *parricidium* 'murder' defined in the same way), but without such restriction in an early law quoted by Festus (*si qui hominem liberum dolo sciens morti duit, parricidas esto*) and sometimes later (*parricida civium* Cic.), prob. the earliest distinctive term for 'murderer'; cpd. of *-cida* : *caedere* 'kill', first part much disputed but perh. : Skt. *puruṣa-* 'man', so that the whole word would be parallel to Grk. *ἀνδροφόνος*. Ernout-M. 733 f. Wackernagel, Gnom. 6.449 f., 458. Believed by the Romans to be from *\*patr-cida*, it gave rise to *mātricida*, *frātricida*, etc.

Lat. *homicida* 'murderer' (Cic.), formed like and prob. directly to *parricida*, with first part fr. *homō* 'man'. This and the parallel *homicidium* (post-Cic.) became henceforth the usual words and the source of the similar It., Fr., Sp. and NE forms (but Fr., NE *homicide* only

Br. *torfed*, fr. OFr. *torfait, torfet* 'misdeed, forfeit' (Godefroy 7.754). Henry 266.

4. Goth. *inwindaþa*, reg. for *ādauka*, beside adj. *inwinds* 'unjust' : OE *inwid* 'guile, wickedness', ON *vinðr* 'slanting, twisted', root connection disputed but prob. : Goth. *bi-windan* 'turn', NE *wind*, etc., with strengthening prefix *in-*. Walde-P. 1.261. Feist 296.

Goth. *missadēþs* (renders *παράβασις, παράπτωμα*), OE *misdæd*, ME *misdeede* (NE *misdeed*), Du. *misdad*, OHG *missatāt*, MHG *misselāt* (NHG *missetāt*), all except Du. *misdad* now used chiefly for 'misdeed, transgression' in moral sense, a use common also from the earliest times, as shown by the Gothic.

ON *glæpr*, with *glǫpr* 'fool' : *glap* 'hal-lucination, flaw', *gleþja* 'confuse', root connection dub. Walde-P. 1.626. Falk-Torp 325.

ON *sok* 'accusation, charge' and 'law-suit' (21.13), also the subject of the charge, 'crime'.

ON *afbrigð*, properly a 'deviation, transgression', fr. *bregða* cf. 'deviate from, disregard' (*bregða* 'move quickly, draw a sword, break off', etc.).

Dan. *forbrydelse*, Sw. *förbrytelse*, translations of NHG *verbrechen* (: Dan. *bryde*, Sw. *bryta* 'break'). Falk-Torp 254.

Sw. *brott*, lit. 'a break, breach', cf. Nlcel. *afbrot* 'trespass, sin', ON *lgbrot* 'violation of the law' : Sw. *bryta*, etc. 'break' (cf. above).

OE *mān*, OHG *mein* (also 'wickedness, sinful deed, falsehood', in cpds. OE *māndæd*, MHG *meintāt* 'evil deed, sin, crime') : ON *mein* 'harm, disease, sore', sb. use of adj. OE *mān* 'wicked', OHG *mein* 'false', these (through 'changed, deceptive') : Lith. *mainas* 'exchange', Goth. *gamains* 'common', etc. Walde-P. 2.241. Falk-Torp 713.

OE *fīren*, OHG, OS *fīrina* : ON *fīrn*

as more comprehensive than *meurtre, murder*.

It. *assassinio*, Fr. *assassinat* (> Rum. *asasinat*), Sp. *asesinato* (also usually somewhat more special than 'murder', like NE *assassination*), fr. Fr. *assassin* (> It. *assassino* > Sp. *asesino*) 'murderer', this fr. an Arab. word meaning lit. 'hashish-eaters' but applied to a certain sect. REW 4071. NED s.v. *assassin*.

Fr. *meurtre*, fr. Gmc. (below, 4). REW 5753.

Rum. *omor*, back-formation to *omori* 'kill' (4.76).

3. Ir. *marbad*, lit. 'slaying', vbl. n. to *marbaim* 'kill' (4.76), Nl. *marbhadh*, but esp. *dünmarbhadh*, lit. 'man murder' (*duine* 'man').

W. *llofruddiaeth*, through vb. *llofruddio* 'murder', fr. *llofrudd* 'murderer', lit. 'red-handed', cpd. of *llof-* (in cpds. and derivs. = *llaw*) 'hand' and *rudd* 'red'.

Br. *laz* (also *lazere, lazidigez*), *drouk-laz* (cpd. with *drouk* 'bad, evil'), fr. *laza* 'kill' (4.76), *drouk-laza* vb. 'murder'. Br. *munt*, fr. Fr. *meurtre* (with dissim.).

4. Goth. *maurþr*, OE *morþor* and *morþ*, ME *mordre*, NE *murder*, ON *morð*, OHG *mord*, etc., general Gmc. : Lat. *mors, mortis* 'death', mortuus 'dead', *mori* 'die', etc., the widespread group for 'die, dead, death' (4.75), with general Gmc. specialization, prob. through 'violent death' (like Lat. *nez*).

ON *vīg* (legal term for 'manslaughter' vs. *morð* 'murder') : *vega* 'fight' (20.11) and 'kill'.

ON *manndrāp*, OE *mannslit*, OHG, MHG *manslaht*, all lit. 'manslaughter' (ON *drepa*, OE *slean*, OHG *slahan* 'strike, kill', 4.76) and frequent legal terms for 'homicide', more comprehensive than ON *morð*, etc.

5. Lith. *žmogžudystė* (NT and still

best word), deriv. cpd. of *žmogus* 'man' and *žudyti* 'kill' (4.76).

Lett. *slēpkavība*, fr. *slēpkava* 'murderer, bandit' : *slēps* 'secret, hidden', *slēpt*, Lith. *slėpti* 'hide', etc. Mühl-Endz. 3.926, 930.

6. ChSl. *ubijstvo* (Gospels, Supr.), *uboj* (Supr.), SCR. *ubistvo*, Pol. *zabójstwo*, Russ. *ubijstvo*, all fr. the root in ChSl. *biti* 'strike', *ubiti* 'kill' (4.76).

|      |                    |       |                                 |       |                                |
|------|--------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|
| Grk. | μοιχεία            | Goth. | <i>kalkinassus, hōrinassus</i>  | Lith. | <i>svetmoterystė</i> (or -ybė) |
| NG   | μοιχεία            | ON    | <i>hōr</i>                      | Lett. | <i>laulības pārkāpšana</i>     |
| Lat. | <i>adulterium</i>  | Dan.  | <i>ægteskabsbrud, hor</i>       | ChSl. | <i>preljub</i>                 |
| It.  | <i>adulterio</i>   | Sw.   | <i>äktensbrott, hor</i>         | Boh.  | <i>cizološtvo</i>              |
| Fr.  | <i>adultère</i>    | OE    | <i>æwubryce</i>                 | Pol.  | <i>cudzołóstwo</i>             |
| Sp.  | <i>adulterio</i>   | ME    | <i>avoutrie</i>                 | Russ. | <i>preljubodejanie</i>         |
| Rum. | <i>adulter (v)</i> | NE    | <i>adultery</i>                 | Skt.  | <i>pārādārya-</i> , etc.       |
| Nl.  | <i>adulter</i>     | Du.   | <i>echtbrek, overspel</i>       |       |                                |
| W.   | <i>godineb</i>     | OHG   | <i>huor</i> ( <i>ubarkhit</i> ) |       |                                |
| Br.  | <i>avoultriez</i>  | MHG   | <i>huorbruch, huor(e)</i>       |       |                                |
|      |                    | NHG   | <i>ehebruch</i>                 |       |                                |

Several of the words listed are derived from verbs used for sexual intercourse (e.g. 'lie', 'play', 'love'), or from words for 'whore', and these denoted any kind of illicit sexual intercourse without distinction between 'adultery' and 'fornication'.

The more distinctive words are mostly based on such notions as 'breach of marriage', 'relations with strange women', or (Lat. *adulterium*, etc.) 'corruption'.

1. Grk. *μοιχεία*, with *μοιχός* 'adulterer', whence vbs. *μοιχάω, μοιχέω*, prob. fr. the root of *μοιχέω* (*μοιχέω*), Lat. *mingere*, Skt. *mih-*, etc. 'make water' (4.65)—despite the semantic incongruity. One must assume that a sense 'debauch' started from such vulgar phrases as that in Catullus 67.30 (*qui ipse sui gnati minxerit in gremio*) and that *μοιχός* as orig. 'debaucher' was used esp. for the 'adulterer'. For this last cf. Goth. *hōrs* 'fornicator' (*þópnos*) and 'adulterer' (*mu-*

*χός*) and the double use of Goth. *hōrinassus*, ON *hōr*, etc. (below, 4).

2. Lat. *adulterium*, with *adulter* 'adulterer', etc., fr. *adulterāre* 'alter, falsify, corrupt' (: *alter* 'other'), then, through phrases like *adulterāre matrōnās*, 'commit adultery'. Hence OIt. *avollero*, OFr. *a(v)ullerie* (> Br. *avoultriez*), *avoutrie*, *avoutrie* (> ME *avoutrie*), and the later (re-formed fr. the Lat.) It., Sp. *adulterio*, Fr. *adultère* (> Rum. *adulter*, hence also *adulteriu*), NE *adultery*; also, through *adaltair* 'adulterer', Ir. *adaltas, adaltach*, Nl. *adhaltrannas*. Ernout-M. 35.

Waldhe-H. 1.15. REW 207. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 110. NED s.v. *adultery*.

3. Ir. and Br. words, above, 2.

W. *godineb* 'adultery' and 'fornication', fr. the root seen in Ir. *goithim* 'futuro' (4.67). Pedersen 2.34. Stokes 113.

4. Goth. *kalkinassus* (renders both *μοιχεία* and *πορνεία* 'fornication'), deriv.,

Boh. *vražda* = ChSl. *vražda*, Russ. *vražda* 'enmity, hate' : Boh. *vrah* 'murderer' = ChSl. *vragu* 'enemy' (19.52).

Pol. *mord*, fr. NHG *mord* (above).

7. Skt. *vadha-* 'killing' in general, often the 'death-penalty, capital punishment', but also 'murder' (e.g. Manu 11.127) : *vadh-* 'smite, kill' (4.76).

Av. *jānārd-* 'killing, murder' (?) : *jan-* 'kill' (4.76). Barth. 607 f.

## 21.43 ADULTERY

|      |                    |       |                                 |       |                                |
|------|--------------------|-------|---------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|
| Grk. | μοιχεία            | Goth. | <i>kalkinassus, hōrinassus</i>  | Lith. | <i>svetmoterystė</i> (or -ybė) |
| NG   | μοιχεία            | ON    | <i>hōr</i>                      | Lett. | <i>laulības pārkāpšana</i>     |
| Lat. | <i>adulterium</i>  | Dan.  | <i>ægteskabsbrud, hor</i>       | ChSl. | <i>preljub</i>                 |
| It.  | <i>adulterio</i>   | Sw.   | <i>äktensbrott, hor</i>         | Boh.  | <i>cizološtvo</i>              |
| Fr.  | <i>adultère</i>    | OE    | <i>æwubryce</i>                 | Pol.  | <i>cudzołóstwo</i>             |
| Sp.  | <i>adulterio</i>   | ME    | <i>avoutrie</i>                 | Russ. | <i>preljubodejanie</i>         |
| Rum. | <i>adulter (v)</i> | NE    | <i>adultery</i>                 | Skt.  | <i>pārādārya-</i> , etc.       |
| Nl.  | <i>adulter</i>     | Du.   | <i>echtbrek, overspel</i>       |       |                                |
| W.   | <i>godineb</i>     | OHG   | <i>huor</i> ( <i>ubarkhit</i> ) |       |                                |
| Br.  | <i>avoultriez</i>  | MHG   | <i>huorbruch, huor(e)</i>       |       |                                |
|      |                    | NHG   | <i>ehebruch</i>                 |       |                                |

through vb. \**kalkinōn*, of *kalkjō* 'whore' (19.72).

Goth. *hōrinassus* (likewise for both *μοιχεία* and *πορνεία*), deriv., through vb. *hōrinōn*, of word for 'whore' seen in ON *hōra*, etc. (19.72). Goth. only masc. *hōrs*. Here likewise ON *hōr*, Dan., Sw. *hōr*, OHG *huor*, *huar*, *huora*, MHG *huor*, *huore*, all used for illicit intercourse, whether 'adultery' or 'fornication' (e.g. OHG *huar* Otrf. 'adultery', *huor* Tat. 'fornication').

OE *æwubryce*, MHG *ebbruch*, NHG *ehebruch*, Dan. *ægteskabsbrud*, Sw. *äktensbrott*, Du. *echtbrek*, all lit. 'breach of marriage', cpds. of words for 'marriage' (orig. 'law' whence 'legal married state', 2.34) and derivs. of vbs. for 'break' (9.26).

OHG *ubarhiwi* (only Tat. 120.1, 2 = Jn. 8.3.4, where Otrf. has *huar*), cpd. of *ubar* 'over, beyond' and *hiwi* 'married state, matrimony' : *hiwan* 'marry', 4.83 f.

## 21.46 ARSON

|      |               |       |                          |       |                  |
|------|---------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | πυρκαϊά       | Goth. | .....                    | Lith. | padegimas        |
| NG   | incendium     | ON    | brenna                   | Let.  | uguns pielikšana |
| Lat. | incendium     | Dan.  | mordbrand                | ChSl. | .....            |
| It.  | incendio      | Sw.   | mordbrand                | ScR.  | zapaļenje        |
| Fr.  | incendie      | OE    | barnet                   | Boh.  | žhařstvi         |
| Sp.  | incendio      | ME    | (arson)                  | Pol.  | podpalenie       |
| Rum. | incendiu      | NE    | arson                    | Russ. | podžog           |
| Ir.  | loscad        | Du.   | brandstichting           |       |                  |
| Nl.  | doghadh       | OHG   | brant                    |       |                  |
| W.   | llog, llogiad | MHG   | brant, mordbrand         |       |                  |
| Br.  | tan-quall     | NHG   | brandstiftung, mordbrand |       |                  |

Words for 'arson' are connected with those for 'burn' (11.84) or 'fire' (11.81), or both together (Grk. πυρκαϊά). Many of them cover 'burning, conflagration' in general. The criminal application might be brought out by expressions for 'evil', 'caused', 'intentional' or the like, but this would not be necessary in legal language, where only 'arson' could be meant (e.g. Grk. γραφή πυρκαϊάς).

1. Grk. πυρκαϊά, in Hom. 'funeral pyre', in general 'conflagration', in law 'arson', cpd. of πῦρ 'fire' and sb. : καίω 'burn'.

Grk. ἐμπρησμός 'burning', in NG the reg. word for 'arson', fr. πῖρρημι 'burn'.

2. Lat. incendium (> Romance words) 'burning', including 'arson' (cf. Cic. domus ardēbat nōn fortuitō, sed oblatō incendio), fr. incendere 'set fire to, burn'.

3. Ir. loscad (or esp. loscad comraite 'intentional burning'; cf. Laws, Gloss. 541), W. llog, llogiad, fr. Ir. loscim, W. llogsi 'burn'.

Nl. doghadh, fr. dōghim 'burn'.

Br. tan-quall, cpd. of tan 'fire' and quall 'evil' (16.62).

4. ON brenna 'burning, conflagration' and 'arson' (cf. Norges Gamle Love 5.114), fr. brenna 'burn'.

Dan., Sw. mordbrand, MHG mordbrand, NHG mordbrand, cpd. of brand 'burning' with mord 'murder', hence orig. 'murderous burning, burning for purpose of killing enemies', as frequently ON brenna.

OE barnet 'burning', also 'arson', fr. bærnan 'burn'. Cf. also blæse (fr. blæse 'flame, blaze') used for the 'incendary' in Laws of Aethelstan.

NE arson (arsoun in ME period quotable only in laws written in French and there qualified, as arson feloniousment fait), fr. OFr. arson, arsun 'burning', fr. late Lat. arsiō, -ōnis id. : ardere 'burn'. NED s.v.

OHG, MHG brant 'burning', including 'arson', fr. brennan 'burn'. Hence NHG brandstiftung (in first occurrence with muthwillige 'wanton'), cpd. with deriv. of stiften 'cause, make'. Similarly Du. brandstichting.

5. Lith. padegimas, fr. padegti 'set on fire', cpd. of degti 'burn'.

Let. uguns pielikšana (Drawneek; uguns likšana Ullmann; Mühl-Endz. only uguni pielikt 'brand stiften'), gen. of uguns 'fire' and deriv. of pielikt 'put on' (Mühl-Endz. 3.267) and modeled on NHG brandstiftung.

6. ScR. zapaļenje, Pol. podpalenie, fr. ScR. zapali, Pol. podpalić 'set fire to', cpds. of SCR. paliti, Pol. palić 'burn'.

Boh. žhařstvi, fr. žhař 'incendary', this fr. root of Boh. hořeti, ChSl. gorěti 'burn' (cf. žar 'heat, glow', požar 'conflagration').

Russ. podžog, fr. podžec, podžigal' 'set fire to', cpd. of žec' = ChSl. žesti, žegq 'burn'.

7. There seems to be no reference to 'arson' in the Indo-Iranian sources.

## 21.47 PERJURY

|      |                         |       |   |       |                    |
|------|-------------------------|-------|---|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | ψευδομαρτυρία (or -ισμ) | Goth. | .....   | Lith. | neteisi prisaeika  |
| NG   | ψευδομαρτυρία, ψευδορία | ON    | *galiugaweitwōdīpa meineid, ljūgeiðr, ljūgini | Let.  | nepatiesi zvēri    |
| Lat. | periūrium               | Dan.  | mened   | ChSl. | lūšesvādēntje      |
| It.  | spergiuro               | Sw.   | mened   | ScR.  | kriva prisega      |
| Fr.  | perjurer                | OE    | mānāþ, lēas gewitnes                          | Boh.  | krivá přisaha      |
| Sp.  | perjurio                | ME    | false witness, perjury                        | Pol.  | krzywoprzysięstwo  |
| Rum. | perjur                  | NE    | perjury                                       | Russ. | kljatoprestuplenie |
| Ir.  | ēitheach                | Du.   | meineed                                       | Skt.  | kāṭasākṣya-        |
| Nl.  | ēitheach                | OHG   | meineid                                       |       |                    |
| W.   | anodon                  | MHG   | meineit                                       |       |                    |
| Br.  | le faos                 | NHG   | meineid                                       |       |                    |

Words for 'perjury' are derived from those for 'witness' (21.23), 'swear' (21.24), or 'oath' (21.25) combined with words for 'false' (cf. 'lie' 16.67), 'crooked, wrong', 'evil', 'breaking', 'crime', or with prefixes having pejorative force.

1. Grk. ψευδομαρτυρία and -μαρτύριον (both esp. in pl.), cpd. of ψεύδης 'false' and deriv. of μαρτυρ 'witness'.

Grk. ψευδορία (late, but also NG), similar cpd. with second part : ὅρκος 'oath'.

2. Lat. periūrium (> Romance words, partly with ex-), deriv. of iurare 'swear' with per- in the sense seen in per-fidus 'contrary to faith, faithless'. Ernout-M. 506, 754.

3. Ir. ēitheach, Nl. ēitheach, fr. cpd. of tengu 'swear', first part perh. \*epi- as in Grk. ἐπι-ορκίω 'swear falsely'. Pedersen 2.653.

W. anodon, cpd. of neg. an-, second part : Ir. beth 'oath'. Pedersen 1.58.

Br. le faos or faos le or gwall le, phrases with le 'oath' and faos 'false' or gwall 'evil' (16.62).

4. Goth. \*galiugaweitwōdīpa (quotable only galiugaweitwōþs 'perjurer' and galiugaweitwōdjan 'bear false witness'), cpd. of galiug 'lie' and deriv. of weitwōþs 'witness'.

ON meineid, Dan. Sw. mened, OE mānāþ, Du. meined, OHG-NHG meineid, cpd. of ON meinn 'painful, harm-

ful', OE mǣne, OHG mein 'false' (: Goth. gamains 'common', etc., 19.64) and words for 'oath'. Falk-Torp 713. Kluge-G. 385.

ON ljūgeiðr, ljūgini, cpds. of ljūg- 'false' (: ljūga 'lie', vb., lygi 'a lie') with words for 'oath' and 'witness'.

OE lēas gewitnes (also lēas gecyðnes, both in Gospels) 'false witness' (lēas 'false', also 'destitute of' = Goth. laus 'empty, vain', etc.).

Late OE, ME, NE false witness (so, not perjury, in Wyclif, Tyndale, etc.).

ME, NE perjury, fr. OFr. perjurie, Lat. periūrium (above, 2). NED s.v.

5. Lith. neteisi prisaeika (Gailius-Šlaša; cf. neteisiai prisiekti 'swear falsely' NSB s.v. neteius), lit. 'false oath', with fem. of neteius, neg. of teius 'right, just' (16.73).

Let. nepatiesi zvēri, lit. 'false oath', with neg. of patiesi 'true' (16.66).

6. ChSl. lūšesvādēntje, cpd. of lūž 'false' (: lūža 'lie') and sūvādēntje 'testimony' (cf. sūvādēteli 'witness').

ScR. kriva prisega, Boh. krivá přisaha, Pol. krzywoprzysięstwo, words for 'crooked, wrong' (12.70, 16.74) with those for 'oath'.

Russ. kljatoprestuplenie, cpd. of words for 'oath' and 'crime' (21.25, 21.41).

7. Skt. kāṭasākṣya-, fr. kāṭasākṣin- 'false witness', cpd. of kāṭa- 'deceitful, false' and sākṣin- 'witness'.

matters, religion', neut. pl. of θεός 'divine, holy', fr. θεός 'god' (22.12).

Grk. θρησκεία 'religious worship', in pl. 'religious rites' (Hdt. +), the reg. word for 'religion' in LXX, NT, and down to the present day (cf. θρησκω, θράσκω 'understand, remember' Hesych.), etym. dub., perh. fr. the root \*dher- in Skt. dhr- 'hold, support', dharmā- 'usage, right, law', etc. (cf. below, 7). Walde-P. 1.857. Boissacq 340, 350.

2. Lat. religio (> the widespread modern Eur. word), etym. disputed from ancient times to the present, whether : legere 'collect, select' or : ligare 'bind'; both equally possible phonetically, but the former preferable on the semantic side. The presumably earlier, and certainly well attested, sense was 'scruple, doubt, hesitation', which may well come from a 'repeated (re-) mental collecting, selecting, consideration'. Hence 'awe of the supernatural' and eventually 'religion' in the current sense. Warde Fowler, Trans. Third International Congress for the History of Religionswissenschaft 12.533 ff., 14.406 ff. Ernout-M. 858 f. Walde-H. 1.352 f.

3. Ir. cretem, Nl. creideamh, Br. kredenn, all properly 'belief, faith', fr. Ir. cretim, Br. kredi 'believe' (17.15).

Ir. iress, Nl. iris, properly 'belief, faith', fr. cpd. of preverb air- (: Grk. πειρ) and \*stā- 'stand'. Cf. Pahl. parast 'worshiper', of like origin. Pedersen 1.91. Pokorny, Z. celt. Ph. 9.444 ff. Thurneysen, KZ 48.72 f. Vendryes, MSL 20.266 f.

Ir. crábad, Nl. crábadh, W. crefydd, based on 'worship', 'service of god', or 'insight'.

1. There is no distinctive early Grk. word for 'religion'. One may note θρησκεία 'genealogy of the gods, mythology'; εὐσεβεία 'piety' (toward gods or parents, also 'loyalty'), fr. εὐσεβής 'pious, religious, holy' : εὐδομα 'feel awe, reverence, worship' (22.16); ῥά θεῶν 'acts of the gods' and sometimes 'divine

credid, prob. : Skt. vi-śrambhate 'trusts'. Pedersen 1.492. Vendryes, MSL 20.266.

4. ON trúa 'belief, faith', also in religious sense, fr. trúa 'believe' (17.15). OE geleafa, OHG gilouba, MHG g(e)loube 'belief, faith' also in religious sense, fr. the corresponding vbs. for 'believe' (17.15).

ME feith, NE faith 'belief, faith', also 'religion' (NED s.v. 4), fr. OFr. feid, Lat. fides 'faith'.

Du. godsdienst, lit. 'service of god' = NHG gottesdienst 'divine service', but now the usual term for religion.

5. Lith. tikyba, tikėjimas, Lett. ticība 'belief, faith, religion', fr. Lith. tikėti, Lett. ticēt 'believe' (17.15). Mühl-Endz. 4.180 f.

6. ChSl. věra ('faith' and in Supr. sometimes for εὐσεβεία and θρησκεία), ScR. vjera, Boh. víra, Russ. vera, all orig. 'belief, faith' (cf. 17.15).

Boh. náboženství, fr. adjs. náboženský, nábožný 'religious, pious', orig. 'following after god', cpds. of na 'after' and derivs. of bāh (ChSl. bogŭ) 'god'.

7. There is no distinctive Skt. word for 'religion'. It is best covered by dharmā- (Ved. dharman-) 'what is established, law, usage, right conduct' (for such was religion in India), deriv. of dhr- 'hold, support'. Walde-P. 1.856 ff. Skt. mārga- 'way' (10.71) is used for the 'right way of life', the 'Buddhist way', etc.

Av. daēnā- (distinctive and frequent; NPers. dān), prob., as orig. 'insight', fr. d- 'see, look at, observe' (15.52). Walde-P. 1.832. Geldner, BB 15.261. Hübschmann, KZ 27.101. (Barth. 666 doubtful.)

## 22.12 GOD

|      |               |       |                       |       |                     |
|------|---------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|---------------------|
| Grk. | θεός          | Goth. | guþ                   | Lith. | dievas              |
| NG   | θεός          | ON    | goð, guð, tivar (pl.) | Let.  | dievs               |
| Lat. | deus          | Dan.  | guð                   | ChSl. | boǝ                 |
| It.  | dio           | Sw.   | gud                   | Boh.  | bůh                 |
| Fr.  | dieu          | OE    | god, ōs               | Pol.  | bóg                 |
| Sp.  | dios          | ME    | god                   | Russ. | bog                 |
| Rum. | dumnezeu, zeu | NE    | god                   | Skt.  | deva-, sura-        |
| Ir.  | día           | Du.   | god                   | Av.   | baya-, OPers. baya- |
| Nl.  | dia           | OHG   | got                   |       |                     |
| W.   | duw           | MHG   | got                   |       |                     |
| Br.  | doue          | NHG   | got                   |       |                     |

For 'god' there is a group of cognates common to Italic, Celtic, Baltic, and Indo-Iranian (traces in Gmc., but not the usual word for 'god'), related to words for 'sky', 'day' and the widespread 'Sky-god', all from the notion of 'bright, shining'. A smaller group, common to Slavic and Iranian, is based on the notion of 'one who dispenses, gracious'. The other words are of disputed etymology.

The old words for a pagan 'god' were generally retained for the Christian 'God'. But a few forms are used only in the former sense.

For the biblical 'Lord', see 19.41.

1. IE \*deiwos- in words for 'god', beside \*dyew- 'divo- in words for 'sky' (1.51), 'day' (14.31), and the personified Grk. Ζεύς, gen. Διός, Lat. Iuppiter (earlier Iūpiter, fr. voc. = Grk. Ζεῦ πάτερ), gen. Iovis, early Diowis, Skt. dyāus, all with the common notion of 'bright, shining' and representing an extension of a simpler \*dei- seen in Skt. dideti 'shines', etc. Walde-P. 1.772 ff. Ernout-M. 263 f. Walde-H. 1.345 f. Grace Sturtevant Hopkins, IE \*deiwos and related words (exhaustive semantic study of the group, but with needless doubt of the underlying notion of 'bright').

2. ChSl. lūšesvādēntje, cpd. of lūž 'false' (: lūža 'lie') and sūvādēntje 'testimony' (cf. sūvādēteli 'witness').

ScR. kriva prisega, Boh. krivá přisaha, Pol. krzywoprzysięstwo, words for 'crooked, wrong' (12.70, 16.74) with those for 'oath'.

Russ. kljatoprestuplenie, cpd. of words for 'oath' and 'crime' (21.25, 21.41).

7. Skt. kāṭasākṣya-, fr. kāṭasākṣin- 'false witness', cpd. of kāṭa- 'deceitful, false' and sākṣin- 'witness'.

4. Goth. guþ (pl. guda), ON goð, guð, OE god, etc., general Gmc., orig. neut. 'pagan god'; but for Christian God dum-

nezeu, fr. Lat. voc. domine deus 'Lord God'), Osc. fem. dat. sg. déivai; Ir. dia, W. duw, Br. doue; ON tivar (pl.; cf. ON Tǫr, OE Tig, gen. Tīwes, OHG Zio); Lith. dievas, Lett. dievs, OPers. deivus; Skt. deva- (Av. daēva-, OPers. daiva- 'demon', 22.35).

2. ChSl. bogŭ, etc., general Slavic (perh. early loanword fr. Iran. through the Scythians; cf. the Slavic word for 'dog', 3.61), Av. baya-, OPers. baya- : Skt. bhaga- 'dispenser, gracious lord', bhaj- 'divide, distribute, share', Grk. aor. φάγειν ('partake of' >) 'eat'. Walde-P. 2.127 f. Berneker 66 f. Barth. 922.

3. Grk. θεός, fr. \*θεός (cf. θεοφάρος 'spoken by god, ordained'), but root connection much disputed and still dub. Perh. best (but difficulties) : Lat. (diēs) festus 'holiday', fēriæ 'holidays', Osc. fītsnam, Lat. fānum ('fās-no-') 'shrine', fr. \*dhēs-, \*dhās-, prob. an extension of \*dhē- 'put' in its frequently attested religious application. Walde-P. 1.867. Boissacq 339 f. Prellwitz, Festschrift Bezenberger 121 ff. Walde-H. 1.454. Mrs. Hopkins, op. cit. 81 ff., rejects all the proposed IE etymologies and suggests that, like some of the names of the Greek gods, so θεός itself is a loanword from pre-Greek sources.

4. Goth. guþ (pl. guda), ON goð, guð, OE god, etc., general Gmc., orig. neut. 'pagan god'; but for Christian God dum-

in Skt. havate, Av. zavaiti, ChSl. zoveti 'calls' (18.41), hence orig. 'what is invoked'; or, less probably, fr. \*gheu- in Skt. hu- 'pour an oblation, make an offering', Grk. χέω 'pour', etc. Walde-P. 1.530. Falk-Torp 359. Feist 228.

ON ðass (run. inscr. ansuR), OE ðas (OHG ans- in proper names; Goth. Latinized acc. pl. ansis), used only of the old pagan gods, etym. dub.; taken by some as orig. 'spirit' fr. \*ans- an extension of \*an- 'breathe' (4.51); now

more commonly as the same word as 'calls' (18.41), hence orig. 'what is invoked'; or, less probably, fr. \*gheu- in Skt. hu- 'pour an oblation, make an offering', Grk. χέω 'pour', etc. Walde-P. 1.530. Falk-Torp 359. Feist 228.

ON ðass (run. inscr. ansuR), OE ðas (OHG ans- in proper names; Goth. Latinized acc. pl. ansis), used only of the old pagan gods, etym. dub.; taken by some as orig. 'spirit' fr. \*ans- an extension of \*an- 'breathe' (4.51); now

## 22.13 TEMPLE

|      |                |       |                       |       |                       |
|------|----------------|-------|-----------------------|-------|-----------------------|
| Grk. | ναός, ἱερόν    | Goth. | alhs, gudhūs          | Lith. | dievnamis             |
| NG   | ναός           | ON    | hof, ve               | Let.  | dievnams              |
| Lat. | templum, aedēs | Dan.  | tempe                 | ChSl. | crāky (chramŭ)        |
| It.  | tempio         | Sw.   | tempe                 | ScR.  | hram                  |
| Fr.  | temple         | OE    | temp(e)l, hearh, ealh | Boh.  | chrām                 |
| Sp.  | templo         | ME    | temple                | Pol.  | świątynia             |
| Rum. | templu         | NE    | temple                | Russ. | chram                 |
| Ir.  | tempul         | Du.   | tempe                 | Skt.  | cāitya-, stūpa-, etc. |
| Nl.  | teampall       | OHG   | tempe                 |       |                       |
| W.   | teml           | MHG   | tempe                 |       |                       |
| Br.  | templ          | NHG   | tempe                 |       |                       |

'Temples' were unknown in the earliest times among most of the peoples of IE speech, who were still in the stage of more primitive worship, associated with hilltops, sacred stones, trees, or wooden pillars.

Many of the words for 'temple' are from 'dwelling, house' (with 'god' expressed or understood or 'holy place', derived from adjs. for 'holy'). But the Latin templum, which furnished the most widespread Eur. word, was orig. a technical augural term.

1. Grk. ναός (Ion. νῆος, Att. νῆος, but the νῆος of most dialects common in the kourḗ and reg. NG), Aeol. ναός, Lac. νῆος, fr. \*naōs : ναίω 'dwell' (\*naōm, cf. aor. ἐνασσα), hence orig. 'dwelling' (of the gods). Walde-P. 2.335. Boissacq 656. Otherwise, but improbably, Schrad. Reallex. 2.518 f.

Grk. ἱερόν 'holy place, shrine', and

frequently 'temple', neut. of ἱερός 'holy' (22.19).

2. Lat. templum (hence the Romance, Celtic, and most of the Gmc. words), orig. 'the space in the heavens marked out by the augur', then 'consecrated place, sanctuary' and 'temple', fr. \*tem- in Grk. τέμνω 'cut' (9.22), τέμενος 'sacred precinct' (for Lat. p, cf. exemplum, fr. \*exemlom : eximere); or fr. temp- in Lith. tempti 'stretch' (9.32), Lat. tempus 'time'. Walde-P. 1.722. Ernout-M. 1023 f.

Lat. aedēs : Grk. αἶθω 'light up, kindle', mid. 'burn, blaze', Lat. aestus 'heat', etc. (1.85), hence orig. the 'sacred fire' and peculiarly applicable to the aedēs Vestae. Ernout-M. 15 f. Walde-H. 1.15.

3. Goth. alhs, OE alh, ealh (rare), OS alah (OHG Alah- in proper names), prob. : Lith. alkas 'sacred grove', and

further as orig. 'place of refuge' (cf. OE ealh-stede in this sense) : OE ealigan 'defend', Grk. ἀλίζω, aor. ἀλάσσω 'ward off'. Walde-P. 1.89 f. Feist 36 f.

Goth. gudhūs (once for ἱερόν) 'house of god'.

ON hof = OHG hof 'courtyard' (7.15).

ON vē 'shrine, temple' (also 'house, home') : Goth. weihis, OHG wih 'holy' (22.19), OE wēoh, wih 'idol' (22.37). Walde-P. 1.232. Falk-Torp 1376.

OE hearh 'shrine, temple' (mostly head, top of head, 'idol') = OHG haruc 'sacred grove', ON hǫrg 'pile of stones' as heathen shrine, outside connections dub. Walde-P. 1.31. Falk-Torp 418 f.

4. Lith. dievnamis, Lett. dievnams (or dieva name), lit. 'house of god', cpd. of words for 'god' and 'house' (7.12).

5. ChSl. crāky 'church' (22.21), also used for ναός and ἱερόν (so reg. in Gospels).

ChSl. chramŭ 'house' (7.12), only late 'temple', but in latter sense (also sometimes for 'church') ScR. hram, Boh.

chram, Russ. chram (fr. ChSl.). Berneker 397.

Pol. świątynia, fr. świąty 'holy' (22.19). Brückner 537.

Pol. kościół 'church' (22.21) is used for 'temple' in the Bible.

6. There were no temples in Vedic times. Later names are the following.

Skt. cāitya- 'funeral monument', 'sacred tree', and 'shrine, temple', deriv. of cā- 'funeral pile', fem. of cā- , pple. of ci- 'arrange, pile up'.

Skt. stūpa-, in RV 'tuft of hair on top of head, top of head', later used for the dome-like structure over relics of Buddha, hence virtually Buddhist 'shrine, temple', etym.?

Skt. devagṛha- and devālaya-, cpds. of deva- 'god' with gṛha- 'house' and ālaya- 'dwelling' (laya- 'rest, dwelling', fr. ṛ- 'cling to').

There is no reference to temples in the Avesta, and, according to Herodotus, the Persians had no temples. OPers. āyadana- is 'place of worship', the nature of which is unknown, fr. yad- 'worship' (22.16). Barth. 332.

## 22.14 ALTAR

|       |                     |       |                     |       |                   |
|-------|---------------------|-------|---------------------|-------|-------------------|
| Grk.  | βωμός, θυσιαστήριον | Goth. | hunslastaps         | Lith. | altorius, aukuras |
| NG    | βωμός               | ON    |                     | Lett. | altars            |
| Last. | āra, altāre         | Dan.  | altars (stallr)     | ChSl. | ol(ā)tart         |
| It.   | altare              | Sw.   | altare              | SCR.  | oltar             |
| Fr.   | autel               | OE    | wēobud (altar)      | Pol.  | oltaf             |
| Sp.   | altar               | ME    | alter, auter, weved | Boh.  | oltarz            |
| Rum.  | altar               | NE    | altar               | Russ. | altar'            |
| Ir.   | altóir              | Du.   | altars              |       |                   |
| NlR.  | altóir              | OHG   | altari              |       |                   |
| W.    | allor               | MHG   | alter               |       |                   |
| Br.   | aoter               | NHG   | altar               |       |                   |

*dhūma-*, etc. 'smoke', all with basic notion of 'agitation'. Grk. *θυσία* orig. 'burnt-offering', though by no means so restricted in actual use. Walde-P. 1.837. Boisacq 360.

Grk. *ιερός* 'animal sacrifice', fr. *ιέρως* 'holy' (22.19).

2. Lat. *sacrificium* (> Romance words, etc.), with vb. *sacrificāre* 'make a sacrifice', cpd. of *sacer* 'holy, sacred' (22.19) and *facere* 'make'.

Lat. *victima* 'animal sacrifice', prob. : Umbr. *evietu* 'voveto', Goth. *weihs* 'holy', etc. (22.19). Walde-P. 1.232. Ernout-M. 1102 f.

Lat. *hostia* 'animal sacrifice', etym. dub. Ernout-M. 462. Walde-H. 1.661 f. Rum. *jertifă* (old word, before introduction of *sacrificiă*), fr. Slavice, SCR. *žrtva*, etc. (below, 6). Tiktin 870.

3. Ir. *idbart* (*edbart*), Nlr. *iodhbairt*, vbl. n. of *adapuir* (3sg.) 'makes a sacrifice', cpd. of *berim* 'bear, carry'. Here also W. *aberth* and Br. *abertz* (Vallée s.v. *sacrifice*; not in Ernaut; only *sakrifiz* in Le Gonidec, Ostervald NT, etc.). Pedersen 2.468, 472.

W. *offrum*, fr. OE *offrung*, ME *offryng* (below, 4), with final *m* as in *botum* 'button', fr. ME *boto(u)n* 'button'. Parry-Williams 42, 246.

4. Goth. *hunsl* = OE *hūsl* 'sacrifice' in Lindisf. Gosp. Mt. 12.7, but usually denoting the Christian 'house, eucharist', as also ON *hūsl*, prob. : Lith. *šventas*, ChSl. *svetŭ*, etc. 'holy' (22.19). Feist 277. NED s.v. *house*.

Goth. *sauþs* = ON *sauðr* 'sheep' (fr. the boiled mutton offered in pagan sacrifices, 3.25) : ON *sjóða*, OE *sēþan* 'boil' (5.22). Walde-P. 2.471. Feist 413. Falk-Torp 952.

ON, OE *blōt*, OHG *bluostar* : Goth. *blōtan* 'worship', ON *blōta* 'worship, sacrifice', OE *blōtan*, OHG *bluoan* 'sacrifice'. See 22.16.

ON *tafn* : Arm. *taun* 'feast, festival', Lat. *daps* 'sacrificial feast, feast', Grk. *δάρω* 'devour, rend', *δαράω* 'expense', etc. Walde-P. 1.764. Falk-Torp 1240.

ON *fern*, fr. *fera* 'bring' (10.62). Falk-Torp 269.

OE *tiber*, *tifer* (i?), OHG *zebar* (Goth. *tibr*, dub. correction of *aibr*), etym. dub., perh. fr. a parallel form of the root in ON *tafn* (above). Walde-P. 1.765. Falk-Torp 1240. Feist 477. Walde-H. 1.323 f.

OE *onsagedness*, fr. vb. *onsecgan* 'sacrifice', cpd. of *secgan* 'say', with development through 'dedicate'.

OE *offrung*, ME *offryng*, NE *offering*, Dan., Sw., Du. *offer*, MLG *opper*, OHG *opfar*, *offar*, MHG *opfer*, *offer*, NHG *opfer*, fr. vbs. OE *offrian*, OHG *opfarin*, *offaron*, these fr. Lat. *offerre* 'bring to, offer' in its ecd. sense of 'sacrifice'. But the *p*, *pf* forms require explanation and are perh. fr. (or by confusion with) Lat. *operari* in its religious sense 'perform sacred rites'. NED s.v. *offering*. Falk-Torp 787 f. Weigand-H. 2.34 f. Kluge-G. 426. Franck-v. W. 467.

ME *sacrifise*, NE *sacrifice*, fr. Fr. *sacrifice*.

5. Lith. *auka*, neolog. based on a misunderstanding of *alko(s) kalnas*, in which *alka(s)* is gen. sg. of *alkas* or *alka* 'sacred grove'. Buga, quoted by Fraenkel, Z. sl. Ph. 6.88 f.

Lith. *apiera* (so Kurschat, Trowitsch NT, etc.; now replaced by *auka*), fr. Pol. *ofiara* (below, 6). Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 68.

Let. *upuris*, fr. MLG *opper* (above, 4). Mühl-Endz. 4.301.

6. ChSl. *žrtva*, SCR. *žrtva*, Russ. *žertva* (Boh. *žertva*, but not the usual word), fr. the vb. seen in ChSl. *žrtiti* (*žrti*, *žrtja*) 'sacrifice', this through 'worship' : Lith. *girti*, Skt. *gr-* 'praise'

(17.79). Trautmann 88. Meillet, MSL 14.379 f.

Boh. *oběť* (Pol. *obiata*, *obieta* obs.) = ChSl. *oběti* 'vow, promise, covenant' : *oběštati* 'promise' (18.36). Brückner 370, 614.

Pol. *ofara*, displacing *obiata* but owing to it the *ia* instead of *ie* in *ofara*, this (through Boh. *ofěra* or directly) fr. MHG *offer* (above, 4). Brückner 375.

7. Skt. *yajña-*, Av. *yasna-*, both 'worship' in widest sense (concretely

with prayers, hymns, etc.), but also 'sacrifice' (so RV+; in Avesta Yt. 3.18, 5.89, etc.), fr. Skt. *yaj-*, Av. *yaz-* 'worship' (22.16).

Skt. *medha-* 'juice, sap', then also 'animal sacrifice, victim' (cf. *agva-medha-* 'horse sacrifice', etc.), etym.? Uhlenbeck 232.

Skt. *hotrā-*, Av. *zaōtrā-*, both mostly a 'liquid offering', fr. the root in Skt. *hu-* 'pour a libation, make an offering', Grk. *χεω* 'pour', etc. Barth. 1654 f.

## 22.16 WORSHIP (vb.)

|      |                   |       |                                |       |                                 |
|------|-------------------|-------|--------------------------------|-------|---------------------------------|
| Grk. | σεβωμαι, προσκυνω | Goth. | inweitan, blōtan               | Lith. | garbinti                        |
| NG   | προσκυνω          | ON    | blōta                          | Let.  | pielūgt                         |
| Lat. | venerārī, adorāre | Dan.  | tillbede                       | ChSl. | klanēti sę, pokloniti sę (isti) |
| It.  | adorare           | Sw.   | tillbedja                      | SCR.  | (po)šlovati                     |
| Fr.  | adorer            | OE    | gebiddan, geþahmēdan, weorþian | Boh.  | cliti, klaniti se               |
| Rum. | adorar            | ME    | worship                        | Pol.  | czci, wielbić                   |
| Sp.  | adorar            | NE    | worship                        | Russ. | poklonjaj'sja                   |
| Rum. | adorar            | Du.   | aanbidden, vereeren            | Skt.  | yaj-                            |
| Nlr. | adhrain           | OHG   | betōn                          | Av.   | yaz-, OPers. yad-               |
| W.   | adoli             | MHG   | anbeten                        |       |                                 |
| Br.  | azuli             | NHG   | anbeten, verehren              |       |                                 |

Verbs for 'worship' are most commonly connected with verbs for 'pray', or based on some gesture of homage ('kiss' or 'bow'), or are verbs for 'honor', which when used with 'god' or the like are intensified to 'worship'. Other scattered sources are 'shrink from, feel awe of', 'love', 'cultivate', 'heed', 'humble oneself'. On the history of Grk. *προσκυνω* and Lat. *adorare*, cf. B. M. Marti, Language 12.272 ff.

1. Grk. *σεβωμαι* 'feel awe of', sometimes 'fear', commonly 'revere, worship', as orig. 'shrink from' : Skt. *tyaj-* 'leave, abandon, shun'. Walde-P. 1.746. Boisacq 857.

Grk. *προσκυνω*, cpd. of *κυνω* 'kiss' (16.28) and orig. denoting a gesture of homage, NG *προσκυνω* 'worship' and 'salute' (*σεβωμαι* mostly 'revere, respect').

2. Lat. *venerārī*, deriv. of *venus* 'love, charm' (16.26). Walde-P. 1.259. Ernout-M. 1083.

Lat. *adorare* (stronger than *venerārī*; hence the Romance words, but Rum. *adora* neolog. fr. Fr.), orig. 'speak to', then 'pray to' and 'worship', cpd. of *drare* 'plead', esp. 'pray' (22.17). Ernout-M. 714.

Lat. *colere* 'inhabit, frequent, cultivate' (cf. *incolere* 7.11), frequently with forms of *deus*, etc. 'honor, worship'. Ernout-M. 205.

Rum. *slavi* 'glorify' (fr. Slavice, ChSl. *slaviti* beside *slava* 'glory', 16.37), formerly also 'worship'. Tiktin 1438 ff.

3. Ir. *adhrain*, Nlr. *adhrain*, W. *adoli*, Br. *azuli*, fr. Lat. *adorare* (above, 2). Pedersen 1.206, 207, 2.450. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 110. Loth, Mots lat. 130.

Many of the words for 'pray' are the same as, or cognate with, those for 'ask, request', discussed in 18.35. Some are cognate with verbs for 'seek' or 'long for'.

Some seem to rest on the notion of 'speak' in a formal manner. One considerable group comes (through 'propitiate') from 'soften'.

Words for 'call upon, invoke', mostly like those for 'call' (18.41), are often virtually 'pray to'.

1. Grk. *εὔχομαι* (sbs. *εὐχή*, *εὐχολή*) and cpds. *ἐπ-, κατ-, προσ-* (pros- reg. in NT and NG) : Av. *aof-* in *aozta*, *aogadā* (Gathas) 'spoke, said', Skt. *ohate* 'notices, listens for', and *\*wegh-* beside *\*eugh-*.

Skt. *vāghat-* 'one who makes offerings', Lat. *vovēre* 'vow', Umbr. *vufetes* 'votis'. Walde-P. 1.110. Ernout-M. 1135.

Grk. *ἀράομαι*, fr. *ἀρά* 'prayer' (*\*ἀρά* shown by Arc. *κάρρος* 'accursed'), prob. : Lat. *drare* 'pray, plead' (see below, 2).

2. Lat. *precārī* (late *precāre* > It. *pregare*, OFr. *preier*, Fr. *prier*, OSP. *pregar*), with sb. *prez*, *precis*, mostly pl. *precēs*, fr. the same root as Lat. *poscere*, ChSl. *prostiti* 'ask for', Goth. *frainnan*, Skt. *prach-*, *praç-* 'ask', etc., (18.31, 18.35). Walde-P. 2.49. Ernout-M. 795. REW 6733.

Lat. *drare* 'plead' (Osc. *urust* 'oraverit' likewise a legal term), but mostly 'pray' (> It. *orare*, OFr. *orer*, Sp., Port. *orar*, of which only the last is the usual word for 'pray'; Rum. *ura* 'bless'), prob. (not fr. *ds* 'mouth', in which case Osc. *urust* would be a loanword, not in itself difficult), with a common notion of 'speak formally' : Grk. *ἀράομαι* 'pray', *ἀρω* 'say, shout' (only Hesych.), Russ. *oral* 'cry out, bawl', Skt. *āryanti* 'they praise' (dub., cf. Oldenberg, Rigveda, Textkrit. und exeget. Noten p. 97), Arm. *uranam* 'deny'. Walde-P. 1.182. Ernout-M. 714.

Rum. *ruga* 'ask for', but mostly 'pray', with sb. *rugă* 'prayer', fr. Lat. *rogāre* 'ask' (18.31, 18.35).

3. Ir. *guidim* 'ask for', mostly 'pray', Nlr. *guidim*, W. *gueddio*, with sbs. Ir. *guide*, Nlr. *guidhe*, W. *gueddi* 'prayer' : Grk. *ποθω* 'long for, regret', *θεσσαθα*, Av., OPers. *yad-* 'pray for, beseech', Lith. *gedauti* 'long for', *gedėti* 'mourn', etc. Walde-P. 1.673. Pedersen 1.108, 2.550 f.

Br. *pedi* (or *pidi*), fr. Lat. *petere* 'seek'. Loth, Mots lat. 194.

4. Goth. *bidjan*, ON *biðja*, Dan. *bede*, Sw. *bedja*, OE *biddan*, ME *bidde*, Du. *bidden*, the same words as those for 'ask, request' (18.35). But differentiated OHG *betōn*, MHG, NHG *beten* 'pray', fr. sb. OHG *beta* = Goth. *bida* 'prayer'. Weigand-H. 1.221 f.

ME *preye*, NE *pray*, fr. OFr. *preier* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *melsti*, *meldžiū* (also 'ask, request', but reg. word for 'pray', formerly trans. and intr., now refl. *melstis* for latter), with sb. *malda* 'prayer', ChSl. *moliti se*, Boh. *modliti se*, Pol. *modlić się*, Russ. *molit'sja*, with sbs. ChSl. SCR., Russ. *molitva*, Boh. *modlitba*, Pol. *modta*, *modlitwa* 'prayer' (Slavic modl- fr. *\*mold-l-*, fr. *\*meld-*, *\*mld-* in Lat. *molliis* 'soft', ChSl. *mladu* 'tender', Grk. *μῆλδω*, *ἀμαλδύνα* 'soften', OE *meltan* 'melt', etc. Walde-P. 2.289 f. Bernerker 2.65 f.

Let. *lūgt*, etym. dub., perh. : ON *lokka*, OE *loccian*, etc. 'entice'. Mühl-Endz. 2.518. Endzelin, KZ 52.114 ff.

6. Skt. *yac-* and *prārthaya-*, see 18.35. Av., OPers. *yad-* 'beseech, pray for' : Ir. *guidim*, etc. (above, 3).

Av. *fri-* 'propitiate' and sometimes 'pray' (Y. 29.5) : Skt. *pri-* 'please', *priya-* 'dear'. Barth. 1016.

## 22.18 PRIEST

|      |                          |       |                 |       |  |
|------|--------------------------|-------|-----------------|-------|--|
| Grk. | ιερεψ                    | Goth. | gudja           | Lith. | kunigas                                |
| NG   | παρῆς                    | ON    | goði, prest     | Let.  | priesteris                             |
| Lat. | sacerdōs                 | Dan.  | præst           | ChSl. | ierejŭ, čistil'ŭ, žrtci, svećenik, pop |
| It.  | prete, sacerdote         | Sw.   | präst           | SCR.  | svećenik, pop                          |
| Fr.  | prêtre                   | OE    | sacerd, prēost  | Boh.  | kněz, pop                              |
| Sp.  | sacerdote (preste)       | ME    | preste          | Pol.  | ksiądz                                 |
| Rum. | preot, popd              | NE    | priest          | Russ. | svjaščennik, pop                       |
| Ir.  | drui, sacart, cruim-ther | Du.   | priester        | Skt.  | rtvij-, holar-                         |
| Nlr. | sagart                   | OHG   | ewart, priestar | Av.   | dārauan-, zaolar-                      |
| W.   | offeiriad                | MHG   | priester,ewart  |       |  |
| Br.  | beleg                    | NHG   | priester        |       |  |

Of the words for 'priest', some are those used for the pagan priest, a few of which were retained in the Christian Church. More are terms arising in the Christian Church, which are used also when referring to a pagan priest.

Some are derived from words for 'holy', 'god', 'sacrifice', or 'invoke'. The most widespread Eur. group goes back to a Greek word for 'elder', some others, likewise orig. terms of respect, to a child's word for 'father', or to a word denoting 'one of noble birth' which developed to 'king' or 'prince' and also, through 'master, lord', to 'priest'.

1. Grk. *ιερεψ*, fr. *ιέρως* 'holy' (22.19). Also *ιεροθύρns*, cpd. with deriv. of *θύω* 'sacrifice'.

NG *παρῆς*, fr. Byz. *παρῆς* title of a bishop (as ecd. Lat. *pāpa*), fr. Grk. *πάρ-πας* (Hom.), later *πάπας* child's word for 'father'.

2. Lat. *sacerdōs*, *-ōtis* (> It., Sp. *sacerdote*), fr. *\*sakro-dō-t-*, cpd. of *sacer* 'holy' (22.19) and a form of the root *\*dhē-* in Lat. *facere* 'do, make', etc. Ernout-M. 883. Walde-H. 1.442.

OFr. *prestre*, Fr. *prêtre* (Sp. *prestre* now only in a specialized application), fr. ecd. Lat. *presbyter*, ecd. Grk. *πρεσβύτερος* 'elder' of the church, orig. comp. of *πρεσβύς* 'old man'; It. *prete*, Rum. *preot*, fr. a late Lat. by-form *praebyster* (as if : *praebere* 'grant'). REW 6740.

Rum. *popd*, fr. Grk. through Slavice (cf. below, 6).

3. Ir. *drui* (gen. *druid*) 'druid', name of the old pagan priest, cpd. of *\*dru-* seen in words for 'tree, firm, true', etc. and *\*uid-* 'know'. Walde-P. 2.805. Pedersen 1.61, 175. Thurneysen, Z. celt. Ph. 16.276 f.

Ir. *sacart*, Nlr. *sagart*, fr. Lat. *sacerdōs*. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 172.

Ir. *cruimther*, OW *premier*, fr. late Lat. *praebyster* (above, 2). Pedersen 1.198, 235, 287. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 132.

W. *offeiriad*, fr. MW *offeren* 'mass', fr. MLat. *offerenda* 'offerings, oblation'. Loth, Mots lat. 191.

Br. *beleg*, MBr. *baelec*, fr. *\*baelācos* 'one carrying the pastoral staff', fr. Lat. *baculum, baculus* (> W. *bagl*) 'staff'. Henry 30. Loth, Mots lat. 136. Ernaut, Dict. étym. s.v. *baelec*.

4. Goth. *gudja*, ON *goði* (the old pagan priest vs. the Christian *prestir*), fr. Goth. *gub*, ON *goð* 'god', but perh. through an underlying root notion of 'invoke' (cf. 22.12) and so orig. 'invoker'. Feist 224.

OE *sacerd*, fr. Lat. *sacerdōs* (above, 2). OE *prōst* (> ON *prestir*), ME *prestre*, NE *priest*, Dan. *præst*, Sw. *präst*, OHG *priestar* (rare), MHG, NHG, MLG, Du. *priester*, all (partly through OFr. *prestre*) fr. Lat. *presbyter* (above, 2). Falk-Torp 848. NED s.v. *priest*.

OHG, MHG *ewart*, lit. 'guardian of the law', cpd. of *ewa* 'law' (21.12) and *wart* 'guardian'. Weigand-H. 2.472.

5. Lith. *kunigas* (used for either Catholic priest or Lutheran pastor) = Lett. *kungs* 'master, lord', ChSl. *kūnezŭ* 'prince', etc. (19.35), fr. a Gmc. *\*kunin-gas* = OHG *kuning*, etc. ('king', orig. 'one of noble birth' (19.32). Specialization of 'noble, master, lord' to 'priest', as in Boh. *kněz*, Pol. *ksiądz* (below, 6). Cf. also NE *Domine*, *Dominie* (fr. Lat. voc. *domine* 'lord') applied to the clergy, and NE *parson*, orig. 'person' of note. Berneker 663. Stender-Petersen 199 ff.

Let. *priesteris*, fr. MLG *priester* (above, 4).

6. ChSl. *ierejŭ* (so reg. in Gospels), fr. Grk. *ιερεψ*. For the following native words, cf. Jagić, Entstehungsgesch. 309.

ChSl. *čistil'ŭ* (Supr.), fr. *čisti* 'honor, revere, worship' (22.16).

ChSl. *žrtici* (Supr. freq.), fr. *žrtiti* 'sacrifice' (22.15).

ChSl. *svećenikŭ* (late), SCR. *svećenik*, Russ. *svjaščennik*, fr. ChSl. *svetŭ*, etc. 'holy' (22.19).

ChSl. *popŭ* (reg. in Euchol.), *pop* in all modern Slavic languages popular term, sometimes disrespectful, fr. Grk. *πάπας* (cf. Byz. *παρῆς*, above, 1). Miklosich 258. Brückner 430. Stender-Petersen 428 f.

Boh. *kněz*, Pol. *ksiądz*, earlier 'prince' (19.35). Brückner 277.

7. Skt. *rtvij-* (most generic word), cpd. of *rtu-* 'right time' and weak form of *yaj-* 'worship' (22.16).

Skt. *hotar-*, Av. *zaolar-*, fr. the root seen in Skt. *hu-* 'pour an oblation, make an offering', Grk. *χεω* 'pour', etc., and that in Skt. *havate*, Av. *zavaiti*, ChSl. *perzoveti* 'calls upon, invokes', both notions blended in the priest who worships with hymns and sacrifice. Barth. 1653.

Oldenberg, Religion des Veda 386. Macdonell-Keith 1.112 ff.

Av. *dārauan-*, *dāraun-* (main word) = Skt. *atharvan-* 'fire- and soma-priest', fr. the word attested in Av. *ātar-* (nom. *ātarš*, gen. *ātarō*) 'fire', despite the difficulty of the Skt. *th* (Av. *θ* easily fr. forms like *ātarō*). Walde-P. 1.42. Barth. 66. Uhlenbeck 6.

22.182. 'Clergyman, minister, parson', etc. The Eur. words listed in 22.18 are used for the 'priest' in the Roman Catholic and Greek Orthodox Churches. NE *priest* is also used in the Anglican Church (cf. NED s.v. 2b), Dan. *præst*, Sw. *präst* are generic 'clergyman', and Lith. *kunigas* is the usual term for the Lutheran 'parson' as well as the Catholic 'priest'.

But for the most part other terms are preferred in the Protestant Church, of which the following may be noted.

NE *clergyman*, deriv. of *clergy*, fr. OFr. *clergie* in use = *clergie* (Fr. *clergie*), fr. ecd. Lat. *clēricatus*, fr. *clēricus* 'cleric', fr. Grk. *κληρικός*, fr. *κληρος* 'lot, inheritance', in ecd. Grk. 'clerical office' and coll. 'clergy'. NED s.v. *clergy* and *cleric*.

NHG *geistlicher*, Du. *geestelijke*, Dan. *geistlig*, fr. NHG *geist*, etc. 'spirit' (16.11).

NE *minister*, orig. 'servant' (fr. Lat. *minister* id.), hence in specialized use *minister* of the church, etc. (now prob. the most usual term except in the Anglican Church, where also formerly common). NED s.v.

NE *parson* (now mostly in rural communities or even there old-fashioned, where *parsonage* may be still in common use), same word as



*heilagr*, OE *hālig*, OHG *heilag*, etc., general Gmc., fr. Goth. *hails*, ON *heil*, OE *hāl*, OHG *heil* 'in good health, sound, uninjured' (4.83), with semantic development through 'involute' or possibly 'bringing well-being'. Falk-Torp 396. Feist 232. NED s.v. *holy*.

ME *sacrid*, NE *sacred*, orig. pp. of *sacere* 'consecrate', fr. OFr. *sacrer* id., Lat. *sacrāre*, with history parallel to that of Fr. *sacré* (above, 2). NED s.v.

5. Lith. *šventas*, OPruss. *swints*, Lett. *svēts* (Lett. and perh. OPruss. forms fr. Slavic), ChSl. *svěť*, etc. general Slavic, Av. *spanā-*, all fr. \**kʷento-*, deriv. of a *kʷen-* attested in Lett. *svēlēt* 'celebrate', Av. *spanyah-*, *spāništa-* 'holier, holiest',

*spānah-* 'holiness', prob. Goth. *huns* 'sac-rifice' (22.15), but further root connections dub. Walde-P. 1.471. Barth. 1619 ff.

6. There is no quite distinctive Skt. word for 'holy', but the following sometimes have this sense.

Skt. *puṇya-* (etym.?) 'fortunate, pleasant, good', also 'pure' and 'holy', esp. in cpds. as *puṇya-bhū-* 'holy land', *puṇya-sthāna-* 'holy place'.

Skt. *tīrthaka-*, fr. *tīrtha-* 'passage, ford' (: *tr-* 'pass over, cross') and 'place of pilgrimage'.

Much more common is the sb. *muni-* 'holy man, saint, seer, ascetic' (but in RV 'impulse'), etym.?

## 22.21 CHURCH

(Both as the Body, Community, and as the Building except as noted, a for former, b for latter)

|      |   |       |                             |       |                                      |
|------|---|-------|-----------------------------|-------|--------------------------------------|
| Grk. | (late) <i>ἐκκλησία</i> ; <i>κυριακόν</i> (b)  | Goth. | <i>aikklēsjō</i> (a)        | Lith. | <i>bažnyčia</i>                      |
| NG   | <i>ἐκκλησία</i>                               | ON    | <i>kirka</i>                | Lett. | <i>baznīca</i>                       |
| Lat. | (late) <i>ecclesia</i> ; <i>basili-ca</i> (b) | Dan.  | <i>kirke</i>                | ChSl. | <i>crkŭ</i>                          |
| It.  | <i>chiesa</i>                                 | Sw.   | <i>kyrka</i>                | SCR.  | <i>crkva</i>                         |
| Fr.  | <i>église</i>                                 | OE    | <i>cirice, circe</i>        | Boh.  | <i>čirkve</i> (a); <i>kostel</i> (b) |
| Sp.  | <i>iglesia</i>                                | ME    | <i>cherch(e), church(e)</i> | Pol.  | <i>kościół</i>                       |
| Rum. | <i>biserică</i>                               | NE    | <i>church</i>               | Russ. | <i>cerkov'</i>                       |
| Ir.  | <i>eclais</i>                                 | Du.   | <i>kerk</i>                 |       |                                      |
| Nlr. | <i>eaglais</i>                                | OHG   | <i>chirihha, kirihha</i>    |       |                                      |
| W.   | <i>eglwys</i>                                 | MHG   | <i>kirche</i>               |       |                                      |
| Br.  | <i>iliz</i>                                   | NHG   | <i>kirche</i>               |       |                                      |

With a few exceptions the same words cover 'church' both as the body, community, and as the building. But in all such cases one of these applications was the earlier, with subsequent extension to the other.

There are two main groups. In one, the Grk. *ἐκκλησία*, the old term for a political assembly, came to be used for the Christian 'church' as a body, later as a building, and was adopted in Latin and through Latin in the Romance and Celtic languages of western Europe.

In the other group, Grk. *κυριακόν* 'Lord's house', in general less common than *ἐκκλησία* but a familiar name of the church (as building) in various regions, was adopted, prob. through an unattested Gothic form, in the Gmc. and Slavic languages, and then used also for the church as a body, like and very likely influenced by Lat. *ecclesia* in both senses. This adoption of the less usual Grk. term has been much discussed and often brought into connection with the spread of Arianism. But this is disputed and

unnecessary. We need only conclude that the churches which first impressed the Goths (or other Gmc. peoples in the East) bore this name, as did, we know, many in Constantinople and Asia Minor. Kretschmer KZ 39.541 ff. (but against derivation through a pop. *κυριακόν*, cf. Streitberg, Gesch. d. idg. Sprachwissenschaft 2.2.95). NED s.v. *church*. Stender-Petersen 424 ff. A. Popen, Do-num nat. Schrijnen 516 ff.

The few other words denoted orig. the church as a building.

The old words for 'temple' (22.13) were not generally retained to designate the Christian 'church', but (unlike those for 'god') were rejected as pointing to pagan worship. None of them furnished the usual word for 'church', but some have come into use in this sense also (not included in the list). Thus NG *vās* may be used as a generic term for 'place of worship' of any religion, and occurs in legal terminology (*νόμος περί ἐνοριακῶν ναῶν*) and many names of churches (*ναὸς τοῦ ἁγίου Νικολάου*, etc.); Nlr. *teampall* is frequently 'church', formerly only Protestant; It. *tempio*, Sp. *templo*, Fr. *temple* sometimes 'church', esp. Protestant; NE *temple* sometimes 'church' (NED s.v. 2); so ChSl. *chramŭ*, SCR. *hram*, Boh. *chrám*, Russ. *chram*.

1. Grk. *ἐκκλησία* 'assembly' (: *ἐκ-καλέω* 'call, summon', *ἐκκλητός* 'se-lected'), the common political term, then in LXX the Jewish 'congregation', in NT also and usually the community of Christians, the 'church' as a body; later (ca. 300 A.D.) the 'church' as a building (e.g. Eus. *οἶκος τῆς ἐκκλησίας* and simply *ἐκκλησία*). Hence Goth. *aikklēsjō* (in NT as body, in Calendar as building), Lat. *ecclesia* (both senses), and therefrom the Romance (except Rum.) and Celtic words (for Br. *iliz*, cf. Loth, Mots lat. 163).

2. Grk. *κυριακόν* (sc. *δῶμα*) quotable as 'Lord's house, church' 300 A.D.+, neut. of *κυριακός*, fr. *κύριος* 'master, Lord' (19.41). Hence, prob. through an unattested Goth. form, OE *cir(i)ce* (> ON *kirka*), OHG *chirihha, kirihha*, etc., and the Slavic words, ChSl. *crkŭ*, SCR. *crkva*, Boh. *čirkve* (as body), Pol. *cerkiew* (now only 'Greek church', Russ. *cerkov'*). Cf. references above.

The parallel late Lat. *dominicum*, though quotable as 'church', was short lived, in contrast to the persistent *dominica* or *dominicus* 'Lord's day, Sunday', like Grk. *κυριακή* (14.52).

3. Lat. *basilica*, fr. Grk. *βασιλική*, fem. of *βασιλικός* 'royal', but used (first with *σπᾶς*, then alone) for a certain type of building, and later applied to the early Christian churches of this form. Hence Rum. *biserică*, also Alb., Vegliot and Rhaeto-Roman words for 'church' (Fr. *basoche* in a quite different sense), and according to the evidence of Christian inscriptions *basilica* was once current over a much wider area. REW 972. Wartburg 1.270. Bartoli, Le tre basiliche di Ragusa e la coppia *basilica ed ecclesia* (Dubrovnik, Vol. II).

4. Lith. *bažnyčia*, Lett. *baznīca*, fr. Pol., Russ. *božnica* (Russ. 'chapel, small church', Pol. now 'synagogue') deriv., through adj. like ChSl. *božni*, of the word for 'god'. Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 71, 167. Mühl-Endz. 1.369.

5. Boh. *kostel* 'church' as building (> Pol. *kościół* 'church' in both senses; also Russ. *kostel* for Catholic church), fr. Lat. *castellum* 'fortress' and at first applied to a type of medieval fortified church, the existence of which is well attested. Cf. e.g. Sebastian, German Fortified Churches in Transylvania, Antiquity 6(1932).301 ff. Berneker 582. Brückner 260.

6. ChSl. *propovědati* (with the SCR. and Russ. forms), cpd. of *повѣдати* 'announce, relate' (cf. *повѣditi* also 'say', 18.22), orig. 'make known', cpd. of *věděti* 'know' (17.17).

Boh. *kázati*, Pol. *kazać* = ChSl. *kazati* 'show, admonish', SCR. *kazati*, Russ. *skazat'* 'say' (18.22), with specialization to 'preach'. Berneker 497.

Let. *spredik'vot*, fr. *spredikis, predikis* 'sermon', fr. MLG *predikie* 'sermon'. Mühl-Endz. 3.1016, 385.

## 22.23 BLESS

|      |                               |       |                          |       |  |
|------|-------------------------------|-------|--------------------------|-------|--|
| Grk. | <i>εὐλογέω</i>                | Goth. | <i>biuþjan</i>           | Lith. | ( <i>pa</i> ) <i>laiminti</i> ( <i>žegnoti</i> ) |
| NG   | <i>εὐλογῶ</i> , <i>βλογῶ</i>  | ON    | <i>bleza</i>             | Lett. | <i>svētīt</i>                                    |
| Lat. | <i>benedicere</i>             | Dan.  | <i>velsigne</i>          | ChSl. | <i>blasogovoriti</i>                             |
| It.  | <i>benedire</i>               | Sw.   | <i>vålsigna</i>          | SCR.  | <i>blasogoriti</i>                               |
| Fr.  | <i>bénir</i>                  | OE    | <i>blētsian, segnīan</i> | Boh.  | <i>blahoslaviti, žehnati</i>                     |
| Sp.  | <i>bendecir</i>               | ME    | <i>blesse</i>            | Pol.  | <i>blasogawiti, żegnać</i>                       |
| Rum. | <i>binecuvinta, blago-slo</i> | NE    | <i>blesse</i>            | Russ. | <i>blasogoviti</i>                               |
| Ir.  | <i>bendachaim</i>             | Du.   | <i>zegenen</i>           | Skt.  | <i>svasti dhā-</i> , etc.                        |
| Nlr. | <i>beannuighim</i>            | OHG   | <i>seganōn</i>           | Av.   | ( <i>d</i> ) <i>fri-</i>                         |
| W.   | <i>bendithio</i>              | MHG   | <i>segan(en), sēnen</i>  |       |  |
| Br.  | <i>binniga</i>                | NHG   | <i>segnen</i>            |       |  |

Most of the words for 'bless' are from either 'speak well of' or 'make the sign of the cross'. But the English *bless* comes through 'consecrate' from the word for 'blood'.

1. Grk. *εὐλογέω* 'speak well of, praise', in LXX, NT+ 'bless', fr. *εὐ-* 'well' and *λόγος* 'speech, word'.

2. Lat. eccl. *benedicere* (in class. Lat. *bene dicere* 'speak well, speak well of, praise'), fr. *bene* 'well' and *dicere* 'say'. Hence It. *benedire*, Fr. *bénir*, Sp. *bendecir*; Rum. *binecuvinta* similar cpd. with *cuvinta* 'speak' (18.21), now more common than old *blasogoriti* fr. Slavic (below, 6). REW 1029. Tiktin 190, 197.

3. Ir. *bendachaim*, Nlr. *beannuighim*, fr. Lat. *benedicere* (but independent borrowings); hence also Br. *binniga*, W. (arch.) *bendigo*; but W. *bendithio* (usual word now), fr. *bendith* 'blessing, benediction', fr. Lat. *benedictiō*. Vendryes, De hib. voc. 116. Loth, Mots lat. 137 f.

Let. *svētīt* (also 'celebrate'), fr. Russ.

4. Goth. *biuþjan*, fr. *biuþ* 'the good' (16.71). Feist 498.

OE *blōdsian, blētsian* (> ON *bleza*, Nicel. *blesa*), in earliest use also 'consecrate', deriv. of OE *blōd* 'blood'. Hence ME *blesse*, NE *blesse*. NED s.v. *bless*, vb.1.

OE *segnian, sēnian*, OHG *seganōn*, MHG *seg(en)*, *sēnen*, NHG *segnen*. Du. *zegenen* (Dan. *signe*, Sw. *signa*, but now as 'bless' mostly), Dan. *velsigne*, Sw. *vålsigna* with *vel, väl* 'well', all orig. 'make the sign of the cross' (OE *segnian* mostly in this sense), fr. Lat. *signāre*, deriv. of *signum* 'sign', eccl. esp. 'sign of the cross'. Falk-Torp 963 f. Weigand-H. 2.834.

5. Lith. (*pa*)*laiminti*, fr. *laimė, palaima* 'good fortune' (16.17).

Lith. *žegnoti* (the old word), fr. Pol. *żegnać* (below, 6). Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 157.

Let. *svētīt* (also 'celebrate'), fr. Russ.

*svajati* 'hallow, consecrate' (cf. *svajatoj* 'holy' 22.19). Mühl-Endz. 3.1155.

6. ChSl. *blasogovoriti*, etc., general Slavic, cpd. of *blagŭ* 'good' (16.71) with deriv. of *slovo* 'word' (18.26, reg. for *lōgos*), and so an exact translation of Grk. *εὐλογέω*. Berneker 69.

Boh. *žehnati*, Pol. *żegnać*, fr. NHG *segnen* (above, 4). Brückner 664.

7. Skt. *svasti-* 'well-being (*su-asti-*), good fortune', is used in phrases (with *dhā-* 'place', *kr-* 'make', etc.) which are virtually equivalent to 'bless', e.g. *svasti*

## 22.24 CURSE (vb.)

|      |                              |       |                                   |       |                                |
|------|------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|
| Grk. | <i>καταράσμαι</i>            | Goth. | <i>fraiþjan, unþiupþjan</i>       | Lith. | ( <i>pra</i> ) <i>keikti</i>   |
| NG   | <i>καταράσμαι</i>            | ON    | <i>þjōva, þenna</i>               | Lett. | <i>nuolādēt</i>                |
| Lat. | <i>exsecrari, maledicere</i> | Dan.  | <i>forbade</i>                    | ChSl. | ( <i>pro</i> ) <i>kletī</i>    |
| It.  | <i>maledire</i>              | Sw.   | <i>förbanna</i>                   | SCR.  | <i>prokleti</i>                |
| Fr.  | <i>maudire</i>               | OE    | <i>wiergan</i> ( <i>cursian</i> ) | Boh.  | <i>prokleti</i>                |
| Sp.  | <i>maldecir</i>              | ME    | <i>curse</i>                      | Pol.  | <i>przekląć</i>                |
| Rum. | <i>blestema</i>              | NE    | <i>curse</i>                      | Russ. | ( <i>pro</i> ) <i>kijasi'</i>  |
| Ir.  | <i>maldachaim</i>            | Du.   | <i>vervloeken</i>                 | Skt.  | <i>ṣap-</i>                    |
| Nlr. | <i>malluighim</i>            | OHG   | <i>fluochōn</i>                   | Av.   | <i>zav-</i> , sb. <i>āfri-</i> |
| W.   | <i>mellithio</i>             | MHG   | <i>fluochen</i>                   |       |                                |
| Br.  | <i>milliga</i>               | NHG   | <i>verfluchen, verwünschen</i>    |       |                                |

One group of words for 'curse' is the exact pendant, in form as well as sense, of those for 'bless', namely the eccl. Lat. *maledicere* with its descendants, orig. 'speak ill of' vs. *benedicere*, orig. 'speak well of'. The Grk. word means literally 'pray against', and the class. Lat. word is an opposite of 'consecrate'. But some nouns for 'prayer' or 'blessing' may themselves be used also for a 'curse' (cf. Grk. *ἀρά, εἰσβολή*, Av. *āfri-*, below).

Other verbs are based on 'say away, reject', or 'forbid', or are derivs. of words for 'misfortune, evil' with the notion of 'invoke' implicit in the verb. A few are connected with words for 'howl, bark' or 'sound, noise', with development through some such notion as 'howl at, shout at' > 'revile'.

1. Grk. *καταράσμαι*, fr. deriv. of *ἀρά* 'prayer' (22.17) with *κατά* 'against'. But *ἀρά* itself is frequently used also for a 'curse'. Similarly *εἰσβολή* 'prayer, vow' is used as 'imprecation, curse' in an Arcadian inscription (Schwyzer, Dial. Gr. Exempla 661.24).

2. Lat. *exsecrāri, -āre* (> It. *esecrare*, Fr. *exécrer*, etc. 'abhor, detest', but not the words for 'curse'), cpd. of *sacerdē* 'consecrate' (fr. *sacer* 'holy', 22.19) with *ex-* in its negating force. Ernout-M. 883.

Lat. eccl. *maledicere* (in class. Lat. *male dicere* 'speak ill of, abuse'), fr. *male* 'ill' and *dicere* 'say'. Hence It. *maledire*, Fr. *maudire*, Sp. *maldecir*. REW 5258.

Rum. *blestema*, fr. VLat. \**blastēmāre* (> OFr. *blasmer* 'reproach, blame', etc.)

## 22.25 BAPTIZE

|      |                   |       |  |       |                  |
|------|-------------------|-------|--|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | <i>βαπτίζω</i>    | Goth. | <i>daupjan</i>                           | Lith. | <i>krikštyti</i> |
| NG   | <i>βαπτίζω</i>    | ON    | <i>skirva, kristna</i>                   | Lett. | <i>kristīt</i>   |
| Lat. | <i>baptizāre</i>  | Dan.  | <i>døbe</i>                              | ChSl. | <i>kristiti</i>  |
| It.  | <i>battizzare</i> | Sw.   | <i>döpa</i>                              | SCR.  | <i>kristiti</i>  |
| Fr.  | <i>baptiser</i>   | OE    | <i>fullian</i> ( <i>dēpan, dyppan</i> )  | Boh.  | <i>křtiti</i>    |
| Sp.  | <i>bautizar</i>   | ME    | <i>baptise, cristen</i> ( <i>fulle</i> ) | Pol.  | <i>chrześć</i>   |
| Rum. | <i>boteza</i>     | NE    | <i>baptize</i> ( <i>christen</i> )       | Russ. | <i>krestit'</i>  |
| Ir.  | <i>baitsim</i>    | Du.   | <i>doopen</i>                            |       |                  |
| Nlr. | <i>baitsim</i>    | OHG   | <i>toufen</i>                            |       |                  |
| W.   | <i>bedyddio</i>   | MHG   | <i>toufen</i>                            |       |                  |
| Br.  | <i>badezi</i>     | NHG   | <i>toufen</i>                            |       |                  |

Most of the words for 'baptize' are such as meant originally 'dip'. But the Greek word in its specialized eccl. sense was adopted in eccl. Latin and hence in the Romance and Celtic languages, as well as later English, while in most of the Gmc. languages native words for 'dip' were used for 'baptize'.

Other semantic sources are 'cleanse, purify', 'consecrate', and 'christianize', of which baptism was the outward symbol.

1. Grk. *βαπτίζω*, orig. 'dip', like *βάπτω* (see under 'dye', 6.40). Hence eccl. Lat. *baptizāre* (often *baptidiāre*) the Romance words (OFr. *ba(p)toier* beside *ba(p)tisier*, Fr. *baptiser*; REW 939, Wartburg 1.241 f.), the Celtic (but Ir. *baitsim*, Nlr. *baitsim* through the sb. *baithis*, fr. Lat. *baptisma*; Pedersen 1.237, Vendryes, Dehib. voc. 115), and (through OFr. *baptisier*) ME *baptise*, NE *baptize*.

2. Lat. *tingere* 'moisten, dye' was used by some eccl. writers for 'baptize', as translation of Grk. *βαπτίζω*.

3. Goth. *daupjan* (ON *deyfa, deypa* only 'dip'), Dan. *døbe*, Sw. *döpa*, OE *diepan* ('dip'), but Anglian *dēpan* also 'baptize', so also *dyppan* from weak grade), OHG *MHG toufen, NHG taufen*, Du. *doopen*, all orig. 'dip', caus. deriv. of Goth. *diups*, etc. 'deep' (12.67). Except in ON and OE, the orig. sense has been displaced by the secondary. Walde-P.

... *dadhātu nah* (RV), *svasti* ... *nah kṛnotu* (AV) 'may ... bless us'.

Skt. *maṅgala-* 'good fortune, happiness' and the wish for such, 'benediction, blessing': *mañju-* 'beautiful, charming', Grk. *μάγανον* 'means of charming'. Walde-P. 2.233.

Av. *fri-, āfri-* 'propitiate', sometimes virtually 'bless' (Yt. 13.50, V. 22.5, both rendered 'bénir' by Darmesteter): Skt. *pri-* 'please', *priya-* 'dear'. So sb. *āfri-* (in cpds.) and *āfriti-* 'blessing' or 'curse', cf. Skt. *āpri-* name of a special kind of invocation. Barth. 330, 1016 f.

1. Grk. *καταράσμαι*, fr. deriv. of *ἀρά* 'prayer' (22.17) with *κατά* 'against'. But *ἀρά* itself is frequently used also for a 'curse'. Similarly *εἰσβολή* 'prayer, vow' is used as 'imprecation, curse' in an Arcadian inscription (Schwyzer, Dial. Gr. Exempla 661.24).

2. Lat. *exsecrāri, -āre* (> It. *esecrare*, Fr. *exécrer*, etc. 'abhor, detest', but not the words for 'curse'), cpd. of *sacerdē* 'consecrate' (fr. *sacer* 'holy', 22.19) with *ex-* in its negating force. Ernout-M. 883.

Lat. eccl. *maledicere* (in class. Lat. *male dicere* 'speak ill of, abuse'), fr. *male* 'ill' and *dicere* 'say'. Hence It. *maledire*, Fr. *maudire*, Sp. *maldecir*. REW 5258.

Rum. *blestema*, fr. VLat. \**blastēmāre* (> OFr. *blasmer* 'reproach, blame', etc.)

## 22.26 FAST (vb.)

|              |                                |       |               |       |                           |
|--------------|--------------------------------|-------|---------------|-------|---------------------------|
| Grk.         | <i>νηστεύω</i>                 | Goth. | <i>fastan</i> | Lith. | <i>gavėti, pasnikauti</i> |
| NG           | <i>νηστεύω</i>                 | ON    | <i>fasta</i>  | Lett. | <i>gavēt</i>              |
| Lat. (eccl.) | <i>iēiunāre</i>                | Dan.  | <i>faste</i>  | ChSl. | <i>postiti</i>            |
| It.          | <i>digiunare</i>               | Sw.   | <i>fasta</i>  | SCR.  | <i>postiti</i>            |
| Fr.          | <i>jeûner</i>                  | ME    | <i>faste</i>  | Boh.  | <i>postiti se</i>         |
| Sp.          | <i>ayunarse</i>                | NE    | <i>fast</i>   | Pol.  | <i>pościć</i>             |
| Rum.         | <i>postii</i> ( <i>ajuna</i> ) | Du.   | <i>vasten</i> | Russ. | <i>postit' sja</i>        |
| Ir.          | <i>troscim</i>                 | OHG   | <i>fastēn</i> | Skt.  | <i>upavas-</i>            |
| Nlr.         | <i>troscim</i>                 | MHG   | <i>vasten</i> |       |                           |
| W.           | <i>ymprydio</i>                | NHG   | <i>fasten</i> |       |                           |
| Br.          | <i>ymprydio</i>                |       |               |       |                           |

Among the verbs for 'fast' in the religious application here intended, only the Grk. word is clearly derived from a noun with the literal sense of 'not eating'. The Lat. word is from an adj. which, though of doubtful etymology, means 'fasting, hungry' without religious connotation, and the W. word is connected with one for a 'meal'. In the others there is no original relation to 'eat' or 'food'.

The largest group, to which NE *fast* belongs, comes from the notion 'hold fast, keep, observe', and the use for 'go without food' without reference to the religious observance, though quotable in English from the earliest times (cf. NED s.v. *fast*, vb.2) and common to the modern Gmc. and Slavic languages, is secondary.

1. Grk. *νηστεύω*, fr. *νήστος* 'not eating, fasting', cpd. of neg. prefix *νη-* or *\*νε-* and *\*στis*, fr. the root of *τίσω* 'eat' (5.11). Schwyzer, Gr. Gram. 431.

2. Lat. (eccl.) *iēiunāre* (> Fr. *jeûner*, Sp. *ayunarse*, ORom. [and dial.] *ajuna*; with *dis-* > It. *d*



*stabyti* 'stop', Skt. *stabh-* 'support, prop', etc. Walde-P. 2.625.

Lith. *balvonas* (reg. word for 'idol' in Trowitsch and Kurschat NT versions), fr. Pol. *batwan* 'idol' (below, 5).

Lett. *elks* with sense of 'idol' abstracted fr. phrase *elka dievs* (so reg. for 'idol' in Lett. NT), lit. 'god of the grove' (*elka* gen. sg. : Lith. *elkas, alkas* 'sacred grove'). Mühl.-Endz. 1.567.

5. ChSl. *kumirā* (> SCR., Russ. *ku-mir*), etym.? Berneker 644.

SCR., Russ. *idol*, fr. Lat. *īdolum* (above, 1).

Boh. *modla* = Pol. *modla* 'prayer' (OPol. also 'idol') : ChSl. *moliti se*, etc. 'pray' (22.17). 'Idol' through 'pagan'

## 22.41 SUPERSTITION

|      |                                    |       |                           |       |                    |
|------|------------------------------------|-------|---------------------------|-------|--------------------|
| Grk. | <i>δεισιδαιμονία</i>               | Goth. | .....                     | Lith. | <i>niektikystė</i> |
| NG   | <i>δεισιδαιμονία</i>               | ON    | <i>hindrvin</i>           | Lett. | <i>mān'ticība</i>  |
| Lat. | <i>superstitio</i>                 | Dan.  | <i>oertro</i>             | ChSl. | .....              |
| It.  | <i>superstitio</i>                 | Sw.   | <i>vidskelpse, vantro</i> | SCR.  | <i>praznojerje</i> |
| Fr.  | <i>superstitio</i>                 | OE    | <i>oertro</i>             | Boh.  | <i>pověra</i>      |
| Sp.  | <i>superstitio</i>                 | ME    | <i>afgalp</i>             | Pol.  | <i>zabobon</i>     |
| Rum. | <i>superstitiune, super-stiție</i> | NE    | <i>superstition</i>       | Russ. | <i>sujeverie</i>   |
| Ir.  | .....                              | Du.   | <i>bigeloo</i>            |       |                    |
| Nl.  | <i>baaischreideamh</i>             | OHG   | <i>ubermezziki</i>        |       |                    |
| W.   | <i>coelgrefydd, ofergoel</i>       | MHG   | <i>aberglaube</i>         |       |                    |
| Br.  | <i>treuskredenn, briz-kredenn</i>  | NHG   | <i>aberglaube</i>         |       |                    |

Much of what we regard as superstition was once, and still is among many peoples, an integral part of religious cult; and at best the line between 'religion' and 'superstition' is a variable one according to time and place. But a distinction was made even in pagan times. Theophrastus (Charact. 28) expounds it, and Cicero (Nat. deorum 2.28.71) remarks that not only the philosophers but also *nostrī maiores superstitionem a religione separaverunt*.

The Grk. word means 'fear of supernatural power' in good or bad sense, the

latter becoming dominant. The semantic history of Lat. *superstitiō* is disputed (but see below). Most of the other terms are cpds. of words for 'belief' with words for 'perverse, vain, bad' or prefixes having pejorative force. A few are based on 'what is beyond (the normal), abnormal'. Development through 'survival (of older beliefs)' has been assumed in certain cases, but in all these it is doubtful.

1. Grk. *δεισιδαιμονία* lit. 'fear of supernatural power', used in good or bad sense (for latter cf. Theophr. Charact.

## 22.42 MAGIC, WITCHCRAFT, SORCERY

|      |  |       |                                   |       |   |
|------|--|-------|-----------------------------------|-------|---|
| Grk. | <i>μαγεία, μαγική τέχνη, γοητεία, φαρμακεία, βασανία</i> | Goth. | <i>lūbjaleisē</i>                 | Lith. | <i>magija, žynystė, bur-tai</i> (pl.), <i>kerai</i> (pl.) |
| NG   | <i>μαγεία, μάγεια</i> (pl.), <i>μαγικός</i> (pl.)        | ON    | <i>seiðr, lauf, etc.</i>          | Lett. | <i>burvība</i>  |
| Lat. | <i>magica ars, magicōs, magia</i>                        | Dan.  | <i>trolldom, magi</i>             | ChSl. | <i>čari</i> (pl.), <i>vlāšiba</i>                         |
| It.  | <i>magia, sortilegio, stregoneria</i>                    | Sw.   | <i>trolldom, svartkonst</i>       | SCR.  | <i>čar, madije</i> (pl.)                                  |
| Fr.  | <i>magie, sorcellerie</i>                                | OE    | <i>wiccecraft, wīgung</i>         | Boh.  | <i>kouzlo, čarodějství</i>                                |
| Sp.  | <i>magia, brujería, hechicería</i>                       | ME    | <i>magik, witchcraft, sorcery</i> | Pol.  | <i>magia, czary, czarodziejstwo, gusła</i>                |
| Rum. | <i>vrajitorie, farmec, magie, fapt</i>                   | NE    | <i>magia, witchcraft, sorcery</i> | Russ. | <i>magija, čary, čarodějstvo, volščebstvo</i>             |
| Ir.  | <i>druidecth, aimmitecht</i>                             | Du.   | <i>tooverkunst</i>                | Skt.  | <i>yātū-, kṛtyā-, māyā-</i>                               |
| Nl.  | <i>draoidheacht, piseog</i>                              | OHG   | <i>zoubar</i>                     | Av.   | <i>yātū-</i>  |
| W.   | <i>hud, swyngyfaredd</i>                                 | MHG   | <i>zoubar, zouberie</i>           |       |   |
| Br.  | <i>strobinnell, breou (hud)</i>                          | NHG   | <i>zauberei, zauber, hezerei</i>  |       |   |

of imitative origin (cf. NE *boō!*). Berneker 36 f. Brückner 32, 643.

Russ. *sujeverie* (also SCR. *sujeverje*, but less common than *praznojerje*), fr. cpd. of *suje* in *vsuje*, ChSl. *vū suje* 'in vain', *sujeta* 'vanity', and forms = ChSl. *boboniti* 'make a noise' ('hum, buzz', etc.),

of a Median tribe, then the Persian 'priests' (Hdt. +; OPers. nom. sg. *maguš*), who in Greek popular belief were associated with magical practices (perh. only because of their, to the Greeks, strange rites; no factual warrant in native Iranian sources; cf. also Aristot. *τὴν δὲ γοητικὴν μαγείαν οὐδ' ἔγνωσαν* and E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* 4<sup>2</sup>.1.117). NG *μαγεία*, and neut. pl. *μάγεια* and *μαγικά*.

Grk. *φάρμακεία* 'giving of drugs', also esp. 'poisoning' and 'witchcraft', fr. *φάρμακον* 'drug, poison, spell' (4.88). Cf. also Lith. *burti* 'bewitch' (below, 5). Grk. *γοητεία* (in NG mostly in good sense, 'charm'), beside *γῶγος* 'sorcerer, wizard' : *γῶα* 'wail', outside connection dub. Boissacq 154.

Grk. *βασανία*, beside vb. *βασανίζω* 'bewitch', adj. *βασανός* 'malicious' (> Lat. *fascinum* 'witchcraft', with *f* from *fāri* 'speak'?), prob. loanword, fr. some Thracian or Illyrian form of the root in Grk. *φάσκα, φημί*, 'say', Lat. *fāri* 'speak', etc. (18.21). Walde-H. 1.459.

2. Lat. *magicus*, adj. (> It. *magico*, Fr. *magique*, etc.) fr. Grk. *μαγικός*, hence as sb. *magica ars*, also *magiē* (fr. Grk. *μαγική τέχνη*, also late *magiē* (> It., Sp. *magia*, Fr. *magie* > Rum. *magie*), fr. Grk. *μαγεία*. It., Sp. *sortilegio*, Fr. *sortilège, sorcellerie*, OFr. *sorcerie*, derivs. of Lat. *sors*, *sortis* 'lot' and esp. pl. *sortēs* 'oracular responses, oracles'. REW 8107. It. *stregoneria*, fr. *strega* 'witch' (22.43). Sp. *brujería*, fr. *bruja* 'witch' (22.43). Sp. *hechizo*, whence *hechizar* 'bewitch', *hechicero* 'wizard', *hechicera* 'witch', *hechicería* 'witchcraft' (cf. Port. *feticço* 'charm, sorcery' > Fr. *fétiche*, NE *fetish*), fr. Lat. *facticius* 'artificial'. Cf. Rum. *fapt* 'deed' and 'witchcraft', and other old or dial. forms fr. derivs. of

28 with Jebb's comment), fr. adj. *δεισιδαιμων* 'pious' and 'superstitious', cpd. of *δεισι-* : *δειδω* 'fear', sbs. *δῖος, δῆμα* (16.53), and *δαιμων* 'divine power', later 'demon' (22.35).

2. Lat. *superstitiō* (> Romance words), fr. *superstare* 'stand over'. Semantic development disputed, prob. not 'survival' (this sense in *superstes*, only late in vb.), perh. best fr. 'standing over' through 'wonder, astonishment, awe'. Cf. Lith. *stebėti* 'be astonished', orig. 'be stiff, rigid', and some other words for 'wonder' based on similar notions (16.15). NED s.v. *superstition*. Ernout-M. 983 (not clear as to semantic history). W. Otto, *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 12.548 ff.

3. Ir. word for 'superstition'? Nl. *baaischreideamh* and *saobhchreideamh*, cpds. of *baais* 'folly, foolish' (Ir. *bāes* 'folly', 17.22) and *saobh* 'perverse' with *creideamh* 'belief'.

W. *coelgrefydd*, cpd. of *coel* 'omen' (22.47) and *crefydd* 'religion', orig. 'belief' (22.11).

W. *ofergoel*, cpd. of *ofer* 'waste, vain' and *coel* 'omen' and 'belief'. Br. *treuskredenn* (Vallée, Ernault), *brizkredenn* (Vallée), *gwallgreden, gwallfeiz* (Le Gonidec), cpds. of *treus* 'across, contrary', *briz* 'spotted' (as prefix pejorative) or *gwall* 'bad' (16.72) with words for 'religion, belief' (22.11).

4. ON *hindrvin*, cpd. of *hindri* 'hinder, latter' and *vin* 'witness', orig. 'knowledge'. Semantically prob. not through 'survival of old beliefs' (as Falk-Torp 807), but through sense seen in vb. *hindra* 'hinder, be wrong'.

Dan. *overtro*, Sw. *overtro*, cpd. of *over*, *över* 'over' and *tro* 'belief', like ODu. *overgeloof*, prob. as 'what is beyond, contrary to true belief' (rather than 'surviving belief', as Falk-Torp). Falk-Torp 807. Franck-V. W. 65. Hellquist 1473.

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of a Median tribe, then the Persian 'priests' (Hdt. +; OPers. nom. sg. *maguš*), who in Greek popular belief were associated with magical practices (perh. only because of their, to the Greeks, strange rites; no factual warrant in native Iranian sources; cf. also Aristot. *τὴν δὲ γοητικὴν μαγείαν οὐδ' ἔγνωσαν* and E. Meyer, *Geschichte des Altertums* 4<sup>2</sup>.1.117). NG *μαγεία*, and neut. pl. *μάγεια* and *μαγικά*.

Grk. *φάρμακεία* 'giving of drugs', also esp. 'poisoning' and 'witchcraft', fr. *φάρμακον* 'drug, poison, spell' (4.88). Cf. also Lith. *burti* 'bewitch' (below, 5). Grk. *γοητεία* (in NG mostly in good sense, 'charm'), beside *γῶγος* 'sorcerer, wizard' : *γῶα* 'wail', outside connection dub. Boissacq 154.

Grk. *βασανία*, beside vb. *βασανίζω* 'bewitch', adj. *βασανός* 'malicious' (> Lat. *fascinum* 'witchcraft', with *f* from *fāri* 'speak'?), prob. loanword, fr. some Thracian or Illyrian form of the root in Grk. *φάσκα, φημί*, 'say', Lat. *fāri* 'speak', etc. (18.21). Walde-H. 1.459.

2. Lat. *magicus*, adj. (> It. *magico*, Fr. *magique*, etc.) fr. Grk. *μαγικός*, hence as sb. *magica ars*, also *magiē* (fr. Grk. *μαγική τέχνη*, also late *magiē* (> It., Sp. *magia*, Fr. *magie* > Rum. *magie*), fr. Grk. *μαγεία*. It., Sp. *sortilegio*, Fr. *sortilège, sorcellerie*, OFr. *sorcerie*, derivs. of Lat. *sors*, *sortis* 'lot' and esp. pl. *sortēs* 'oracular responses, oracles'. REW 8107. It. *stregoneria*, fr. *strega* 'witch' (22.43). Sp. *brujería*, fr. *bruja* 'witch' (22.43). Sp. *hechizo*, whence *hechizar* 'bewitch', *hechicero* 'wizard', *hechicera* 'witch', *hechicería* 'witchcraft' (cf. Port. *feticço* 'charm, sorcery' > Fr. *fétiche*, NE *fetish*), fr. Lat. *facticius* 'artificial'. Cf. Rum. *fapt* 'deed' and 'witchcraft', and other old or dial. forms fr. derivs. of

Grk. *φάρμακεία* 'giving of drugs', also esp. 'poisoning' and 'witchcraft', fr. *φάρμακον* 'drug, poison, spell' (4.88). Cf. also Lith. *burti* 'bewitch' (below, 5). Grk. *γοητεία* (in NG mostly in good sense, 'charm'), beside *γῶγος* 'sorcerer, wizard' : *γῶα* 'wail', outside connection dub. Boissacq 154.

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4. Goth. *lūbjaleisē* (= *φάρμακεία*; also *lūbjaleisai* *liutai* = *γῶγος* 'magicians, sorcerers'), cpd. of *lūbjā-* : OE *lybb*

Sw. *vantro* (Dan. *vantro* formerly also 'superstition', now 'disbelief'), cpd. of *van-* 'mis-' (= OE, OHG *wan-*, cf. NE *wanton*, NHG *wahnsinn*, etc.) and *tro* 'belief'. Falk-Torp 1348. Hellquist 1307.

Sw. *vidskelpse* (OSw. *vidskipilse*), fr. a phrase *skipa vidh* 'practice' (magic)? Hellquist 1340.

OE *afgalp* (glosses Lat. *superstitio*, cf. Bosworth-Toller, Suppl. s.v.), cpd. of *af-* (*af-*, *of-*), here with pejorative or negating force (cf. *ofunnan* 'begrudge, refuse', beside *unnan* 'grant', *ofpyncan* 'displease', beside *pyncan* 'seem', *afgod* 'idol', beside *god* 'god', etc.) and deriv. of *galan* 'sing, enchant'.

ME *supersticion*, NE *superstition* fr. Fr. *superstition* or its Lat. source. NED s.v.

Du. *bigeloo*, cpd. of *bij-* 'by' and *geloof* 'belief'. Franck-v. W. 65.

OHG *ubermezziki*, -*chi* (gloss *supersticio*, Steinmeyer-Sievers 1.96), lit. 'immoderation', fem. abstract of adj. = NHG *übermässig*.

MHG *aberglaube*, NHG *aberglaube*, cpd. of *gloube, glaube* 'belief' with *ab-* in its pejorative sense (as in *abewritzt* 'false wit, absurdity', etc.). Weigand-H. 1.6. Kluge-G. 2. Early NHG also *missglaube* (Luther; but MHG *misseglaube* 'mistrust' and *afterglaube*, cpd. with *after* 'after' but here in its pejorative sense (cf. MHG *afterglaube* 'perfidia' and Weigand-H. 1.27).

5. Lith. *niektikystė* (NSB, Lalis), cpd. of neg. *niek-* (: *niekas* 'no one, nothing') and deriv. of *tikėti* 'believe'.

Lett. *mān'ticība*, cpd. first part : *mānīt* 'deceive', *mānīs* 'phantom, ghost', etc., and *ticība* 'belief'.

6. SCR. *praznojerje*, fr. cpd. of *prazan* 'empty, vain' (13.22) and *vjera* 'belief'. Boh. *pověra*, cpd. of *po* 'after' and *věra*

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Lat. *facere* 'do, make'. REW 3132, 3135, 3136. Wartburg 3.359, 362 f.

Rum. *vrajitorie*, fr. *vraji* 'bewitch', fr. Slavic, late ChSl. *vražiti* 'take omens', Russ. *vorozhiti* 'tell fortunes', etc. (Brückner 632). Tiktin 1775.

Rum. *farmec* (whence *fermeca* 'bewitch', *fermecător* 'magician, wizard', *fermecătoare* 'witch'), fr. Grk. *φάρμακον* 'drug, poison, spell'. REW 6462. Tiktin 611, 619.

3. Ir. *druidecth*, Nl. *draoidheacht*, lit. 'druidism', fr. *drui* (gen. *druid*), name of the old pagan priest and magician (22.18).

Ir. *aimmtecht*, fr. *ammail* 'wizard, witch' (22.43).

Ir. *bricht*, Nl. *briocht* 'charm, spell', etym.? (: Skt. *brahman-* 'sacred text, prayer, spell', Osthoff l.c. 117, but very dub.).

W., Br. *hud* (Br. *hud* archaic, Vallée), Corn. *hus* : ON *seiðr* 'spell, charm, magic', prob. fr. the root seen in ChSl. *šētili se* 'remember'. Cf. Goth. *afhugjan* 'bewitch', cpd. of *hugjan* 'think'. Walde-P. 2.509. Pedersen 1.58. G. S. Lane, *Language* 11.194 f.

W. *swyngyfaredd*, cpd. of *swyn* 'charm, spell, love-potion', fr. Lat. *signum* 'sign' (Pedersen 1.223, Loth, Mots lat. 209) and *cyfaredd* 'charm, spell' (etym.?). Br. *strobinnell* 'whirlwind, whirlpool' (deriv. of Lat. *turbā*, -*inis*, Henry 256), regarded as supernatural, hence used for 'magic'. Le Gonidec s.v.

Br. *breou*, pl. of *brev*, fr. Fr. *bref* 'brief, document'. Cf. the use of Fr. *brevet* for 'magic formula, charm'. Henry 44. Ernault, *Glossaire* 83.

4. Goth. *lūbjaleisē* (= *φάρμακεία*; also *lūbjaleisai* *liutai* = *γῶγος* 'magicians, sorcerers'), cpd. of *lūbjā-* : OE *lybb*

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'drug', *lybbāle* 'sorcery, witchcraft', OHG *luppi* 'poison, magic', etc., second part : *lais* 'know', *laisjan* 'teach', etc. Feist 337.

ON *seiðr*, see under W., Br. *hud* (above, 3).

ON *taufir*, MLG *löver*, Du. *tooverkunst* (or -*kraft*), OHG *zoubar*, MHG *zouber*, NHG *zauber, zauberei*, prob. : OE *tafior*, 'pigment, red lead' (NE dial. *tiver*). The fact that the runes were colored red may furnish the connecting link, but root connection and primary sense are obscure. Weigand-H. 2.1304. Kluge-G. 704. Franck-v. W. 703.

ON *görnringar*, pl. of *görnring* 'act, deed' (: *gørva* 'do, make', 9.11) is used also for 'magical acts, witchcraft'.

ON *galdrar*, pl. of *galdr* 'song, chant, spell' (: *gala* 'sing, chant', 18.2), freq. 'magic, witchcraft'.

Dan. *trolldom*, Sw. *trolldom*, fr. ON *troll* 'giant, monster, demon' (22.35), Dan. *troll*, Sw. *troll* 'goblin, imp'.

Sw. *svartkonst*, lit. 'black art'.

OE *wiccecraft*, ME *witchcraft*, NE *witchcraft*, cpd. of *wicca* 'witch' (22.43) and *craft* 'power, skill'.

OE *drūcraft*, similar cpd. of *drū* 'magician', fr. Ir. *drui* 'priest, magician'.

OE *wīgung*, *wīgle*, beside vb. *wīglian* 'practice divination or sorcery' = MLG *wichelen* id. : OE *wicca* 'witch', etc. (22.43).

OE *scīnlāc* 'phantom' (22.45), also 'magic'. Hence *scīnlēca* 'magician'.

ME *magik*, NE *magic*, through OFr. *magique*, fr. Lat. *magica ars* (above, 2). NED s.v.

ME *sorcerye*, NE *sorcery*, fr. OFr. *sorcerye* (above, 2).

NHG *hezerei*, fr. *heze* 'witch' (22.43).

5. Lith. *magija*, through Pol. or Russ. fr. Lat. *magia* (above, 2).

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deriv. of Lat. *sortēs* 'oracles' (cf. It. *sortilegio*, OFr. *sorcerie*, etc. 22.42).

Fr. *magicienne*, fem. of *magicien* 'magician, wizard', deriv. of Lat. *magicus* 'magic' (22.42).

Sp. *brujia*, etym.?

Sp. *hechicera* : *hechizo*, etc. (22.42).

Rum. *vrajitoare*, fr. *vraji* 'work magic' (22.42).

Rum. *fermecătoare*, fr. *fermeca* 'bewitch', fr. *farmec* 'magic, witchcraft' (22.42).

3. Ir. *ammail* (both masc. and fem., 'wizard, witch'; cf. K. Meyer, *Contrib.* 86), etym.?

Nl. *ban-draoi*, lit. 'female druid', cpd. of *ban-*, prefix for *bean* 'woman', and *draoi*, Ir. *drui* 'priest, magician' (22.18).

W. *devines*, fem. of *devin* 'diviner, wizard', fr. Lat. *divinus* in its special sense of 'soothsayer, prophet'. Loth, Mots lat. 160.

W. *rheibes*, fem. deriv. of *rheibio* 'ravage', secondarily 'bewitch, enchant', fr. Lat. *rapere* 'seize, ravish'. Loth, Mots lat. 202.

W. *swyngyfaredd*, cpd. of *swyn* 'charm, spell' (fr. Lat. *signum* 'sign') and *gyraig* 'woman'. Pedersen 1.223.

Br. *boudig* (also 'fairy'), apparently fr. *boud* 'murmur, buzzing' (fr. Lat. *signum* 'sign') and *gyraig</*



survived thus in later folklore. REW 2624. Tiktin 1822. Wartburg 3.66.

Rum. *ursitoare* (used like NG *μοῖρα*, above, 1), fr. vb. *urși* 'determine one's fate', this fr. NG *ὀρίσω* 'determine' (orig. 'bound'). Tiktin 1698 f.

3. Ir. *side*, Nlr. *sidhe* (pl.) 'fairy creatures': *sid*, Nlr. *sidh* 'mound, knoll', esp. as 'abode of the fairies' (etym.?). Hence sg. fem. *ben side* (*ben* 'woman'), Nlr. *bean sídhe* (> NE *ban-shee*, cf. NED s.v.), Nlr. also *sidhbhean*, *siobhra*, etc. (McKenna).

W. *tylwyth teg* (pl.), lit. 'beautiful family' (*tylwyth* 'household, family', *teg* 'beautiful'). Cf. Rhys, Celtic Folklore 82 ff.

Br. *korrigez*, fem. of *korrig*, dim. of *korrr* 'dwarf' (\**korso* : Lat. *curtus* 'mutilated, short', etc.).

Br. *boudig* 'witch' or 'fairy', see 42.43.

4. Nearest to 'fairies' in early Gmc. folklore were the 'elves', dwarfed beings with magical powers, generally impish if not malevolent. They are, at least in part, the antecedents of the more beneficent medieval fairies. Cf. NED s.v. *elf*.

ON *álfr*, OE *alf*, ME *elfe*, NE *elf* (> NHG *elf*, fem. *elfe*), Dan. *alf*, Sw. *álfa* (OHG *alp* 'nightmare'), etym. dub., perh. : Skt. *rbhu-*, a name given to three semidivine craftsmen (or even less convincingly : Lat. *albus* 'white'). Walde-P. 1.93. Falk-Torp 22. Kluge-G. 12. Weigand-H. 1.43.

ME, NE *fay* (now arch. or poet.),

Dan., Sw. *fe*, Du. *fee*, MHG *feie*, NHG *fee*, fr. OFr. *faie*, Fr. *fée* (above, 2).

ME *faurie*, NE *fairy*, in earliest use 'fairy-land' or 'fairy-folk' (fr. OFr. *fairie* id., deriv. of *faie*), then displacing the simple *fay*. NED s.v.

5. Lith. *laumė*, Lett. *lauma*, a kind of 'fairy', but more often impish or malevolent than beneficent, etym. dub., perh. : ChSl. *loviti* 'seize, catch'. Mühl.-Endz. 2.428 f., Solmsen, KZ 34.553 f.

6. In Slavic folklore the nearest approach to 'fairy' would be the *vila* or the *rusalka*, both used of a sort of nymph, but often malevolent. Cf. Niederle, Manuel de l'antiquité slave, 2.132 ff. (with refs.).

SCr., Bulg., Boh. *vila* (Pol. *wila* 'buffoon') : Lith. *vilti*, Lett. *vilt* 'deceive' (outside connections dub.; Mühl.-Endz. 4.596), and/or Russ. *viljat* 'run about', Boh. *viliti* 'fornicate', etc. Brückner 622. Niederle, op. cit. 133 f.

SCr., Bulg., Russ. *rusalka* (Russ. > Pol. *rusalka*, lit.), formed fr. the name of the festival, late ChSl. *rusalica*, etc., fr. MLat. *rōsalia*, Byz. *ροσάλια*, lit. 'rose-festival'. Brückner 469. Niederle, loc. cit.

Pol. *boginka* (also *bogunka*), dim. of *bogini* 'goddess'. Brückner 34.

Russ. *feja*, fr. Fr. *fée* (above, 2).

7. There seem to be no fairies or anything like them in early Indo-Iranian mythology. But cf. AV *pairikā-* with its later development (22.43).

22.45 GHOST, SPECTER, PHANTOM

|      |                               |       |                                |       |                             |
|------|-------------------------------|-------|--------------------------------|-------|-----------------------------|
| Grk. | φάντασμα (said poet.)         | Goth. | .....                          | Lith. | vilė, šmekla, monas         |
| NG   | στοιχείο, φάντασμα            | ON    | draugr, aptganga               | Lett. | velis, spuks, māns          |
| Lat. | mānēs (pl.), lārva, phantasma | Dan.  | spøgelse, genfærd              | ChSl. | prizrakū                    |
| It.  | spettro, fantas(i)ma          | Sw.   | spöke                          | SCr.  | avel, utvara                |
| Fr.  | spectre, fantôme, revenant    | OE    | scīn, scīnlāc, gāst            | Boh.  | strašidlo, přišera          |
| Sp.  | espectro, fantasma            | ME    | gost, fantome                  | Pol.  | widmo, strach               |
| Rum. | stafe, spectru, fantomă       | NE    | ghost, spook, specter, phantom | Russ. | prividenie, prizrak         |
| Ir.  | scál                          | Du.   | spook                          | Skt.  | pitāras (pl.), preta-bhūta- |
| Nlr. | taidhbhse, samhail            | OHG   | gitrog, bitrog, giskīn         |       |                             |
| W.   | bugan, drychiolaeth           | MHG   | gespenste, geiwaids            |       |                             |
| Br.  | bugelnoz, teuz                | NHG   | gespenst                       |       |                             |

Most of the words for 'soul, spirit' (16.11) are also used with reference to the supernatural spirits, but these are not repeated here, with the exception of NE *ghost*, in which this sense has become the dominant one.

The most common development is through the notion of 'appearance' (cf. the specialization of NE *apparition* vs. *appearance*) in words derived from verbs for 'see, appear, shine'. Other sources are 'likeness', 'fright', 'darkness', 'entertainment' and 'returning' (i.e. from the dead). The use of 'shade' in this sense, common in Homer, has been widely imitated in poetry.

1. Grk. *σκιά* 'shade, shadow' (1.63), poet. for 'ghost, phantom'. Imitated in the similar use of Lat. *umbra*, NE *shade*, etc.

Grk. *φάντασμα* (also *φάσμα*), lit. 'appearance, apparition' : *φαίνωμαι* 'appear'. NG pop. *στοιχείο*, fr. *στοιχείον* 'element' (: *στρίχω* 'walk, march', *στίχος* 'row, line', etc.), in Byz. sometimes a kind of guardian spirit. The eccl. use of *στοιχεῖα τοῦ κόσμου* (NT Col. 2.8, 20, Gal. 4.3, 9) as 'cosmic powers' furnishes the connecting link. Sophocles s.v. *στοιχείον*. Moulton-Milligan 591.

2. Lat. *mānēs* (pl.) : *mānus* 'good'. Ernout-M. 587. Walde-H. 2.27.

Lat. *lārva* (early *lārua*) : *Lār*, pl. *Lāres*, this of Etruscan orig.(?). Ernout-M. 524 f. Walde-H. 1.762 f., 766.

Lat. *phantasma*, fr. Grk. *φάντασμα* (above, 1). Hence It. *fantas(i)ma*. But Prov. *fantasma*, Fr. *fantôme* (> Rum. *fantomă*), apparently fr. a Grk. dial. form *φάνταγμα*, parallel to Dor. *ψάφισμα* = *ψήφισμα* and indicated by modern Lesb. *φάδαμα* (cf. *πράγμα* > *πράμα*). The OFr. spelling *fantosme* (also found in ME) will then be due to *fantasma*, which also occurs. REW 6460. Kretschmer, Der heutige lesbische Dialekt 461.

It. *spettro*, Fr. *spectre* (> INE *specter*, Rum. *spectru*), Sp. *espectro*, fr. Lat. *spectrum* 'appearance, image' (: *specere* 'perceive, look').

Fr. *revenant*, sb. use of adj. *revenant* 'returning', as of one returning from the other world.

Rum. *stafe*, fr. NG *στοιχείο* (above, 1). Cf. Alb. *stihë*, fr. same source. Tiktin 1482. G. Meyer, Alb. Etym. Wtb. 393.

3. Ir. *scál* 'supernatural being, specter' (also rendered as 'giant, hero'), Nlr. *scāl* 'reflection, image', also 'ghost' (Dinneen), prob. : Goth. *skōhsl* 'demon' (22.35). M. A. O'Brien, Eriu 11.89 f. Otherwise Pedersen 1.76.

Nlr. *taidhbhse* = Ir. *taidbse*, beside *taidbsiu* 'a showing, appearance', vbl.n.

the abstract and applied at first to the person observing favorable omens. Ernout-M. 89. Walde-H. 1.83. REW 785.

Lat. *auspiciūm* (> It., Sp. *auspicio*, Fr. *auspice*) 'divination from birds' and sometimes the 'omen', with the personal *auspez*, cpd. of *avis* 'bird' (3.64) and the root of *specere* 'look, observe' (15.51). Ernout-M. 91. Walde-H. 1.87.

It., Sp. *presagio*, Fr. *présage*, fr. Lat. *praesāgium* 'foreboding' (but not used for 'omen'), fr. *prae-sāgīre* 'perceive beforehand'. Ernout-M. 887.

Rum. *prevestire*, fr. *prevesti* 'prophecy', cpd. of *vesti* 'announce' (fr. Slavic, cf. 18.43).

3. Ir. *cēl*, loanword fr. Britannic, OW *coillou* (pl.) gl. *auspiciis*, W. *coel* 'omen, portent', but usually cpd. *ar-goel* (*ar-* 'on-, for-', but also merely intensive), as orig. a 'good omen' : Goth. *hails*, ON *heill*, OE *hāl*, ChSl. *čělū* 'well, in good health' (4.83). Cf. ON *heill* 'omen'. Walde-P. 1.329. Pedersen 1.57.

Nlr. *tuur* = Ir. *túar* 'creation, preparation, attainment', etc. (Gael. 'appearance, hue, merit'), vbl. n. of *do-ferim* (*duferthar*, gl. *conditur*) 'establish' (: OHG *gi-werēn* 'grant', Pedersen 2.518). K. Meyer, Ber. Preuss. Akad. 1918. 628.

Br. *diougan* ('prediction, sign, omen'), fr. cpd. of *kana* 'sing'. Pedersen 2.481. Henry 99.

4. Goth. *taikns*, OE *tāc(e)n*, ME, NE *token*, OHG *zeihhan*, MHG, NHG *zeichen*, all words for 'sign' (12.94), used

also for 'wonder, miracle' and 'sign of the future, omen', in this last sense NE *token* now obs., and NHG *zeichen*, Du. *teeken* mostly replaced by *vorzeichen*, *voorteeken*. For such early Gmc. use, cf. the early loanword Finn. *taika* 'omen' and 'magic'. Karsten, Kluge Festschrift 65 ff. Kluge-G. 706.

ON *heill*, OE *hæl* 'health, good luck' and (orig. good) 'omen' : adj. *heill*, Goth. *hails*, etc. 'well, in good health' (4.83).

ON *furða* 'strange thing, wonder' and often 'omen', fr. \**for-riða* lit. 'one who rides before'. Falk-Torp 268.

Dan. *varsel* 'warning' and 'omen', fr. *vare* 'guard', refl. 'beware of'. Falk-Torp 1353.

Sw. *förebud*, also and orig. 'foreboding', cpd. of *bud* 'command, message' (: vb. *bjuda* 'command', 19.45).

Dan., NE, NHG *omen*, fr. Lat. *ōmen* (above, 2).

5. Lith. *ženklas*, Lett. *zīme* 'sign' (12.94) and 'omen'.

6. ChSl. *znamenije*, SCr. *znamenje*, Boh. *znamení* 'sign' (12.94) and 'omen'. Pol. *wróžba*, fr. *wróżyć* 'foretell' (: late ChSl. *vražiti* 'tell fortunes', etc. Brückner 632.

Russ. *predznamenovanie*, fr. *predznamenovati* 'take omens, foretell', fr. *pred* 'before' and *znamenie* 'sign' (12.94).

7. Skt. *lakṣaṇa-* 'sign' (12.94), also 'favorable sign, omen'. Cf. *sulakṣaṇa*-adj. 'provided with a favorable sign'.

Concluding note.—I have said in the Preface: "The specialist in any given language will always find facts of pertinent interest to supply." How often, even for my own language, have alternative terms come to mind, too late for mention even if worth while. However, I shall not *start* (= *begin*, but not in 14.25) to make a list of "additions and corrections", which might have no end.

of *doadbat* 'shows' (\**to-ad-fiad-* : IE \**weid-* 'see'). Pedersen 1.421, 2.519.

Nlr. *samhail* 'likeness, image' (Ir. *samail* id. : Lat. *similis* 'like', etc.), also 'ghost, specter'. Similarly Br. *semeilh* (Van.).

W. *bugan* (arch. *bug*), beside *bugul* 'threat', arch. 'fear', also NE *bogle*, *bogy*, NHG *böge*, *böggel-mann*, all terms for 'goblins', etc., ultimate source dub. Cf. NED s.v. *bogle*.

W. *drychiolaeth*, fr. *drych* 'sight, appearance, aspect' = Ir. *drech* 'face' : Grk. *δῆρκαυαι* 'see', etc. Cf. NE *apparition*, etc.

Br. *bugelnoz*, cpd. of *bugel* 'child' (2.25, 2.27) and *noz* 'night' (14.42).

Br. *teuz*, etym. dub. (: Ir. *tucht* 'form, appearance?'). Henry 263. Ernault, Glossaire 691.

4. ON *draugr*, Norw. *draug*, OHG *gitrog* ('deceit', like NHG *betrug*, and 'ghost'; also OHG *bitrog* in gl. *pitroch* = *fantasma*) : OHG *triugan* 'deceive', Skt. *droha-* 'harm, injury', Av. *drūj-*, OPers. *drauga-* 'lie', etc. (16.67, 16.68). Walde-P. 1.874. Falk-Torp 153.

ON *aptg-ganga*, lit. 'back-comer' (cf. Fr. *revenant*, above, 2). Imitated in Dan. *gen-færd*, *gen-ganger*. Falk-Torp 315.

OE *scīn*, OHG *giskīn* (Tat. for *phantasma*, Mt. 14.26), orig. 'appearance, apparition' : OE *scīnan*, OHG *skīnan*, etc. 'shine' (15.55). Hence also OE *scīnlāc* 'phantom' and 'magic', cpd. of *lāc* 'offering, gift' : vb. *lācon* 'swing, play' = ON *leika* 'play', etc. (16.25).

OE *gāst* 'soul, spirit' (16.11), also 'ghost, specter' (e.g. *unfæle gāst* for *phantasma* Mk. 6.49, where Lindisf. *yfel wiht*, lit. 'evil creature'), and, with increasing dominance of this sense, ME *gost*, NE *ghost*. NED s.v. Du. *geest* in both senses.

ME *fantome*, NE *phantom*, NE *specter*, fr. Fr. (above, 2).

MLG *spōk*, *spūk*, Du. *spook* (> NE *spook*, first used in U.S., NHG *spuk*, Sw. *spöke*, Dan. *spøgelse*), etym. dub. Falk-Torp 1140 f. Franck-v. W. 648 f.

MHG *gespenste*, NHG *gespenst*, fr. OHG *gispanst* 'entertainment' : (*gi*)*spanan* 'entice'. In MHG used of a spirit inciting evil, and especially in association with *teufel*. Weigand-H. 1.706. Sperber, Einleitung 24.

MHG *getwās*, MDu. *ghedwas* : MHG *twās*, *dwās*, Du.  *dwaas* 'fool' (17.22). Walde-P. 1.845. Franck-v. W. 144.

5. Lith. *velė*, Lett. *velis* (both mostly in pl.), etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.305. Mühl.-Endz. 4.530 f. Buga, Rev. Sl. 6.23 f.

Lith. *šmekla* ('apparition, specter'), beside vb. *šmekšoti* (also *šmykšoti*, *šmūkšoti*) 'appear in vague outlines', prob. with variant forms of the root syllable : Russ. *šmygnul* 'flit by'. Senn (privately).

Lett. *spuoks*, fr. MLG *spōk* (above, 4). Mühl.-Endz. 3.1035.

Lett. *k'ēms*, fr. Livon. *kāms* (or conversely?). Mühl.-Endz. 2.373 f.

Lith. *monas*, Lett. *māns* (NSB, Mühl.-Endz. s.v.v.), fr. WhRuss. *man* 'deceiver', etc. Berneker 2.17 f. Brückner, Sl. Fremdwörter 109. Skardžius 134.

6. ChSl. *prizrakū* (in Gospels = *φάντασμα*, beside *zrakū* = *είδω* 'appearance, aspect') : *priz(i)rēti* 'look', cpd. of *z(i)rēti* 'look, see' (15.51). Hence Russ. *prizrak*.

SCr. *avel*, fr. Turk. (= Arab.) *afet* 'misfortune'. Miklosich, Türk. Elem. 242.

SCr. *utvara* : *utvoriti se* 'appear' (cpd. of *tvoriti* 'form, create' = ChSl. *tvoriti* 'do, make', 9.11).

Boh. *strašidlo*, fr. *strašiti* 'frighten', fr. *strach* 'fright' (16.35) = Pol. *strach* 'fear' and 'ghost'.

Boh. *příšera* : *příšeři* 'twilight', *šerý*

22.47 OMEN

|      |                           |       |                  |       |                  |
|------|---------------------------|-------|------------------|-------|------------------|
| Grk. | οἰωνός, ὄρνις             | Goth. | taikns           | Lith. | ženklas          |
| NG   | οἰωνός                    | ON    | heill, furða     | Lett. | zīme             |
| Lat. | ōmen, augurium, auspiciūm | Dan.  | omen, varsel     | ChSl. | znamenije        |
| It.  | augurio, presagio         | Sw.   | förebud          | SCr.  | znamenje         |
| Fr.  | augure, présage           | OE    | hæl, tād(e)n     | Boh.  | znamení          |
| Sp.  | agüero, presagio          | ME    | token            | Pol.  | wróžba           |
| Rum. | augur, prevestire         | NE    | omen             | Russ. | predznamenovanie |
| Ir.  | cēl                       | Du.   | voorteeken       | Skt.  | lakṣaṇa-         |
| Nlr. | tuur                      | OHG   | zeihhan          |       |                  |
| W.   | argoel (coel)             | MHG   | zeichen          |       |                  |
| Br.  | diougan                   | NHG   | omen, vorzeichen |       |                  |

A few of the words for 'omen' are based upon words for 'bird', and so must have first applied specifically to omens taken from the flight of birds. Several mean primarily 'foretelling, foreboding', or 'warning'. Some are connected with words for 'well, healthy, sound' or 'increase, further', and so must have originally denoted good omens.

Words for 'sign' (12.94) are often used for 'wonder sign, portent, omen', and in many languages these (in some cases one of the several parallel forms) are the usual terms for 'omen'.

1. Grk. *οἰωνός* 'bird of prey, bird of

'gray, dim, dark' (late ChSl. *šerū*, Russ. *seryj*, etc. 'gray').

Pol. *widmo*, Russ. *prividenie* : ChSl. *viděti* 'see' (15.51).

7. Skt. *pitāras* 'fathers', also used for the spirits of one's ancestors.

Skt. *preta-* 'dead' (pple. *pra-ita-* 'gone forth, departed'), also 'spirit of the dead, ghost'.

Skt. *bhūta-* 'a being' (: *bhū-* 'become, be'), often a supernatural being, a kind of 'ghost' (cf. BR s.v.).

Av. *fravaši-*, in pl. in part like Lat. *mānēs*, see. 22.46.

22.46. Guardian spirit. Most of the words for 'soul, spirit' (16.11) are also used with reference to a mystical spirit of the living and dead, and, among many peoples, of inanimate things ('animism'). But there are also a few other words which are used specifically in this sense.

1. Grk. *δαίμων* in its usual class. use, later 'evil spirit, demon'. See 22.35.

2. Lat. *genius*, through the notion of 'creative' : *gignere* 'beget, bear', *genus* 'birth', etc. Ernout-M. 398 f. Walde-H. 1.591.

Av. *fravaši-*, mostly in pl., the Fravashis, guardian spirits of the faithful before birth, during life and after death, fr. \**fra-varti-*, this prob. fr. root *var-*, IE \**wer-* 'cover, guard, protect' (Walde-P. 1.280 ff.). Barth. 992 ff.

omen' and 'omen', etym. dub. Walde-P. 1.21, 107. Boisacq 694 f. Walde-H. 1.84.

Grk. *ὄρνις* 'bird' (3.64), also 'omen'.

Grk. *σημεῖον* 'sign' (12.94), also 'omen' (Soph. +).

2. Lat. *ōmen*, etym. dub. Ernout-M. 702. Stolz-Leumann, Lat. Gram. 113 ftn.

Lat. *augurium*, the 'taking of omens' and the 'omen' itself (> It. *augurio*, Fr. *augure*, Sp. *agüero*, Rum. neolog. *augur*), based on the personal *augur* 'augur, diviner', this prob. not a cpd. of *avis* 'bird', but fr. \**augos* (cf. *augustus*) : *augēre* 'increase, further', with transfer fr.

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Originally published in 1949 and appearing now for the first time in a paperbound edition, Buck's *Dictionary* remains an indispensable tool for diachronic analysis of the Indo-European languages. Arranged according to the meaning of words, the work contains more than 1,000 groupings of synonyms from the principal Indo-European languages. Buck first tabulates the words describing a particular concept and then discusses their etymological and semantic history, tracing changes in meaning of the root words as well as presenting cases indicating which of the older forms have been replaced by expressions of colloquial or foreign origin.

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